DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 384 203 FL 021 177

TITLE	RELC Journal, Volumes 19-24.
INSTITUTION	Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (Singapore). Regional Language Centre.
PUB DATE	92
NOTE	1,535p.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
EDRS PRICE	MF12/PC62 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education; Classroom Techniques; Cultural Context; Discourse Analysis; Elementary Secondary Education; *English (Second Language); Error Correction; Error Patterns; Essays; Foreign Countries; Grammar; Instructional Materials; *Language Proficiency; *Language Research; Language Skills; Language Teachers; Language Tests; Language Variation; Media Selection; Peer Evaluation; Pronunciation Instruction; Reading Comprehension; Reading Instruction; Second Language Instruction; *Second Language Learning; Self Evaluation (Individuals); Student Attitudes; Student Evaluation; Teacher Education; Testing; Verbs; Vocabulary Development; Writing Instruction
IDENTIFIERS	*Asia (Southeast); Europe (West)

ABSTRACT

The 12 issues of the second language teaching and research journal, spanning 1988-1993 contain articles on a variety of language teaching and learning issues. A substantial proportion concern English-as-a-Second-Language instruction, both general and academic, in a number of Southeast Asian cultural contexts. Regional variations of English are also discussed in several articles. Other topics, relating to both English language teaching and language instruction in general, include development and assessment of specific language skills (reading, writing, listening, vocabulary), instruction in grammatical structures and concepts, selection of appropriate instructional materials, language and educational attitudes within specific cultures or groups, peer evaluation, language test types and formats, classroom instructional techniques, cognitive style, language styles, issues in the development of comprehension, teacher interpretation of curricula, class size, feedback, and bilingual education. Most issues contain a review of recent language research in Southeast Asia. In addition, book reviews and new publications lists are included in each issue. (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

RELC JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

VOLUME 19 NUMBER 1 JUNE 1988

RELC Journal
Volumes 19-24

ED 384 203

Articles

Sau-Ling Cynthia Wong What we do and don't know about Chinese Learners of English: A Critical Review of Selected Research 1 ✓

Harry Krasnick Cultural Forces in the Classroom: Teaching English to Trukese 21 ✓

Steven Ross, Thomas Rob and Ian Shortreed First Language Composition Pedagogy in the Second Language Classroom: A Reassessment 29 ✓

Martha C. Pennington Context and Meaning of the English Simple Tenses: A Discourse-Based Perspective 49 ✓

Patrick Blanche Self-Assessment of Foreign Language Skills: Implications for Teachers and Researchers 75 ✓

Yolanda Beh Current Research in Southeast Asia 97 ✓

Review Article

Margaret van Naerssen Course Design: Developing Programs and Materials for Language Learning 111

Ian Martin Culture Bound 119

Gordon Taylor Strictly Academic: A Reading and Writing 126

FL 021 177

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

SK Weng

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PUBLISHED BY THE SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, SINGAPORE

Editorial Committee

Makhan Lal Tickoo, *Editor*
Ho Mian Lian, *Review Editor*
Lim Kiat Boey
Asim Gunarwan
Sarinee Anivan
Yolanda Beh
Melchor Tatlonghari
Paroo Nihalani
Joseph Foley

NOTES FOR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Aisa.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$10.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$10.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal,* SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of the respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Regional Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization.

(Notes for Subscribers continued on inside back cover)

© REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1988
ISSN 0033-6882

RELC JOURNAL

Volume 19

Number 1

JUNE 1988

RELC P 350-88

What We Do and Don't Know about Chinese Learners of English: A Critical Review of Selected Research

Sau-ling Cynthia Wong
University of California, Berkeley
USA

This paper is a critical review of selected research on the learning of English by Chinese speakers, in particular, on the difficulties they experience and the variables determining the success of their undertaking. Areas of consensus and dispute among researchers, as well as suggestions for needed research, will be pointed out. Emphasis is on analyzing approaches and noting trends. The premise of the paper is that, to whatever extent (as justified by empirical evidence) Chinese speakers may be said to share a common language and culture, such a survey would be helpful to the formulation of lines of inquiry and the development of learner-language-specific methods and materials. Studies of social/affective factors in English acquisition (which are locale-specific) will not be discussed. Topics covered include phonology, morphology and syntax (and beyond), the typological transfer hypothesis, analysis of written discourse, analysis of spoken discourse and sociocultural competence, and reading.

Introduction

The following paper is a critical review of selected research on the learning of English by Chinese speakers, in particular, on the difficulties they experience and the variables determining the success of their undertaking. Areas of consensus and dispute among researchers, as well as suggestions for needed research, will be pointed out. Emphasis is on analyzing approaches and noting trends.

The topic commands interest because of the large number of Chinese speakers worldwide who are currently studying English.[1] The premise of this paper is that, *to whatever extent* (as determined by empirical evidence) Chinese speakers may be said to share a common language and culture, knowledge gained on one subgroup of Chinese ESL learners may be generalizable to another, or at least help further investigations on the latter. Of course, the idea of a "common language" fluctuates in usefulness according to the area of language studied; thus the heterogeneity of dialects subsumed under "Chinese" may be more of an issue in phonology but less so in synthax. Also, the idea of a "common culture" is neutralized to some extent by the inevitable variations, according to place of residence, in the social and psychological factors of second language acquisition. Still, the bringing together of studies on "Chinese speakers learning English" allows for ready comparison and contrast between various subgroups and research approaches; this in turn will help one formulate promising lines of inquiry or develop more effective methods and materials.

Since the paper assumes Chinese speakers learning English can be viewed as a group, it inevitably raises fundamental issues about language transfer theory. However, its aim is not to arrive at a firm answer on the precise role of transfer in a universal theory of language acquisition. Its point of departure is Gass and Selinker's (1983:7) statement that there is no necessary conflict between some of the less deterministic tenets of contrastive analysis and the cognitive principles underlying error analysis.

Several types of sources will be excluded: (1) Studies of attitude and motivation and other social/affective factors in language learning (e.g., Fu 1975; Lyczak, Fu and Ho 1976, Oller, Hudson and Liu 1977; and Pierson, Fu and Lee 1980), as these necessarily vary from place to place. (2) Longitudinal, developmental studies of *individual* Chinese children learning English, such as Huang (1970), Yang (1981) and Kwan-Terry (1986). (3) Comprehensive contrasts of Chinese and English according to established grammatical frameworks (mostly structural), such as Defense Language Institute (1974), Wu (1981), Zhang and Chen (1981), Zhao (1981), or Ren (n.d.). (4) Compendia of typical errors made by Chinese learners of English, presented as "laundry lists" and designed for self-study situations, such as The Commercial Press (1972). T. Lin (1979), or Sha and Zhou (1981). (5) Potentially useful sources that are not readily available in the U.S., such as those listed in British Council (1975).

Phonology

Research on the difficulties of Chinese speakers learning English began in the early days of contrastive analysis and audiolingualism (Reed, Lado and Shen 1948). A series of contrastive studies by Shen (1949, 1955, 1956, 1956-7, 1959) deal with Mandarin speakers' problems with the sound system of English. Attempts to identify universal phonological processing strategies and explain errors made by Chinese speakers (among others) in non-transfer terms (Sampson 1971; Tarone 1976) have met with only limited success.

Saunders (1962, 1963) and Hart (1969), continuing in the contrastive tradition, turn their attention to speakers of South Chinese dialects (Cantonese, Hokkien or Amoy, and Hakka) in Southeast Asia. Syllabic structure is studied in Tiee (1969; on Mandarin speakers) and Anderson (1982, 1983; on Mandarin and Amoy speakers) and included in a more general survey of pronunciation difficulties by C.-Y. Chen

(1976; subjects spoke Mandarin in addition to a South Chinese dialect). Han and Koh (1976) focus on aural discrimination difficulties of Chinese speakers (Cantonese and Hokkien), but their findings naturally bear on pronunciation also.

The following common problem areas are repeatedly noted by researchers: final consonant deletion, consonant cluster simplification (especially in word-final position), vowel simplification, unreduced vowels in unstressed positions, and epenthesis. Substitution of individual segmental phonemes, and difficulty with voicing and aspiration, will vary according to the native dialect of the learner.

From existing research, it seems that a contrastive approach is useful in studying the aural discrimination and oral production difficulties of Chinese learners of English, especially if the effort adopts an empirical, systematic, learner-centered, and performance-based approach. In addition to error distribution, error gravity as perceived by native English speakers should also be taken into account. It is well known that errors in intonation are likely to be perceived as more serious than errors in segmental production. Given this, it is surprising to find so little work done so far on the possible effects of the tonal properties of Chinese on the learning of English speech contours. Intuitively, it seems plausible that speakers of Chinese, a tone language, would have trouble with English, a language in which tone is non-phonemic. Tucker (1969) hypothesizes that a Cantonese learner of English may be "predisposed" to hear as several words the same English word uttered with different intonation patterns; the learner "attends to the tone and stress of each word in a sentence and finds it difficult to learn to attend to the sentence intonation patterns" (45). Han and Koh (1976:54) make a similar suggestion. This interesting possibility should be investigated.

Pronunication is intimately related to group identify (see, for example, Stevick 1976:47-64; Scovel 1977; Bourhis 1979). Given the complex history of interaction between Chinese speakers and English speakers in various colonial and quasi-colonial situations, inquiry into this aspect of English learning should be pursued.

Finally, for pedagogical purposes, the interaction between phonology and other areas of the language, such as morphology, should be more closely examined. (An example is the effect of final consonant cluster omission on the Chinese learner's understanding of the English past tense.)

Morphology and syntax (and beyond)

A number of non-quantitative papers (or parts of papers), mostly addressed to teachers and mostly dealing with writing, try to give a more or less general account of the common difficulties Chinese learners have with English morphology and syntax, explaining them in terms of influence from the mother tongue: Lay (1975), J. McKay (1975), M. Lee (1976–7), R. Wong (1978), Tan (1978), and others. The authors vary in their knowledge of the Chinese language and in the scope, intention and accuracy of their studies; all agree that the uninflected nature of Chinese has a profound effect on the learning of English, a moderately inflected language, by Chinese speakers. The existence of the errors mentioned in the above studies can be attested to by experienced teachers. The challenge is how to arrive at a coherent view of the problem and give a convincing account of error causes.

The most obvious way to impart some coherence to a collection of errors is to organize them by frequency of occurrence within established grammatical categories (e.g., by part of speech). Such is the approach adopted by W. Ho's (1973) study of Singapore Chinese speakers' errors in written English and by C. C. Chen's (1979) error analysis of compositions written by Chinese college students in Taiwan. The two researchers' findings show some agreement; for example, both researchers find verb form errors to be the most serious (making up about 20% of the total number of errors).

At first sight, statistical counts of morphological/syntactic errors seem comparable in nature, and therefore in desirability, to statistical counts of aural/oral errors. Yet upon reflection, one discovers that morphology and syntax are vastly more complex than phonology (whose subject matter is more circumscribed even if studied psycho- or sociolinguistically). When one conducts an error count by established morphological and syntactic categories developed by linguists, one immediately runs into a serious problem: without assuming that these categories have some psychological reality for the learner, the undertaking offers little in the way of explaining error causes; yet such an assumption is hardly warranted. Learners perceive the language they are learning in whatever ways come natural or appeal to them, regardless of what the grammarians have said. Fitting errors into an *apriori* scheme thus raises more questions than it answers.[2]

In fact, not only do established concepts like "part of speech" offer the error analyst little useful insight, but the very boundaries between traditional areas of linguistic study like morphology, syntax, lexis, and so on may have to be transcended if one hopes to take learner perceptions fully into account when ascribing error causes. (See the argument made in S. Wong 1983; see also S. Wong 1984a, 1984b). To my mind, a study like Tse (1977), though modest in scope and imperfectly executed, is potentially more illuminating than large-scale error counts based on rigid, compartmentalized categories because it recognizes complex sources of learner confusion. Likewise, Shaughnessy (1977), although only occasionally touching on Chinese learners, is a model of sensitivity to learner psychology and attention to patterns in naturally occurring learner errors.

As with phonological problems, morphological and syntactic ones should be subjected to much more fine-grained analyses than they have hitherto received. In studying interlanguage, the importance of multiple causation in interlanguage formation cannot be overemphasized. A tacit assumption of the error count procedure criticized above is that each error is accounted for only once, as if there could be only one explanation for each problem. This view is too simplistic; alternative research approaches must be devised.

In addition, baseline data about the performance of non-Chinese language groups of similar proficiency and about that of native English speakers in similar situations are needed for comparison. Schachter (1974) points out that the important learner strategy of avoidance will be missed if the error patterns of one language group are examined in isolation. Hasty attribution of errors to transfer when other causes may be at work constitutes another danger. An adequate profile of difficulties peculiar to Chinese speakers cannot be constructed until more is known about how they compare with other users of English.

Traditionally, studies of morphological and syntactic errors do not go beyond the sentence boundary. Yet it is obvious that certain errors, cannot be understood or even identified correctly except in terms of discourse (Huebner 1979). Once again, flexibility is needed in the way errors are classified; *classification is not just a preparation for analysis but an integral part of the analysis itself.*

The typological transfer hypothesis

Of existing theories on the morphological and syntactic problems of Chinese learners, Rutherford's typological transfer hypopthesis (1983) is one of the most provocative and potentially useful. It will therefore be discussed at some length here under a separate heading.

Briefly stated, Rutherford sees as central to an understanding of Chinese-English interlanguage Li and Thompson's (1976) typology characterizing Chinese as a topic-prominent language and English as a subject-prominent one. The canonical sentence form in Chinese is topic-comment, that in English, subject-predicate, although mixing occurs in both languages. When Chinese speakers learn English, it is argued, they tend to manifest their deeply-ingrained preference for topic-comment discourse organization by favoring certain English syntactic structures, by producing unique error types, and so on. His hypothesis is based on data on Chinese, Japanese and Korean speakers; in this paper, only those arguments pertaining to Chinese learners of English will be examined.

The typological transfer hypothesis has appeared in a slightly different form earlier, in Schachter and Rutherford (1979), where it is claimed that Chinese speakers, transferring a preference for topic-comment structure, overproduce the *there* existential because they use the construction "almost exclusively" "to introduce new referents which serve as subsequent topics." In addition, a type of *there* existential error peculiar to Chinese learners (e.g., **There are many people smoke in the room*, where the second verb should be nonfinite *smoking*; this example is supplied by me), is analyzed as showing a topic-comment structure. The idea of discourse function transfer leads Schachter and Rutherford to reinterpret errors in the English passive made by Chinese speakers, such as *Chiang's food must make in the kitchen of the restaurant, but Marty's food could make in his house*. Most teachers would consider the error to lie in imperfect mastery of the required verb forms in the English passive, but the authors argue that such sentences reflect a carryover from the topic-comment structure of Chinese, one of the corollaries of which is that both subject and object pronouns can be unexpressed when the context makes the referents clear. Thus a full rendition of the faulty sentence should be *Chiang's food [they] must make [it] in the kitchen, but Marty's food [he] could make [it] in his house*.

In the more recent formulation of his thesis, Rutherford (1983) adds to the above evidence by suggesting that an error type peculiar to the Chinese, what he calls the use of "heavy" full-clause subjects (e.g., **A man choose a wife is a man's business*), again reflects preference for topic-comment structure. Compared to the earlier version, Rutherford's (1983) conception of typological transfer is broader in scope and more clearly argued. One of his most persuasive arguments is the observation that, of the three language typologies considered — subject, verb and object word order; subject- vs. topic prominence; and grammatical vs. pragmatic word order — the first is not reflected in interlanguage but the other two are. (Learners from languages placing the verb at the beginning of the sentence, for example, never do the same thing in English even if they are beginners.) Apparently, then, the transferable configurations are discourse-related while the untransferable ones are syntactic.

The typological transfer hypothesis is attractive because it promises a way out of the myopic, fragmentary, morpheme- or sentence-bound approaches to Chinese learners' errors in English criticized earlier in this paper. If it holds, it will give coherence to apparently unrelated phenomena observable in Chinese-English interlanguage. For example, the "putative passive" thesis is more elegant than the traditional interpretation emphasizing localized verb form errors because the former allows us to make sense of the similarity between a sentence like *Chiang's food must make in the kitchen* and other deviant sentences like the following (collected by this author), in which the understood subjects are more obviously "omitted": **You cannot eat anything and [this] make you sit there not comfortable;* **He was bleeding badly and [somebody/they] has to send him to the Hospital for treatment*. (The "omitted" subjects are supplied in square brackets; verb form and other errors have been left uncorrected.)[3] Choosing between competing interpretations of errors is not merely an academic matter, for the decision has important bearings on teaching.

Exciting as the hypothesis is, there are certain central issues which must be resolved before it can be accepted fully. The main objection to the hypothesis is briefly this: since word-by-word translation from Chinese would have resulted in all the unique error types identified by Schachter and Rutherford, the existence of these error types by itself cannot be cited as primary evidence for a separately identifiable process called typological transfer. That these error types show a topic-comment structure is not surprising, since the Chinese originals also show that structure; that fact alone is insufficient support for the claim that discourse functions have been incorrectly transferred to English form. In other words, evidence of topic-prominence in a Chinese learner's interlanguage may simply be a corollary of syntactic transfer, so that discourse terms need not — although they certainly can—be brought in. In this connection, it should be noted that morphological simplicity, as a characteristic of Chinese, is at least as fundamental and pervasive in manifestation as subject-prominence. Some of the error types attributed to typological transfer could just as readily be explained in terms of the Chinese speaker's confusion over choice of English verb form. For example, the purportedly subject-prominent sentence cited by Rutherford, **Take good physical care of themselves is very important*, could very well have resulted from imperfect understanding of the finite/nonfinite distinction in English verbs. The challenge to the researcher is therefore to locate evidence for typological transfer when its effects are not confounded with those explicable in terms of other processes. Rutherford himself concedes, when suggesting that at low proficiency levels, what looks like a subject-predicate form in a Chinese speaker's interlanguage may have been conceived as topic-comment, that such a claim is "very difficult ...

to substantiate" (363). Much work in disentanglement thus awaits researchers.

Fortunately, from a pedagogical rather than theoretical standpoint, we are not compelled to make either/or choices when our considerations are less than purely theoretical; it may in fact be more fruitful to conceive of a number of transfer processes operating simultaneously (along with other non-transfer strategies).

Analysis of written discourse

The central issue in the analysis of written discourse produced by Chinese learners of English may be phrased thus: experienced teachers have repeatedly attested to the existence of something noticeably unnative-like in the written discourse of advanced learners even when it is relatively free of surface errors in morphology and syntax; if that is the case, what is this *je ne sais quoi*, where does it come from, and what can teachers do about it? For convenience, we may coin the term "written discourse accent" to refer to this elusive property, after Scarcella's (1983) concept of "discourse accent" in her study of conversational features in second language speakers.

Several approaches for determining the existence and nature of written discourse accent may be proposed; there may well be others.

As implied by the typological transfer hypothesis, the notion of topic- vs. subject-prominence may bear on written discourse. If topic in Chinese is broadly conceived as a "frame in which predication holds" (S.A. Thompson, cited in Rutherford 1983:369), its influence should operate across boundaries of what in English may constitute discrete sentences because of that language's stringent requirements on grammatically realized subjects and predicates. How exactly this influence may be embodied is not known. Li and Thompson (1981:657-675) point out that Chinese does not require the specification of a noun phrase when it is understood from context. It is possible that advanced Chinese learners may know that in English they need to produce grammatically complete sentences even in such cases, but they may not know well the explicit and implicit constraints on how to realize the "understood" material; hence they may end up with correct individual sentences which nonetheless create an impression of foreigners when read in succession.

Another possibility is that written discourse accent is manifested in the unnative-like use of cohesive devices. Hu, Brown and Brown's (1982) comparison of the English writing of Chinese and Australian students finds a preference for conjunction among the Chinese and notes the "frequent use of lexical cohesion by the Australian students," which they attribute to the English speakers' greater command of English lexis. Johns (1984) notes (without any quantification of her data) that overuse of conjuncts (especially additives) as well as underuse of lexical cohesion among the Chinese learners in comparison to native English speakers.

Suggestive as the above studies are, much more needs to be done on the subject before it can be determined whether unnative-like distribution of cohesive devices is a significant source of written discourse accent. If the conjecture is confirmed, other possible explanations besides those offered by Hu, Brown and Brown and by Johns may be explored. For example, in English written discourse, extensive embedding of phrases and subordinate clauses is recognized as a sign of syntactic maturity (Hunt 1965), but the use of this resource is contingent upon a firm grasp of syntactic structures like post-nominal relative clauses or noun complements in subject position, which Chinese speakers find difficult; their overuse of connectors like conjuncts to mark logical relationships may therefore be a result of avoidance of subordination. This speculation is supported to some extent by Hu, Brown and Brown's finding that the Australian students in their study show a higher mean sentence depth and interruption rate than the Chinese learners, indicating the former's greater sentence complexity. With regard to underuse of lexical cohesion, this cohesive device is uncommon in the Chinese language itself, so transfer may be a possible cause. As with morphological and syntactic errors, cohesive devices are relatively amenable to quantification; in studying the latter, care should be taken to avoid a mechanical and fragmentary approach.

The study of cohesive devices and syntactic maturity shades off into the area of stylistics. W. Lee's (1973) study of English "intrusions" in the compositions of Chinese students in Hong Kong throws out some interesting leads concerning stylistics, for instance, the possibility that Chinese speakers prefer symmerty of form and regularity of rhythm in their native language and carry over the same preference to English, which tolerates a lower frequency of such features in exposition. Unfortunately, most of W. Lee's formulations are crude, and her choice of examples unconvincing.

The best known hypothesis concerning written discourse accent is Kaplan's theory of "contrastive rhetoric," first proposed in his seminal "Cultural Thought Patterns in Intercultural Education" (1966) and amplified in several later articles (1968, 1976). (Only the parts referring specifically to Chinese speakers will be examined.)

Kaplan posits the existence of certain deeply ingrained habits of rhetorical organization in different cultures. Thus when speakers of a language which characteristically embodies thought in a non-linear rhetorical pattern learn English, they are likely to exhibit unnative-like organization. Kaplan hypothesizes an "Oriental" thought pattern distinguished by indirection, which he represents diagrammatically as a spiral. Chinese speakers are included in his category of "Oriental." In his 1968 paper, Kaplan explicitly relates the alleged indirectness of English writing by Chinese speakers to the influence of the classic "eight-legged essay," illustrating his point with four learner essays, each of which he divides into eight "legs."

Several reservations might be voiced about Kaplan's hypothesis: (1) The "Oriental" writing samples on which his concept of the "spiral" pattern is based are extremely mixed, consisting of nine East and Southeast Asian language groups of various sizes. How one arrives at a single concept from such an arbitrarily mixed sample is not made clear. (2) The author himself concedes that the "eight legs" in the traditional Chinese form are very similar to the kind of six-part formula on essay-writing taught in American composition courses. Further, the division of the four cited essays into eight "legs" was done not by independent, "naive" judges but by Kaplan himself, who may be faulted for finding what he wanted to find. There is also no account of how those four essays were selected, or what one should make of the many essays written by Chinese speakers which do not fit into the formula. Finally, as Mohan and Lo 1985) point out, the "eight-legged essay" in China was abolished sufficiently long ago to raise doubts about the possibility of rhetorical transfer; modern Chinese composition textbooks in fact explicitly condemn indirection. (3) Digression, lack of paragraph unity, incoherence in thought, etc. are hardly the monopoly of foreign learners of English but are common problems among "basic writers" who are native English-speaking but unfamiliar with the conventions of written exposition; they are developmental, not transfer, problems (Mohan and Lo 1985). One must ask whether compositions marked by "indirectness" written by both native English-speaking and Chinese writers can be told apart in a "blind" sorting test (once the surface grammar errors in the latter group have been removed), and if so, how the judges arrive at their conclusions. (4) Mohan and Lo (1985) also note that problems in English rhetorical organization shown by Chinese learners may have been caused by differences in instructional emphasis.

With Kaplan's contrastive rhetoric theory as well as with the concept of written discourse accent in general, a central problem is presented by the fact that it is very difficult to find natural examples of writing in which the effects of incomplete mastery of English morphology, syntax, lexis, etc. are not inextricably tied to the effects, if any, or more "intangible" influences, such as the native language's typical cohesive patterns, its typical organization of given vs. new information, and so on. Only when the learner's command of English falls within a very narrow range of delicacy, i.e., when his English is good enough to be free of sentence-level surface errors but not of discourse-level problems, would written discourse accent be readily discernible as a separate difficulty peculiar to those of his language background. How to circumvent the limitations of natural writing samples needs to be worked out.

Last but not least, it should be pointed out that not only the form but also the content of written discourse may be a source of written discourse accent. Hu, Brown and Brown's work (1982), referred to above, suggests that Chinese speakers conceived of their roles as family members, friends, etc. differently from Australian English speakers when they were asked to write on hypothetical situations in English, and that different sets of ideas were emphasized by the two groups on the same topics. S. McKay (forthcoming), comparing Chinese ESL learners in China with a mixed group of ESL learners in the U.S., finds that the choice and development of composition topics in their English composition is largely a factor of the learners' cultural experience as well as the social and educational policy of their place of residence. Cultures differ vastly in what ideas are taken for granted to be self evident by their members; in written discourse, such unspoken assumptions may intrude when speakers of one language write in a second language, either in the form of introduction of unexpected topics or in the unexpected amount of elaboration accorded various topics. This speculation remains to be investigated.

Analysis of spoken discourse and sociocultural competence

Interestingly enough, Kaplan's contrastive rhetoric hypotehsis, originally based on written discourse, finds its strongest support in analysis of spoken discourse when it comes to its application to Chinese speakers. Young (1982) examined Chinese speakers in a number of formal speech encounters and found that they favored an indirect approach when performing face-to-face negotiations, even when the language used was English. Young also notes that certain English sentence connectives, such as *because*, *as* and *so*, have been "invested with meanings which are somewhat different from their usual associations in English" (79), leading to further bewilderment on the part of the native English-speaking listeners. Young concludes: "Put in capsule form, the difference between Chinese and English expectations of discourse norms boils down to the distinction between 'where the argument is going' and 'where the argument is coming from,' respectively" (83). (Incidentally, Young also supplies anecdotal evidence that Chinese speakers are averse to the "linear" rhetorical organization of English.)

Gumperz (1982, especially 148–9, 162–71, 172–86) has shown that non-native speakers' violations of native speaker expectations in conversation can take many subtle forms, including in speech prosody and paralinguistic cues; since native speakers are hardly conscious of their own presuppositions in this regard, they tend to attribute the roughness in the interaction to some form of uncooperativeness or even intentional rudeness or malice on the part of the non-natives. Thus research on the spoken discourse of Chinese speakers learning English should not be limited to examining the organization of larger "chunks" of information but should be extended to include such subtle features as speech prosody, turn-taking behavior, and so on.

Another potentially fruitful line of inquiry concerns speech acts like compliments and apologies as well as politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1978). Nash (1983) finds that in improvised role play involving a "face-threatening act," Chinese speakers tend to use "positive politeness" (i.e., supporting the listener's positive self-image). In contrast, Americans tend to use "negative politeness" such as hedges. Important cultural differences may be involved here. Nash's study concerns Chinese using Mandarin and Americans using English; however, his approach can be adopted to study Chinese learners using English. Approaches like those used in Borkin and Reinhard (1978), Walters (1979), Cohen and Olshtain (1981), and Olshtain (1983) provide useful models for studying Chinese-English pragmatics.

On the whole, we seem to know very little about Chinese learner's command of what may be broadly termed "sociocultural competence" in English.[4] Commonplace observations — cliches, one might say — on the subject abound and are passed around in the field of teaching English as a second language in vague, unsubstantiable form. In exactly what kinds of behavior do these qualities consist? The answer must go beyond general statements like "the Chinese avoid eye contact out of politeness" and attain a satisfactory degree of precision and sophistication before sociocultural competence in English can be taken into account in language teaching (as much as such a thing can be taught given its nature).

Reading

As far as I am aware, no researcher has suggested that Chinese speakers have particular difficulty processing English in reading. Are Chinese speakers simply better at reading than at other language learning tasks? Possibly. Tzeng (1983:78), citing Makita (1968) and Tzeng and Hung (1980), notes that "few reading disability children are observed in writing systems with concrete script-speech relations such as the Japanese syllabaries and Chinese logographs." Native English-speaking children, learning to read in an orthography where there is a more abstract mapping of speech sounds onto script, apparently have more trouble.[5] Reading is one of the transferable skills in what Cummins (1980) terms the CALP (cognitive/academic language proficiency) component of language proficiency. It stands to reason that Chinese speakers who have acquired literacy through a language with more concrete script-speech relations than English would have little trouble processing the alphabetic language, even if two different processes might actually be involved in reading Chinese and English. (See Tzeng 1983 for a review of literature on the cognitive processing of various orthographies.) At the very worst, Chinese speakers confronted with English may simply apply what they do in learning to read in Chinese, i.e., rote memorization of the meaning(s) associated with a word of a certain configuration, to the new system, which is inefficient but "safe."

Yet is a highly developed visual memory necessarily an asset to Chinese speakers learning to read English? Wang and Earle (1972), in an overview of problems Chinese children may have in English reading classes, suggest that their visual recognition mode may be at odds with the aural/oral teaching methods aimed at fostering overall language proficiency. If a Chinese language background may imply over-reliance on localized, visual word processing in reading, then in communities with large numbers of Chinese ESL learners, whatever elements in the prevalent reading pedagogy contribute to the problem (such as the emphasis in China on grammar-translation and "intensive reading," as reported in Yu 1984 and Hou 1987 respectively) will need to be revised, to accord a greater role to active cognitive involvement in the reading of English. Such a modification in methodology would be in keeping with the received view among reading professionals in the U.S. today, namely, that reading is primarily a matter of prediction and hypothesis-testing (Smith 1971). It is not known whether, or to what extent, the Chinese learners' first experience with reading in Chinese, which requires much memorization, has an effect on their readiness to tolerate uncertainties and engage in intelligent guessing when reading English. The question certainly merits attention because of the large number of learners affected.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Professor Yat-shing Cheung, of the Chinese Uni-

versity of Hong Kong, for introducing me to some of the sources on Chinese-English contrasts cited in my paper; and Professor Samuel Cheung, of the University of California at Berkeley, for answering some of my questions about the Chinese language. I alone am responsible for any misuse or misunderstanding of the information supplied.

Notes

[1] Hou (1987:25) estimates that there are some 50 million people studying English in China. English is the most popular foreign language taught in Taiwan (Kaplan and Tse 1982:2). Both Singapore (76% Chinese) and Hong Kong (98% Chinese) use English as an official language and have large numbers of English learners in the schools; see Tay (1982:51) and Cheung (1984:273).

[2] In W. Ho's case, for example, one may ask what can be gained by listing article and number errors separately, given the fact that the article is an integral part of the noun phrase and choice in one grammatical category entails choice in another.

[3] Gundel and Tarone (1983) have included Chinese subjects in their study of pronominal anaphora in interlanguage; though their findings on Chinese speakers are inconclusive, it is possible that the relatively low frequency of zero anaphora in object position found in their Chinese sample is somehow related to the topic-comment organization of Chinese. The study of English pronoun use by Chinese learners may actually constitute a promising line of inquiry in the search for evidence on the typological transfer hypothesis.

[4] I have not been able to review C. Ho's (1981) study of the communicative competence of Chinese ESL learners.

[5] An interesting experiment reported in Rozin, Poritsky and Sotsky (1973) found that native English-speaking (non-Chinese) children who were having trouble learning to read in English were able, after very brief tutoring, to "read" English represented by Chinese characters. This result was attributed in part to the nature of Chinese orthography, which is unlike the English in that it "does not map into the sound system altogether."

References

Anderson, J.I. 1982. Syllable simplification in the interlanguage of ESL learners. Paper presented at the Sixteenth Annual International Conference of TESOL.

_______ . 1983. The difficulties of English syllable structure for Chinese ESL learners. *Language Learning and Communication* 2:1, 53-62.

Anderson, T.R. 1964. A case for contrastive phonology. *IRAL*, 219-30.

Borkin, A. and S.M. Reinhart. 1978. Excuse me and I', sorry. *TESOL Quarterly* 2:1, 57–69.

Bourhis, R.Y. 1979. Language in interethnic interaction: A social psychological approach. In H. Giles and B. Saint-Jacques (eds.), *Language and Ethnic Relations*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

British Council, The. 1975. *Contrastive Studies/Error Analysis-Chinese-English*. Specialized bibliography C10. London: English-Teaching Information Center.

Brown, P. and S. Levinson. 1978. Universals in language usage: politeness phenomena. In E.N. Goody (ed.). *Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 56–289.

Burt, M.K. and C. Kiparsky. 1974. Global and local mistakes. In J.H. *Schumann and N. Stenson (eds.), New Frontiers in Second Language Learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Chen, C.-C. 1979. An error analysis of English compositions written by Chinese college students in Taiwan. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Texas at Austin.

Chen, C.-Y. 1976. Pronunciation of English by students from the Chinese stream in Singapore: Some salient features. *RELC Journal* 7:2, 54–60.

Cheung, Y.-S. 1984. The uses of English and Chinese languages in Hong Kong. *Language Learning and Communication*. 3:3, 273–87.

Clyne, M. 1981. Culture and discourse structure. *Journal of Pragmatics* 5, 61–66.

Cohen, A.D. and E. Olshtain. 1981. Developing a measure of sociocultural competence: The case of apology. *Language Learning* 31:1, 113–34.

Commercial Press, The. 1972. (In Chinese) *An Analysis of Typical [English] Errors by Chinese Students*. 商务印书馆：中国学生典型错误分析。香港：商务印书馆

Cummins, J. 1981. The Cross-lingual dimensions of language proficiency: Implications for bilingual education and the optimal age issue. *TESOL Quarterly* 14:2, 175–87.

Defense Language Institute, The. 1974. *A Contrastive Study of English and Mandarin Chinese*. Monterey.

Fu, G.S. 1975. A Hong Kong perspective: English language learning and the Chinese students. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Michigan.

Gass, S. and L. Selinker. 1983. *Language Transfer in Language Learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gumperz, J.J. 1982. *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gundel, J K. and E.E. Tarone. 1983. In Gass an[illegible]inker, 271–96.

Han, S.J. and L.H. Koh. 1976. Aural discriminati[illegible]fficulties of Hong Kong, Malaysian and Singaporean Chinese. *RELC Journal* 7:1, 53–63.

Hart, D.C. 1969. Some English pronunciation difficulties in Malaysia. *English Language Teaching* 23:3, 270–73.

Ho, C. 1981. Choice of culturally appropriate linguistic style among Chinese ESL learners: A study in communicative competence. Ed.D. disertation. University of Georgia.

Ho, W. 1973. An investigation of errors in English composition of some pre-university students in Singapore, with suggestions for the teaching of written English. *RELC Journal* 4:1, 48–65.

Hou, Z. 1987. English teaching in China: Problems and perspectives. *TESOL Newsletter* 21:3 (June), 25–27.

Hu, Z., D.F. Brown and L.B. Brown. 1982. Some linguistic differences in the written English of Chinese and Australian students. *Language Learning and Communication* 1:1, 39–49.

Huang, J.A. 1970. A Chinese child's acquisition of English syntax. MA-TESL thesis. UCLA.

Huebner, T. 1979. Order-of-acquisition vs. dynamic paradigm: A comparison of method in interlanguage research. *TESOL Quarterly* 13:1, 21–28.

Hunt K.W. 1965. *Grammatical Structures Written at Three Grade Levels*. NCTE Research Report No. 3. Champaign, IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

Johns, A.M. 1984. Textual cohesion and the Chinese speaker of English. *Language Learning and Communication*. 3:1, 69–74.

Kaplan, R.B. 1966. Cultural thought patterns in intercultural education. *Language Learning* 16, 1–20.

_______. 1968. Contrastive grammar: Teaching composition to the Chinese student. *Journal of ESL* 3:1, 1–13.

_______. 1976. A further note on contrastive rhetoric. *Communication Quarterly* 24:2, 12–19.

Kaplan, R.B. and J.K. Tse. 1982. The language situation in Taiwan (The Republic of China). *The Linguistic Reporter* 25:2, 1–5.

Kwan-Terry, A. 1986. The acquisition of word order in English and Cantonese interrogative sentences: A Singapore case study. *RELC Journal* 17:1 (June), 14–39.

Lay, N.D.S. 1975. Chinese language interference in written English. *Journal of Basic Writing* 1:1. 50–61.

Lee, M. 1976–7. Some common grammatical errors made in written English by Chinese students. *CATESOL Occasional Papers* 3, 115–19.

Lee, W. 1973. Intrusions from Chinese in compositions by Hong Kong students. MA-TESL thesis. UCLA.

Li, C.N. and S.A. Thompson. 1976. Subject and topic: A new typology of language. In C.N. Li (ed.), *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press.

________. 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lin, T. 1979. (In Chinese) *A Handbook of Common Mistakes in English*. 林添丁。英文正错句手册。香港：万里书店。

Lyczak, R., G.S. Fu and A. Ho. 1976. Attitudes of Hong Kong bilinguals towards English and Chinese speakers. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 7, 425–38.

Makita, K. 1968. The rarity of reading disability in Japanese children. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 38, 599–614.

McKay, J.R. 1975. Some grammatical characteristics of Chinatown English. Paper presented at the CATESOL Bay Area Mini-Conference.

McKay, S.L. Forthcoming. Topic development and written discourse accent. In D. Johnson and D. Roen (eds.). *Richness in Writing: Empowering Minority Students*. New York: Longman.

Mohan, B.A. and W.A. Lo. 1985. Academic writing and Chinese students: Transfer and developmental factors. *TESOL Quarterly* 19:3 (September), 515–534.

Nash, T. 1983. An instance of American and Chinese politeness strategy. *RELC Journal* 41:2 (December), 87–98.

Ohmann, R. 1970. Generative grammar and the concept of literary style. In M. Lester (ed.), *Readings in Applied Transformational Grammar*. New York: Holt, Reinhart and Winston. 109–28.

Oller, J., A. Hudson and P.F. Liu. 1977. Attitudes and attained proficiency in ESL: A sociolinguistic study of native speakers of Chinese in the U.S. *Language Learning* 27, 1–27.

Olshtain, E. 1983. Sociocultural competence and language transfer: The case of apology. In Gass and Selinker, 232–49.

Pierson, H.D., G.S. Fu and S.Y. Lee. 1980. An analysis of the relationship between attitudes and English attainment of secondary school students in Hong Kong. *Language and Learning* 30:2, 289–316.

Reed, D.W., R. Lado and Y. Shen. 1948. The importance of the native language in foreign language teaching. *Language Learning* 1:1, 17–23.

Ren, X. n.d. (In Chinese) *A comparative grammar of Chinese-English.* 任学良。汉英比较语法。中国社会科学出版社。

Rozin, P., S. Poritsky and R. Sotsky. 1973. American children with reading problems can easily learn to read English represented by Chinese characters. In F. Smith (ed.). *Psycholinguistic and Reading*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 105-115.

Rutherford, W.E. 1983. Language typology and language transfer. In Gass and Selinker, 358-70.

Sampson, G.P. 1971. The strategies of Cantonese speakers learning English phonology. In R. Darnell (ed.), *Linguistic Diversity in Canadian Society*. Edmonton: Linguistic Research, Inc.

Saunders, W.A. 1962. The teaching of English pronunciation to speakers of Hokkien. *Language Learning* 12:2, 151-58.

______ . 1981. *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar.*

Scarcella, R.C. 1983. Discourse accent in second language performance. In Gass and Selinker, 306-26.

Schachter, J. 1974. An error in error analysis. *Language Learning* 24:2, 250-14.

Schachter, J. and W.E. Rutherford. 1979. Discourse function and language transfer. *Working Papers in Bilingualism* 19, 3-12.

Scovel, T. 1981. The recognition of foreign accents in English and its implications for psycholinguistic theories of language acquisition. *Proceedings of the Fifth Congress of AILA*. Quebec: Les Press de L'Universite Laval.

Sha, Z. and J. Zhou. 1981. (In Chinese) *Write correct English.* 沙昭宇、周敬华。英汉正错句解，石家庄：河北人民出版社

Shaughnessy, M.P. 1977. *Errors and expectations: A date for the teacher of basic writing*. New York: Oxford Univeristy Press,

Shen, Y. 1949. Initial /r/ in American English and Mandarin Chinese and how to teach. it *Language Learning* 2:2, 47-55.

______ . 1955. Phonemic charts are not enough. *Language Learning* 5:3-4, 122-29.

______ . *1956. The English question: Rising or falling intonation. Language Learning* 6:3-4, 47-53.

______. 1956-7. Recognition and production exercises in pronunciation. *Language Learning* 7:1-2, 18-21.

______. 1959. Some allophones can be important. *Language Learning* 9:1-2, 7-18.

Smith, F. 1971. *Understanding Reading: A Psycholinguistic Analysis of*

Reading and Learning to Read. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Stevick, E.W. 1976. *Memory, Meaning and Method: Some Psychological Perspectives on Language Learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Tan, B.K. 1978. Proficiency in English amongst four Chinese stream schools in Singapore. *RELC Journal* 9:1 (June), 39-53.

Tay, M. The uses, users and features of English in Singapore. In J. Pride (ed.). *New Englishes*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House. 51-70.

Tarone, E.E. 1976. Some influences on interlanguage phonology. *Working Papers in Bilingualism* 8, 87-111.

Tiee, H.H. 1969. Contrastive analysis of the monosyllabic structure of American English and Mandarin Chinese. *Language Learning* 19:1-1, 1-15.

Tse, S. 1977. "It" — Its uses and difficulties for Chinese students of English as a second language. *TESL Talk* 8:4, 11-19.

Tucker, G.A. 1969. The Chinese immigrant's language handicap: Its extent and its effects. *The Florida FL Reporter*, 44-45.

Tzeng, O.J.L. 1983. Cognitive processing of various orthographies. In M. Chu-Chang (ed.), Asian- and Pacific American Perspectives in Bilingual Education. New York: Teachers College Press.

Tzeng, O.J.L. and D.L. Hung. 1980. Reading in a nonalphabetic writing system: Some experimental studies. In J.F. Kavanagh and R.L. Venezky (eds.), *Orthography, Reading and Dyslexia*. Baltimore: University Press Park.

Walters, J. 1979. The perception of politeness in English and Spanish. In C.A. Yorio, K. Perkins and J. Schachter (eds.), *On TESOL '79*. Washington, D.C.: TESOL.

Wang, A.T. and R.A. Earle. 1972. Cultural constraints in teaching Chinese students to read English. *Reading Teacher* 25:7, 663-69.

Wong, R. 1978. Points of comparison between English and Chinese. Paper presented to the Bay Area Writing Project.

Wong, S.C. 1983. Overproduction, under lexicalizaiton and unidiomatic usage in the *make* causatives of Chinese speakers: A case for flexibility in interlanguage analysis. *Language Learning and Communication* 2:1, 151-65.

_______. 1984 a. Applying error analysis to materials development for advanced ESL writers. Paper presented at the National TESOL Conference.

_______.1984 b. The Chinese learner: Background and insights. Part Three. *CATESOL News*. 16:4, 18-19.

Wu, J. 1981. (In Chinese) *Chinese and English — A Comparative Study.* 吴洁敏。汉英语法手册。知识出版社。

Yang, I. 1981. A longitudinal study of two Mandarin-speaking children learning English as a second language. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Texas at Austin.

Young, L.W. 1982. Inscrutability revisited. In J.J. Gumperz (ed.), *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yu, C. 1984. Cultural principles underlying English teaching in China. *Language Learning and Communication* 3:1, 29-40,

Zhang, J. and Y. Chen. 1981. (In Chinese) *A Concise Comparison of English and Chinese Grammar.* 张今、陈云清。英汉比较语法钢要，北京：商务印书馆

Zhao, Z. 1981. (In Chinese) *A Comparison between the Chinese and English Grammars.* 赵志毅。英汉语法比较，西安：陕西人民出版社

Cultural Forces in the Classroom: Teaching English to Trukese

Harry Krasnick
Canada-Indonesia Language Program
Jakarta

Commonly, classroom interaction is conceived of as a waystation lying somewhere between the formal curriculum and the intended learning outcomes. Language learning is treated as an individual accomplishment, albeit one which takes place in a social environment. With few exceptions (e.g., Trueba, Guthrie and Au, 1981), second language learning is seen as a psychological phenomenon rather than a sociocultural one. In this paper, I hope to illustrate the necessity of viewing formal language instruction in terms of both intercultural and intracultural encounters as well.

The University of Guam, and Micronesia

The classrooms I will comment on are those of the University of Guam. Guam is an American territory, acquired from Spain many years ago. Geologically, Guam is a tropical volcanic island roughtly 40 kilometers long and between seven and twelve kilometers wide. It is part of the geographical region known as Micronesia, and is located about fifteen hundred miles south of Japan and a similar distance east of the Philippines. The civilian population is about 100 thousand; half are Chamorros (the term which denotes ethnic Guamanians as well as their language), about one-fourth are Filipino immigrants to the United States, and the rest are Micronesian migrants, East Asian foreign workers and immigrants, and Mainland Americans. Guam is also home to large American air force and naval bases, whose troops and their dependents add another 20 thousand or so to the total island population. The language used in the public school system is English, but many Guamanians are bi-lingual (English and Chamorro).

The University of Guam (UOG) is a locally controlled English-medium institution which follows the American educational system and serves both Guam and the rest of Micronesia. Most faculty are Mainland Americans. The student body numbers between two and three thousand. Included among these are hundreds of Micronesian students, with Trukese being the most numerous. Truk is one of the former Trust Territory islands which were administered by the United States following World War II. (Others are the Marshall Islands, Ponape, Kosrae, Yap, Palua, and the Marianas Islands.) English is spoken widely in the Micronesian islands due to the American influence, but the native languages are used in the public schools. Though there is a two-year college in Micronesia, only UOG offers four-year university degrees. UOG has an 'open enrollment' policy, so virtually any high school graduate from Micronesia is able to attend UOG.

Culture in the Classroom

Having said something about the social context of education at UOG, I would like to turn to the English language program there. The Division of English and Applied Linguistics is largely an English language service unit. UOG's English language requirement for graduation is satisfied by completion of English 110 (freshman composition) and English 11 (the term paper). Many of the Division's 600 or so students have to complete one or more reading and/or writing courses before proceeding to the 100-level courses, and some students (Asians and Micronesians, it happens) must also complete one or both of the Division's combined listening/speaking courses.

The Division refers to the reading and writing courses as "developmental" (i.e., remedial) because many students are in fact native speakers of English (Chamorros, for the most part). Micronesians make up from one-fourth to one-half of the students in these developmental courses, but the courses are not considered ESL courses. In the oral/aural courses, which are in fact treated as ESL courses, the proportion of students from Micronesia rises to between perhaps 60 percent and 100 percent. With few exceptions, the Micronesians in the ESL courses are Trukese; the other students are Asians.

In a culturally heterogeneous ESL class, there are no unusual problems, but when Trukese dominate, a problem familiar to most ESL instructors arises: diffidence. On occasion, the resistance to speaking is simply massive. It would be natural to classify the Trukese with other students often considered to be reticent, e.g., Japanese or Chinese students. However, instructors usually come to terms with the Asian cultural views on teacher authority, student independence, conformity, and so on. This has not been the case with the Trukese. The sociocultural bases of their diffidence remain a mystery to the staff, and there have to date been no strategies for compensating for the cultural influences which seem to account for the Trukese students' diffidence. What may be surprising to ESL instructors who are familiar with Asian students is that in mixed classes of Trukese and Asian students at UOG, it is the latter who are the star performers, with Trukese playing the role of 'the ones who won't talk.'

Two Illustrative Examples

Personal experience teaching Trukese students for two semesters had not provided much direct illumination, so at the end of the second semester I asked the members of one class to write down all of the things which a new ESL student might worry about and which might inhibit him or her from making the most of the ESL course. The imaginary students described by my class expressed active fear of public ridicule from peers if they made a mistake, or even spoke up in class. While their portrayals showed much concern with fluency in general, expressed negatively in terms of embarrassment of feeling 'ashamed,' it was student-student interaction in the classroom that seemed to be the most potent factor. In putting words into the mouths of hypothetical beginning ESL students, the members of the class wrote things such as:

> My classmates might laugh at me.
> They might think my nose is too big.
> They will thing I am ugly.

Virtually every Trukese wrote something of this sort (and the few Oriental students in the class did not). The general fear that ran through the responses was that others in the class would be waiting for an opportunity to poke fun at or try to 'shoot down' any student who dared to answer a question or otherwise participate. (Their noses are not big, they are not ugly, and their fluency is not all that bad, either.)

This self-portrait by the Trukese is not out of line with anecdotal data which underscore the power of culture in the classroom at UOG. In one case, a Trukese student came to class one day with his head shaved. This was an all-Trukese class, and the behavior of the other students suggested that this had been done by other Trukese (students?) as a reprimand or punishment. The instructor, an anthropologist with many years' experience teaching foreign students, felt that, in the circumstances, she should not make any inquiries, especially since the student was in fact back in class, and nothing was changed other than his hairstyle and the other students' attitude toward him. The student's return to class the very next day after the 'haircut' begged for an explanation. Was being hairless no reason to stay away from school even though the style was to wear the hair rather long and full? Was it some sort of testimony to the strength of his motivation? Or did it mean that the apparent sanction was intended not to drive him away, but rather to make him conform to some group expectation which he had been disregading? The following year, I found myself making an oblique inquiry about the student's shaved head in a conversation with an older Trukese student with whom I had a good relationship. He confirmed that the student's head had in fact been shaved by other Trukese as a sanction, but he was clearly uncomfortable about revealing even that, and nothing further was said about the matter.

A second anecdote is one which is told to every new English instructor at UOG. It concerns a class which had a preponderance of students from one of the outer islands of Truk State. (The outer islands approximate the stereotype of a tropical island: a coral atoll with beautiful beaches and swaying palm trees, no electricity or motor vehicles, men fishing from outrigger canoes, children walking barefoot along a path through the palm trees.) One feature of the traditional culture which remains quite alive is an injunction against females placing themselves physically above males. As told to me by one female outer island student, a female should not pass by closer than about one hundred yards from a group of seated males, for to do so would be to put herself (walking) above the men (sitting). In the UOG class, a problem arose whenever an older, higher-status male student from the island was already seated in the room and the female students had not yet entered. This of course caused a dilemma for the female students, which they solved by crawling into the classroom on their hands and knees. (The instructor eventually handled the problem by having the male student wait outside until the females had entered and seated themselves.) Of course, lowering of the body to show respect or deference is known in many parts of the world, and there is no assertion being made here that Trukese culture is remarkable in this respect. What does seem to be evident, though, is that there are cultural forces in the classroom — even in an American territory — strong enough to put some students on their knees and cost other students their hair. If that is the case, we should not assume that the diffidence we observe can be understood other than in terms of sociocultural interaction.

Trukese Cultural Forces in the Classroom

As stated earlier, the cultural factors which affect ESL students' classroom performance are not as clear in the case of Trukese students as they are in other cases. However, we can certainly derive some hypotheses from the anthropological literature. A recent study of Trukese society which seeks to analyze the dramatic pattern of public drunkenness in Truk (Marshall, 1979) offers, by analogy or extrapolation, one possible explanation of Trukese behavior in the classroom. Marshall states that there is enormous pressure on Trukese males to establish a social identity through behavior in public, behavior which reflects certain core values in Trukese society ('bravery and power,' 'respectfulness and kindness,' and 'strong thought': see Marshall, 1979, pp. 55-63, 89-93):

> During his late teens and his twenties, the young male builds the personal reputation that will stay with him for the rest of his life. For a

> young man, this is a time of stress, a time of proving himself, a time of convincing others that he is indeed a man. Crucial to this test period of life are those culturally established test situations in which public evaluations of competence are made (p. 58).

What is significant for the present discussion is not what the society's particular values are, but the tension and anxiety involved in proving oneself in public.

Though Marshall does not identify the classroom as one of the 'culturally established test situations in which public evaluations of competence are made,' he does mention that education in general is valued in Truk, and the practice of evaluating another's public behavior may well carry over into the classroom as a matter of course. The effect of ridicule upon the individual student in the classroom may be made even more potent by the fact that, usually, the class includes one or more members of one's own kinship group or residential district, or, worse, members of districts whose young men are 'rivals' with those from one's own district. The population of Truk is not large, and it is a rare student from Truk who is not known to other students already.

Sex roles may also play a part, though not in the way illustrated by the anecdote recounted earlier. Marshall describes Trukese males as being vitally concerned with showing their superiority over women:

> They boss women about in aggressive tones and expect their wives or sisters to do a host of menial tasks for them whenever they demand it. They emphasize how much stronger men are than women and they boast of their greater capacity for reason, deliberation, and general intellectual behavior. As a rule, they consider themselves much more intelligent than women. This is a major reason why, until very recently, very few women were permitted education beyond the elementary level by their families. The few highly educated young women from Truk who have obtained a college education in recent years are viewed by many men as threatening because they have proved themselves better or more learned (p. 92).

This link between male-female dominance and the meaning of educational performance may mean than the classroom is doubly threatening for the Trukese male when women are present, as they always are in UOG classes. (This provides a nice contrast with what the Western assumption would be, namely, the all-male classroom is the more threatening one because of competitiveness among males.)

There is another way in which sex roles may perhaps play a part in Trukese classroom interaction. Marshall describes young people in Truk as being considered to be preoccupied with sexual relationships and sexual performance. Citing other anthropological studies of Trukese society, Marshall relates that in Truk, sexual intercourse is viewed as a contest, in which the failure of the male to satisfy the female may be met with derision and insults on her part. Marshall summarizes:

> In sex, as in everything else, the Trukese man must take risks if he is to prove himself competent. And wherever risks are taken, the possibility of failure always looms in the background (p. 95).

One need not be an orthodox Freudian to consider the possibility that in such a culture, the fear of ridicule on account of public 'failure' takes on a somewhat different overall meaning. And, one need not be an anthropologist to question whether a conventional, psychological concept such as 'communication apprehension' (see, e.g., Brooks and Heath, 1985) is adequate for appreciating the pattern of behavior described earlier.

Meeting the Cultural Challenge

Micronesians have been notably unsuccessful as UOG students. Many have to repeat the various English courses numerous times, and some never do complete them. Only a small percentage of those who enter UOG ever graduate (though some transfer to American schools on the Mainland). Those that do surmount the English language barrier and take other courses are still the subject of regular complaint from other faculty on account of their poor command of English, that is, their having completed the Division's English requirements notwithstanding.

While no substantial modifications to the curriculum are contemplated, various adjustments to accommodate the Micronesians in the classroom are made by individual instructors. In the ESL speaking/listening courses, the reluctance to speak can be accommodated to some degree by devoting more time to aural comprehension, which is justified to some extent by 'input theory.' In addition, much greater reliance can be placed on group work, since there is now empirical evidence that conversation among nonnative speakers is not detrimental to the learner as far as adequacy of input is concerned (see Long and Porter, 1985). (The first time I assigned a small-group task in class, I thought initially that the students were refusing to do the task — their volume was so low that I actually had not perceived them to be speaking.)

As for teaching materials, locally produced writing text-books in which the customary Anglo-Saxon names, geography, and lore have been replaced with Chamorro or Micronesian examples have been used for a number of years. Such textbooks seem to say to the student, 'See? We know that you are not Mainland Americans.' It seems, however, that we need changes not only in procedure and design, but in basic approach (see Richards and Rodgers, 1986, Ch. 2, for a discussions of these terms).

There is in fact a deeper level at which accommodation, or at least rapprochement, is needed. For instance, some of the students' gross behavior continues to mystify and frustrate instructors: Students stroll into the classroom long after class has started, without making the apology that they know is called for; they leave in the middle of class to smoke a cigarette, answer nature's call, or expectorate over the railing. It seems an inescapable conclusion that we will have to understand these actions in terms of their meaning for the students themselves before a proper response can be made. There is nothing wrong with these students' communicative competence — it is their performance that needs attention. These students, one way or the other, are caught up in the ebb and flow of cultural forces. If there is no apparent way that such students can be helped to avoid wasting their time in what will likely be their only chance at getting a university education, there must be something wrong with our ESL 'materia medica.' It is easy to adopt an assimilative, prescriptive posture, as some instructors in fact do, and treat the Trukese students' immediate problem as one of Improving Their English. But that approach has probably assisted the instructors in making sense of their activities in the classroom much more than it has helped the students.

Conclusions

The overall importance of the role of Trukese culture in the ESL classroom should not be overemphasized. Certainly the lives of my former Trukese students are being determined far more by the rapid political and economic changes affecting Micronesia these days than by anything that did or did not happen in the classroom at UOG. The shocking rise in alcoholism and adolescent suicide suggests very strongly that there are problems in Micronesia which have little if anything to do with university instruction.

On the other hand, the Trukese case does point up the reality of culture in the classroom, and I believe that it does need to be pointed up. In the ESL profession as a whole, almost all of our effort has been expended on refining teaching techniques and revising teaching materials. The overall effect is more and more to define cultural and interactional issues out of existence by focusing on problems which are perhaps easier or more convenient to approach. The fact that cultural and interactional forces do not always call attention to themselves in the rather dramatic fashion they seem to in the Trukese examples described earlier does *not* mean that they do not exist. It may simply be that we do not recognize their existence until students crawl into the classroom on their hands and knees or come to class with shaved heads.

References

Brooks, Wiliam D. and Robert W. Health. 1985. *Speech communication*. Fifth edition. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown.

Long, Michael H. and Patricia A. Porter. 1985. Group work, interlanguage talk, and second language acquisition. *TESOL Quarterly, 19*, 2, 207–228.

Marshall, Mac. 1979. *Weekend warriors: Alcohol in a Micronesian culture*. Palo Alto, Calif.: Mayfield Publishing Co.

Richards, Jack C. and Theodore S. Rodgers. 1986. *Approaches and methods in language teaching: A description and analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trueba, Henry T., Grace Pung Guthrie, and Kathryn Hu-Pei Au (Eds.). 1981. *Culture and the bilingual classroom: Studies in classroom ethnography*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

First Language Composition Pedagogy in the Second Language Classroom: A Reassessment

Steven Ross
Kobe University of Commerce
Ian M Shortreed
Tezukayama University
Thomas N Robb
Kyoto Sangyo University

Much of current L2 writing theory has been extrapolated from L1 literature on native speaker writing processes (Zamel 1982, 1983; Raimes 1985). This has led to an influx of L1 instructional practices into L2 classrooms which remain largely untested on non-native populations. As a relatively new applied field, the teaching of composition to non-natives has been largely dependent upon the pedagogical practices modelled on research findings and practical experiences of first language composition teachers. The paucity of field testing of first language composition teaching techniques in the second language context, however, has led to widespread belief that whatever works for native speakers must be equally effective for non-native writers. Three such practices which are widely used in L2 classrooms are sentence combining and journal writing, and more recently, composition reformulation techniques. The present study reports a study of the relative effectiveness of these three composition strategies in a second language context.

The rationale behind the use of journal writing in L2 instruction derives primarily from testimonials in L1 literature (Spack and Sadow 1983). Proponents of journal writing contend that increased opportunities for informal writing practice provide invaluable experience in the application of writing strategies in a context where there is less anxiety and concern with form (Kirchotter 1974; Esch 1975; Koch 1975; Fulwiler 1978; Scheuermann 1977). The primary focus of L1 research has been to monitor these positive attitudinal changes rather than addressing the question of whether such instruction results in improved writing quality (Hull 1981, Staton, Shuy and Kreft 1982). Research on the relationship betwen writing frequency and writing quality, however, suggests that the practice of writing for fluency alone may have a negligible effect on improving student writing (Hunting 1967, Azabdaftari 1981).

In spite of recent research suggesting the ineffectiveness of corrective feedback on composition (Hendrickson 1981; Robb, Ross and Shortreed 1986), especially when correction and revision takes place well after the process of composition has been completed, there is nonetheless an inclination among practising foreign language composition instructors to provide negative evidence to their students in the hope that at least surface errors will be more easily revised. Moreover, the composition and correction process has considerable 'face validity' to both instructors and students alike in many foreign language learning traditions (e.g. that of Japan). The apparent need to prove that there has been some effort made to untangle the learners' attempt at written expression in the L2, and possibility that at least some negative evidence is useful to the process of second language acquisition (see Bley-Vroman 1986), it appears that correction is still considered a viable option by many composition teachers.

Reformulation techniques have of late gained increasing favor in L2 composition. Reformulation entails having L2 writers consider both rhetorical and stylistic aspects of composition in addition to mechanics in their analysis and revision (Cohen 1984). The reformulation technique endorsed by Allwright (1984) requires the instructor to reformulate and 'nativize' student compositions. Students then have the opportunity to examine how their original compositions would look after they are revised and expanded by the instructor. The essential aspect of reformulation is a comparison of drafts which represent the learners' first attempt at expression in the L2 and the instructors', or potentially, peers' reformulation of the writers' ideas.

The suitability of employing sentence combining in L2 classrooms appears questionable in light of the conflicting results of previous research. In an early L2 study on sentence combining, Cooper et al (1978) reported a significant improvement in the syntactic maturity of American foreign language students' studying Spanish, French and German with a core curriculum in sentence combining. Studies by Williams (1978) and Ney and Fillerup (1980) report similar gains for ESL students receiving short term practice in sentence combining. However, both studies found that this did not result in any overall improvement in writing quality when compared with control groups receiving more traditional instruction. Similar results were obtained by Perkins and Konneker (1982) and Perkins and Hill (1984) who report negligible effects on the overall writing quality of two groups of intermediate and advanced ESL students practicing sentence combining in intensive writing programs. They concluded that time could be better spent addressing more global aspects of the composing process. A similar observation has been advanced by Zamel (1982) and Crowhurst (1983a) who caution that the outcomes of sentence combining practice may vary greatly in first and second language environments.

In spite of these recent misgivings about the effects of sentence combining, however, its application to English as a second/foreign language writing has actually become more widespread (e.g. Kelly and Shortreed, 1985) The increase in the use of sentence combining techniques may reflect a reaction by many language teachers against the 'traditional' approach to grammar and translation. Although there is no clear evidence that intensive sentence combining, with its focus on syntax, can in fact produce better student compositions, many teachers assume that since it is not focussed on discrete grammar, it somehow makes for more suitable composition practice. Sentence combining is therefore considered here for reassessment in a context in which it has not been examined empirically.

In order to compare the efficacy of using L1 based methods in L2 classrooms, a study was conducted contrasting sentence combining and structural grammar instruction in conjunction with journal writing, controlled composition writing with feedback on surface error, and peer reformulation. Two modes of written discourse, narrative and expository, were utilized on all the criterion essays in order to assess any differential effects which might accrue with the use of the main teaching strategies.

Experimental Design

Freshman students at a Japanese university were alphabetically assigned to three sections of English composition.[1] All students in the three sections were English language and linguistics majors taking six required basic skills English courses in their freshman year. Each section was instructed with one of three distinct composition approaches.

Group 1: Correction	Group 2: Journal	Group 3: Reformulation
N = 30	N = 32	N = 28

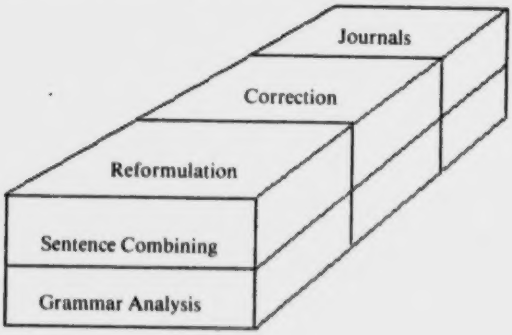
The Correction group wrote weekly compositions, each of which averaged between 200 and 250 words, over the course of the year (24 class meetings, 20 compositions). Correction was provided weekly in a two-level marking scheme. Two of the experimenters corrected all errors in black ink before covering the corrections with text marking pen ink. The compositions were then returned to the students in a dark green see-thru plastic folder which provided the students with information about the location of the surface grammar, vocabulary and mechanical errors marked. The students attempted to rewrite the composition based on this feedback initial level of feedback. After the students finished the first effort to revise based on limited information about the location of errors, they next compared their corrections to those provided by the instructor by removing the original composition from the green folder so that the teachers' corrections could be directly seen.

The Journal group maintained a journal as their only homework assignment. They were told that their grade for the course would be determined solely by the gross number of pages written during the term. Students wrote an average of 153 pages by the end of the academic year.[2] Students were encouraged to include personal details in the journal in order to increase their personal investment in the process of journal writing. Although a considerable proportion of each journal contained private information, students were periodically asked to select a few nonpersonal entries to share with other class members. In the journal exchange activity phase of the class period, students had ample opportunities to read and comment on the diaries of various class members.

The peer Reformulation section[3] was required to improve a composition which had been chosen from those written by the freshman students in the previous year. Copies of a new composition were distributed to all students each week. The following week a model reformulation of the original composition was provided by the instructor for students to compare with their own reformulation. Students in the reformulation section were required to tally all changes which were different from the model provided by the instructor. Students thus had to reformulate peer narrative and expository essays before comparing their reformulations with a model provided by the instructor. The students in this section wrote no original compositions aside from the periodic in-class measurements discussed below.

In addition to comparing the differential effects of journal writing, composition with correction and peer reformulation, a second factor designed to assess the effects of sentence combining in contrast with grammar practice was included in this field experiment. Half of each class spent the entire year doing sentence combining while the other half did grammar exercises in a fill-in-the-blank format. Both groups spent 30–45 minutes per class doing their assigned in-class activities (sentence

Design



combining or grammar exercise), after which a model answer sheet was distributed so that individuals could compare their work sheets with the instructor's. The instructor's role during the in-class work was one of a facilitator and guide for students requiring specific help.

A two-factor design was used to test the following hypotheses:

1) A difference would result in the fluency, accuracy and syntactic maturity of the group with the most practice in writing, i.e. that the journal group would gain an advantage over the correction and reformulation groups.

2) Students who practiced sentence combining would write syntactically more complex sentences compared with students who practiced verb morphology and surface grammar.

3) There would be a differential effect in the development of writing fluency, complexity and accuracy on the narrative and expository modes.

Assessment Criteria

Two baseline measures of writing proficiency were administered during the first and second weeks of classes (April) followed by an additional pair of tests at mid-term (July) and at the end of the course (December). One measurement in each pair consisted of an 70-minute in-class narrative composition based on a 4-frame picture story. The second measurement was an expository essay based on a reading which had been distributed to students one week in advance. Dictionaries or other reference materials were not permitted during the essay writing assessments. All essays were then masked, randomized and distributed to three evaluators (the authors). Essays were graded on a holistic scale based on the Newbury House Profile (Jacobs et al, 1984) plus a number of objective measures: number of terminal units,[4] error-free terminal units, the ratio of error free terminal units to total terminal units, the average number of embedded clauses and total words written. These measures were to represent accuracy, writing fluency and complexity as defined in earlier principal factor analyses of more than seven hundred narrative essays written by Japanese students (see Robb, Rose & Shortreed, 1986). Inter-rater reliabilities of the objective criteria were all considered sufficient (Coefficient of Concordance .80 or greater). An initial analysis of variance of the pre-test indicated, however, that there were pre-instruction differences between the groups on some of the variables of interest. A factorial analysis of covariance[5] was therefore employed as a strategy to compensate for the initial inequalities. Provided there were significant differences on either of the factors, post-hoc comparisons contrasting group means were carried out using the Newman-Keuls Test.

Results

Accuracy

After the correlations between the pretest (covariate) and the midterm and posttest tallies of the total number of error-free T-units were taken into account, there were no significant differences between the groups on either of the modes of writing. Likewise, on the second measure of accuracy, the ratio of error-free T-units to total T-units (hereafter eftu/tu), no significant differences (<.05) emerged. This finding provides empirical evidence against the use of negative feedback on error, especially, as in the case of the present study, when the feedback is presented well after the composition process has been completed.

Adjusted mean scores

Total error-free T-units

	Grammar +			Sentence Combining +			
Test	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Mode
midterm	6.35	6.06	8.11	7.52	7.09	7.23	expository
posttest	7.41	7.70	8.17	7.32	10.83	7.05	expository
midterm	14.54	15.68	13.92	14.89	15.83	15.97	narrative
posttest	18.54	19.62	22.09	17.92	22.19	18.38	narrative

Ratio of error-free T-units to total T-units

	Grammar +			Sentence Combining +			
Test	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Mode
midterm	.267	.210	.308	.289	.226	.275	expository
posttest	.332	.234	.294	.315	.317	.262	expository
midterm	.416	.374	.393	.453	.363	.450	narrative
posttest	.484	.405	.509	.529	.453	.457	narrative

Syntactic Complexity

Two criterion variables were assessed in the measurement of syntactic complexity. Error-free clauses and extra clauses embedded in terminal units were tallied in all six compositions. The error-free clauses, while being 'face valid' as measures of accuracy, can be considered 'complex' criteria for assessing syntactic complexity in that they measure both accuracy and the ability to embed clauses into longer T-units. Likewise, the extra clause tallies measure both ability to embed and fluency in writing.

The post-hoc Newman-Keuls tests indicated there were initial effects favoring composition with correction by the midterm narrative composition on the error-free clause criterion, these effects were short-lived as they did not reemerge on the final composition. In the extra clauses in T-units criterion, the cumulative effects of continued writing practice by the journal group resulted in clear main effects on the method factor. Post-hoc tests indicate significant differences favoring the journal groups over the composition or reformulation groups. It is important to note that the effects of journal writing are limited to the narrative mode as far as syntactic complexity is concerned.

Adjusted mean scores

Total error-free clauses

	Grammar +			Sentence Combining +			
Test	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Mode
midterm	1.65	1.61	2.13	2.23	2.13	1.78	expository
posttest	2.26	0.89	2.00	1.55	1.50	1.80	expository
midterm	1.92	2.00	1.31	2.51	0.79	1.34	narrative
posttest	1.65	3.29	2.22	2.64	1.90	1.90	narrative

Total extra clauses in T-units

	Grammar +			Sentence Combining +			
Test	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Mode
midterm	11.04	9.75	12.26	10.90	11.46	12.24	expository
posttest	8.63	8.70	11.30	10.03	10.46	10.32	expository
midterm	6.72	8.88	6.41	8.80	7.94	7.35	narrative
posttest	6.86	11.87	7.15	8.30	11.08	7.75	narrative

Fluency

The analyses of covariance and post-hoc comparisons indicated that the journal groups wrote significantly more T-units on the narrative compositions as well as more words on both narrative and expository compositions, lending substantial support for the second hypothesis concerning the development of fluency among the journal groups, especially in the narrative mode. A comparison of the T-units in narrative and T-units in expository graphs, however, suggests that writing 'fluency' may not be a skill which is developed with conscious practice alone, but is as much an attitude towards the writing task. The journal group, after hearing that the criterion for success in class was related to the quantity of written journal pages, immediately applied a 'fluent' writing strategy to the subsequent composition. Thus, in one week's time the journal group demonstrated a significant gain in 'fluency'.

Adjusted mean scores

Total T-units

	Grammar +			Sentence Combining +			
Test	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Mode
midterm	25.80	27.59	25.95	27.56	26.46	26.24	expository

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

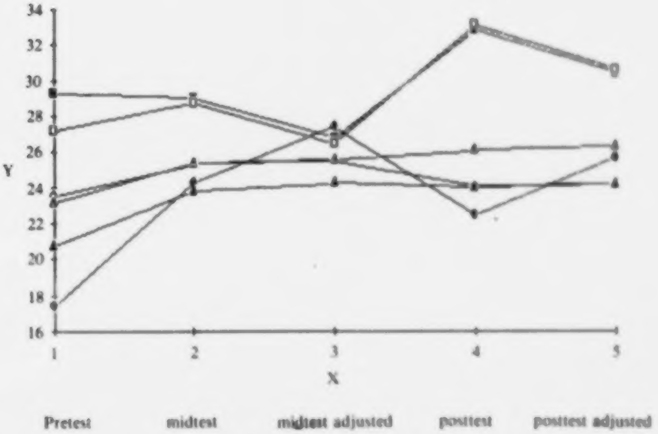
posttest	24.31	31.39	26.44	25.86	29.98	25.58	expository
midterm	36.03	40.09	34.61	33.56	43.29	35.53	narrative
posttest	38.46	46.84	42.24	34.98	46.66	39.81	narrative

Adjusted mean scores

Total words

	Grammar +			Sentence Combining +			
Test	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Mode
midterm	259.9	289.0	265.14	270.0	283.5	283.4	expository
posttest	264.2	335.5	290.0	269.1	313.8	265.9	expository
midterm	279.0	331.7	278.9	284.5	349.3	280.3	narrative
posttest	299.6	376.4	316.4	284.9	365.6	317.6	narrative

Total T-Units Expository



Black symbols denote sentence combining. White symbols denote grammar analysis in class (factor 1). Diamonds represent correction group; squares represent journal group; triangles represent the reformulation group (factor 2).

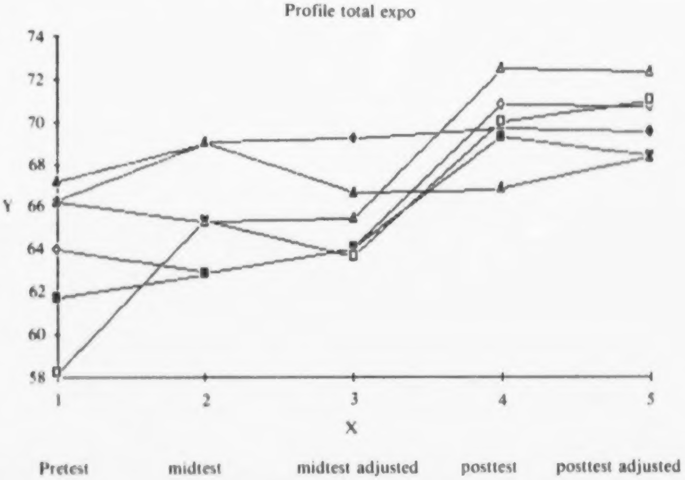
Holistic

Composition Profile total score

In addition to the componential measures of writing skills, a holistic assessment was used. The Profile rating system (Jacobs, et al 1981) includes subscales for content, organization, vocabulary, language usage and mechanics, which when summed, provide a global rating of writing

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

skill. In this study, Profile ratings were made on all of the six sets of student essays. Pre-test and mid-test correlations however, revealed that there was little shared variance between the pre-test ratings of the expository essay and the midtest and posttest essays. This fact makes the use of the analysis of covariance problematic at best in this instance, since the initial group differences evident on the more objective measures are not taken into account. Even with this interpretive constraint, however, the post-hoc tests performed on the factors with significant omnibus F ratios suggest that the journal writing groups, though certainly producing prolix essays, did not in fact achieve as high ratings on the global measure as either the composition with correction or the reformulation groups on the midterm expository essay. No significant contrasts emerged on the narrative Profile ratings. The posttest expositive essay also revealed a significant difference favoring the grammar instruction groups over the sentence combining groups. Given this result, and the fact that no other main effects for the sentence combining factor were found on the accuracy, fluency or complexity measures, there appears to be no empirical support for the second hypothesis concerning the efficacy of sentence combining in the elementary level EFL context. This observation occurs with those of Perkins and Konneker (1982); Perkins and Hill (1984).

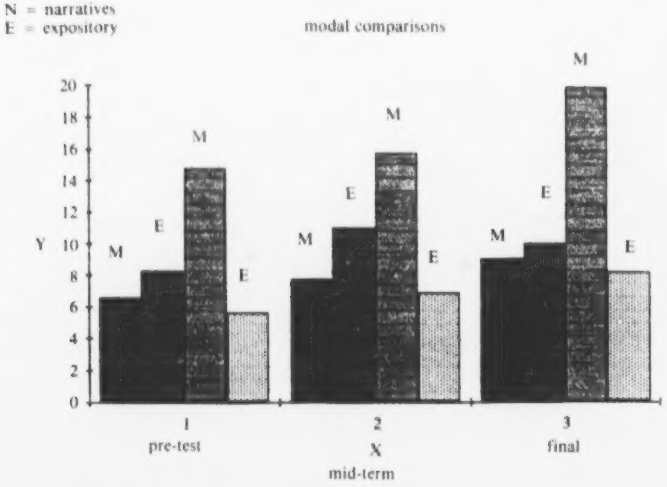


Black symbols denote sentence combining. White symbols denote grammar analysis in class (factor 1). Diamonds represent correction group; squares represent journal group; triangles represent the reformulation group (factor 2).

Profile total score

	Grammar +			Sentence Combining +			
Test	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Correction	Journals	Reformulation	Mode
midterm	69.9	66.0	69.9	69.2	61.7	70.0	expository
posttest	71.0	70.1	72.5	69.7	69.0	66.6	expository
midterm	69.6	68.0	68.8	72.7	69.9	71.0	narrative
posttest	72.7	70.1	72.5	69.7	67.9	71.9	narrative

Since distinct modes of writing were utilized in testing the first two hypotheses about the effects of sentence combining, writing for fluency, reformulation and composition with correction, the results would be limited to the type of prose used in the essay task itself. It was therefore considered necessary to examine the relative difficulty of the two modes of written discourse in this study. Therefore, the third hypothesis examined in the study predicted the differential facility in producing complex and accurate sentences in the two modes in L2 composition. Narrative prose was predicted to be relatively easier for Japanese EFL writers than expository prose because of the considerable differences between English and Japanese expository rhetorical structure (Hinds 1982). The average number of error-free T-units was here the criterion of interest. Likewise, syntactic complexity, here defined as the average number of embedded



Note: first two columns on the left of each set denote mean number of embedded clauses. The third and fourth columns in each set denote mean number of error-free clauses.

clauses, was predicted to be greater in expository prose than in narrative prose (see Crowhurst 1983b).

Discussion

The first hypothesis concerning the development of fluency in writing was partially supported. EFL writers appear to gain increasing skill in circumventing the usual 'compose in L1 — translate to L2' strategy commonly used by Japanese writers. However, it should be noted that this sort of fluency is limited to narrative prose. When students are required to write in a more precise and structured manner the limits of journal practice become apparent. This suggests that journal writing may be profitably employed at the outset of a second language writing program but should not be overused nor considered as a replacement for instruction on other forms of writing, particularly, academic forms of prose.

The second hypothesis regarding the beneficial effects of sentence combining practice was not supported. Sentence combining practice did not appear to directly influence the development of greater syntactic control in these EFL writers. This finding leads us to conclude that sentence combining may work in a curvilinear manner with different populations of writers. The original enthusiasm for the technique in the teaching of writing to native speakers of English was probably due to the fact that students with the ability to write strings of conjoined t-units fluently could easily gain skill in embedding these strings into more complex units of discourse. The essential component for success of sentence combining in L2 instruction appears to be linked to the attainment of some sort of threshold fluency. Elementary level writers still constrained by the need to compose in L1 and translate into L2 may well be below this threshold level. In contrast, ESL students who have developed considerable fluency in the spoken language, often as the result of extensive interaction with native speakers of English, are in a better position to generate the basic sentential units which form the basis for the more complex strategies required in sentence combining. As ESL/EFL writers move beyond this middle range of proficiency towards more advanced levels of writing, there appears to be little more sentence combining can do since as Perkins and Hill (1984) point out, such writers are capable of writing complex strings 'directly' without the need to apply sentence combining strategies post hoc.

An ancilliary result of this study once again brings into question the efficacy of corrective feedback on surface error. The non-significant differences found between students who received extensive feedback on surface error (composition group) and those who received no feedback whatsoever (journal group) suggests that sentence level feedback may be only meaningful once learners have developed the requisite grammatical competence to internalize such feedback. This finding supports an approach which would encourage fluency at the outset and progressively move toward more control at the more advanced stages of writing instruction.

The comparisons of expository and narrative prose types (hypothesis three) indicate that there is an increase in writing volume for the diary group in the study relative to the other two groups across both narrative and expository modes. Sentence combining, on the other hand, did not improve the syntactic complexity of those students who spent classroom time on such activities. As predicted, narrative prose proved to be easier for the Japanese writers than the expository prose. Expository prose also required more elaborate syntactic embedding.

Fluency writing techniques such as the journal writing examined in this study provide valuable extracurricular writing practice for L2 students. Sentence combining, however, appears to be better suited to learners who have first developed ample skill in 'direct' writing, that is, writing without overt translation from L1 into basic sentential strings in the target language. Sentence combining would best serve the needs of EFL students if it is withheld until sufficient basic fluency in writing is achieved and perhaps, as Krashen (1985) suggests, reading skills are developed.[6]

Notes

1. The university assigns students to sections according to standard kana order.
2. Mean 153 pages, standard deivation 29.4 pages, range 242-95 pages.
3. The reformulation section was as close to a "control group" as could be possible given the circumstances and the expectations of the students.
4. A "terminal unit" (T-unit) is defined as one main clause plus any subordinate clause or nonclausal structure attached to or embedded in a main clause.
5. The transfer of skills from such fluency based instruction to more controlled forms of writing was not directly investigated in this study. An interesting research question remains regarding how second language writers employ the writing strategies gained through journal practice when faced with more controlled forms of expository prose.
6. This latter observation is now under examination in a follow up study which compares a fluency based approach emphasizing production with a reading based comprehension approach as advocated by Krashen.

References

Allwright, Richard. 1984. Don't correct. Reformulate! Paper delivered at TESOL 84, Houston, Texas.

Azabdaftari, B. 1981. A quantitative vs. a qualitative approach to the teaching of English composition. *English Language Teaching*, 35, 411-415.

Cohen, Andrew. 1984. Reformulating compositions. *TESOL Newsletter*, 26(6):1-5.

Cooper, T., G. Morain and T. Kalivoda. 1978. Developing syntactic fluency of foreign language students through sentence combining practice and a manual of instructional materials for sentence combining practice. ERIC, Document Reproduction Service No. ED 166 991.

Crowhurst, Marion. 1983a. Sentence combining: Maintaining realistic expectations. Manuscript. University of British Columbia.

________. 1983b. Syntactic complexity and writing quality: A review. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 8, 1-16.

Esch, Robert, M. 1975. Writing as a liberating activity: the journal in the sophomore survey course. Paper presented at the 26th annual meeting of the Conference on College Composition and Communication St. Louis, Missouri March 13-15, 1975.

Eskey, D.E. 1983. Meanwhile, back in the real world.... Accuracy and fluency in second language teaching (in The Forum). *TESOL Quarterly*, 17, 315-323.

Fuller, Toby E. 1978. Journal writing across the curriculum. Paper presented at the 29th annual meeting of Conference on College Composition and Communication Denver, Colorado, March 30th 1978.

Hinds, John 1984. Japanese and English contrastive rhetoric in R. Kaplan, et. al. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, Rowley, Mass Newbury House.

Hollowell, John and L.G. Nelson. 1982. We should abolish the use of journals in English classes. *English Journal*, 71,(1), 14-17.

Hull, Glynda, A. 1981. Effects of self-management strategies of journal writing by college freshmen. *Research in the teaching of English*, 15(2), 135-148.

Hunting, R. 1967. Recent studies of writing frequency. *Research in the teaching of English* 1, 29-40.

Jacobs, et al. 1981. *Testing ESL composition: A practical approach*. Rowley, Mass. Newbury House.

Kirchotter, Richard. 1974. Journal writing as a means and an end.

Paper presented at the 25th annual meeting of the Conference on College Composition and Communication Anaheim, Calif. April 4-6 1974.

Koch, Carl J. 1975. Small groups in the composition class: a case study of developing linguistic security and written fluency. Unpublished dissertation University of Michigan.

Ney, James W. and M. Fillerup. 1980. The effects of sentence combining on the writing of ESL students at the university level. ERIC document no. ED 193 961.

Perkins, Kyle and Konneker, Beverly, H. 1982. Testing the effectivenes of sentence combining in ESL. *RELC Journal* 13, 251-61.

Perkins, Kyle and Konneker, Beverly, H. 1982. Testing the effectivenes of sentence combining in ESL. *RELC Journal* 13, 251-61.

Perkins, Kyle and Hill, Beverely G. 1982. Testing the effectiveness of sentence combining in ESL. Unpublished manuscript. Southern Illinois University.

Raimes, Ann. 1985. What unskilled ESL students do as they write. A classroom study of composing. *TESOL Quarterly*, 19, 229-258.

Robb, T., S. Ross and I. Shortreed 1986. Salience of feedback on error and its effect on EFL writing quality. *TESOL Quarterly* 20, 83-95.

Scheuermann, Mona. 1977. The use of 'free writing' in adult composition classes. *English Quarterly*, 10(3), 71-75.

Shortreed, Ian, M. 1983. Sentence combining and the teaching of writing in the ESL classroom: Theory, research and practice *TEAL Occasional Papers No. 7*. Vancouver: Teachers of English as an Additional Language.

Spack, Ruth and Sadow, Catherine. 1983. Student-teacher working journals in ESL freshman composition. *TESOL Quarterly*, 17, 575-593

Spack, Ruth. 1984. Invention strategies and the ESL college composition student. *TESOL Quarterly* 18, 649-670.

Sommers, Nancy. 1980. Revision strategies of student writers and experienced adult writers *College Composition and Communication* V31 378-388.

Staton, J. R. Shuy and J. Kreft. 1982. Analysis of dialogue journal writing as a communicative event. Vol. 1. *Final Report to the National Institute of Education* Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Williams, R.E. 1978. The effects of intensive practice in sentence-combining techniques on the syntactic fluency and overall writing quality of Japanese students learning English as a second language. M.A. Thesis, Clemson University.

Zamel, Vivian. 1980. Reevaluating sentence combining practice *TESOL Quarterly*, 14, 81-91.

Zamel, Vivian. 1982. Writing: The process of discovering meaning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 16, 195-209.

Zamel, Vivian. 1983. The composing process of advanced ESL students. Six case studies. *TESOL Quarterly*, 17, 165-188.

Appendix

Analysis of Covariance Tables

Criterion: **Ratio of error-free T-units to total T-units**

Test: midterm
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	> 1000	50	.00001
sentence combining	1	0.0001	.002	.918
method	2	0.0445	2.35	.099
interaction	2	.0065	.343	.715
	82	.0189		

Test: final
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	>1000	>50	.00001
sentence combining	1	.0026	.173	.680
method	2	.0203	1.34	.264
interaction	2	.0065	.343	.165
	78	.0151		

Test: midterm
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	> 1000	>50	.00001
sentence combining	1	.0170	.992	.323
method	2	0.373	2.17	.118
interaction	2	.0065	.343	.596
	83	.0172		

Test: final
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	>1000	50	.00001
sentence combining	1	.0042	.238	.632
method	2	.0478	2.71	.070
interaction	2	.0238	1.35	.263
	83			

Criterion: **Ratio of error-free T-units to total T-units**

Test: midterm
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	82.80	4.85	0.28
sentence combining	1	4.16	.244	.628
method	2	8.71	.511	.607
interaction	2	9.12	.535	.593
	82			

Test: final
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	149.29	8.76	.004
sentence combining	1	8.36	.491	.492
method	2	29.82	1.75	.178
interaction	2	34.19	2.00	.139
	78			

Test: midterm
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	172.11	5.60	.019
sentence combining	1	16.05	.523	.478
method	2	9.21	.300	.745
interaction	2	7.54	.246	.784
	83			

Test: final
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	316.34	5.27	.022
sentence combining	1	7.64	.128	.720
method	2	57.57	.960	.389
interaction	2	73.92	1.23	.296
	83			

Criterion: **Extra clauses in T-units**

Test: midterm
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	365.26	20.29	.0001
sentence combining	1	5.65	0.31	.583
method	2	19.98	1.11	.334
interaction	2	7.80	0.43	.655
	82			

Test: final
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	234.83	14.21	.0001
sentence combining	1	10.53	0.63	.432
method	2	16.08	0.97	.384
interaction	2	14.59	0.88	.420
	78			

Test: midterm
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	38.24	3.26	.070
sentence combining	1	10.46	0.89	.349
method	2	16.67	1.42	.245
interaction	2	17.85	1.52	.221
	83			

Test: final
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	42.41	2.73	.097
sentence combining	1	3.87	0.25	.624
method	2	154.32	9.95	.0003
interaction	2	9.61	0.62	.545
	83			

Syntactic Complexity

Criterion: **Total error-free clauses**

Test: midterm
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	4.33	1.99	.157
sentence combining	1	0.83	0.38	.543
method	2	7.22	3.33	.039
interaction	2	6.49	2.99	.054
	83			

Test: final
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	13.11	2.17	.140
sentence combining	1	1.30	0.21	.648
method	2	2.49	0.41	.389
interaction	2	10.55	1.74	.178
	83			

Test: midterm
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	14.30	4.08	.044
sentence combining	1	1.31	0.37	.550
method	2	0.06	0.01	.971
interaction	2	1.89	0.53	.592
	82			

Test: final
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	14.89	6.75	.010
sentence combining	1	0.20	0.09	.754
method	2	4.69	2.12	.123
interaction	2	3.13	1.42	.246
	78			

Fluency

Criterion: **Total T-Units**

Test: midterm
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	977.58	49.87	.00001
sentence combining	1	2.02	0.10	.744
method	2	5.81	0.29	.748
interaction	2	15.06	0.76	.471
	82			

Test: final
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	768.73	15.16	.0004
sentence combining	1	1.18	0.02	.851
method	2	193.44	3.81	.025
interaction	2	16.58	0.32	.726
	78			

Test: midterm
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	398.9	8.78	.0042
sentence combining	1	6.58	0.14	.704
method	2	453.41	9.99	.0003
interaction	2	60.50	1.33	.268
	83			

Test: final
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	649.04	9.30	.0034
sentence combining	1	90.21	1.29	.257
method	2	733.71	10.51	.0002
interaction	2	21.73	0.31	.737
	83			

Criterion: **Total Words**

Test: midterm
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	70965.7	64.38	.00001
sentence combining	1	1396.1	1.26	.262
method	2	2296.8	2.08	.128
interaction	2	1122.5	1.01	.367
	82			

Test: final
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	14360.70	4.97	.026
sentence combining	1	3451.15	1.19	.277
method	2	18137.41	6.28	.003
interaction	2	1776.02	.61	.548
	78			

Test: midterm
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	6564.12	3.19	.073
sentence combining	1	1408.83	.68	.414
method	2	34176.31	16.64	.001
interaction	2	530.88	.25	.775
	83			

Test: final
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	23792.0	10.35	.002
sentence combining	1	1384.80	.60	.446
method	2	45624.11	19.84	.0001
interaction	2	493.72	.21	.808
	83			

Criterion: **Profile Total**

Test: midterm
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	12.30	.119	.728
sentence combining	1	55.62	.539	.471
method	2	320.09	3.011	.049
interaction	2	37.21	.361	.703
	78			

Test: final
Mode: expository

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	103.24	2.62	.105
sentence combining	1	151.36	3.85	.050
method	2	5.37	.13	.868
interaction	2	46.25	1.17	.313
	75			

Test: midterm
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	283.57	7.44	.007
sentence combining	1	124.02	3.25	.071
method	2	38.71	1.01	.367
interaction	2	3.21	.08	.911
	83			

Test: final
Mode: narrative

Effects	degrees of freedom	mean squares	F-ratio	P-level
covariate	1	47.83	1.10	.296
sentence combining	1	69.85	1.61	.204
method	2	74.40	1.72	.183
interaction	2	6.57	.15	.856
	83			

Context and Meaning of the English Simple Tenses: A Discourse-Based Perspective

Martha C. Pennington
Univeristy of Hawaii at Manoa
USA

Abstract

The English simple tenses (present and past) are examined in the context of pedagogical assumptions usually made about their meaning, use and instruction. It is found that the several meanings ascribed to these tenses are essentially inaccurate. Each tense gains much of its associated meaning from context, and the central sense of each is a kind of modal, rather than temporal or aspectual, meaning, representing subjective interpretations of events and situations. Ways of depicting these tenses in visual displays are proposed and implications for teaching explored.

Introduction

The ESOL practitioner must have a knowledge of the English tenses and how they are to be presented, whether explicitly in a grammatically based syllabus or implicitly in a functionally or communicatively based course. Hence, ESOL teachers, curriculum planners and materials developers can all benefit from attention to findings about the simple tenses,[1] present and past, growing, in particular, out of discourse analysis. This information is also of value to researchers investigating the development of tense usage and temporal marking in second language learners (cf., Dittmar, 1981; Kumpf, 1984; Meisel, 1987; Sato, 1986; von Stutterheim and Klein, 1987).

The analysis below offers a unified account of the simple tenses, stressing the role of context in determining the choice and semantic interpretation of the tenses in specific cases. Following Wallace (1982), it is concluded that the meaning of the simple tenses is essentially modal rather than temporal. According to this analysis, the simple tenses represent not objective descriptions of temporal relationships, but the speaker's subjective relationships with and perspectives on events and situations. The choice of verb form therefore involves the speaker's interpretation (value judgements, opinions) of these events and situations. The analysis is presented in the context of assumptions which have traditionally been made in second language theory and practice about the meaning and use of the tenses. This presentation is followed by a discussion of its implications for language analysis and instruction.

My treatment of the simple present tense differs from that of other practitioners in ESOL, though it shares features with linguistic treatments of tense by Twaddel (1960), Joos (1964), Langacker (1978) and Comrie (1985), and of tense in the context of other features of language by Fillmore (1971, 1974) and Brown and Levinson (1978). The general thrust of my analysis of the past tense is similar to that presented in Knowles (1979) and Riddle (1986). The analysis presented here, like that of Knowles and unlike that of Riddle, easily incorporates the counterfactual or hypothetical and other uses of the past tense which were excluded from her analysis, thus emphasizing that this tense need not be seen as essentially temporal in nature. The analysis which I propose is more general than that of Riddle or others who have assumed temporal meanings for the past tense. Moreoever, this analysis makes it possible to give a unified account of the present and past tense in English which is relevant to discourse contexts and consistent with analyses of tenses in other languages. Finally, the treatment of the tenses proposed here suggests new possibilities for analyzing the tenses in research and for representing and teaching these tenses in English. Specific suggestions are offered for teaching and depicting the tenses using visual cues to meaning and discourse structure.

The Present Tense

The meaning of the simple tenses is said to vary — from "specific time" in the present or past, to meanings such as "repetition", "habit", "generality" or "completion" (see below). However, these are not so much the meanings of the simple tenses themselves as the meanings which they gain in particular contexts. It is only the tense plus the context which can be said to express a certain temporal or aspectual meaning such as repetition, habit, or generality. The tenses themselves do not carry such specific meanings. If they did, then context would not be necessary for interpreting the time reference of a verb. To put this point another way, if the same verb in the same tense can appear in different contexts with regular differences in meaning associated with regular differences in context, then the differences in meaning can be attributed to the differences in context.

It would therefore seem misguided to view tenses as "polysemic" and to attribute two or more different meanings to a given tense, if those meanings actually derive from different environments. The alternative view (which is that taken here) is that each tense has only one general meaning which becomes more specific in the environment of particular verbs, adverbs, and other linguistic and situational context.

The simple present tense is often taught as having a central meaning of "habitual aspect". At the same time, the simple present tense is generally taught as having a variety of other possible meanings, or time references. Azar (1981), for example, gives the following account:

> The simple present says that something was true in the past, it is true in the present, and will be true in the future. It is used for *general statements of fact*.
>
> The simple present is used to express *habitual or everyday activity*.
>
> Certain verbs are not used in the progressive tenses.... With these verbs, the simple present may indicate a situation that exists right now, at the moment of speaking. (p. 81)
>
> A future tense is *not* used in a time clause. The meaning of the clause is future, but the simple present tense is used. (p. 100)

In a recently published pedagogic grammar, Werner (1985) gives a brief description of the simple present tense as follows:

> *Simple Present* — Describes habits or routines, gives facts, or expresses opinions. It is often used for unspecified time. (p. 19)
>
> *Present Tenses Used to Indicate Future Time* — Both the present continuous and the simple present tenses may be used to describe future actions or situations. (p. 20)

The following examples are a representative sample of the range of possible contexts of the present tenses:

Future (1) (a) When you come, I will leave.
(b) They leave for Florida tonight.
(c) After Gail eats dinner, she's getting a haircut.

Past (2) Joe pitches a no-run game. It's a good night for him. (said by a television sports announcer in describing a baseball game played the night before)

Present (3) (a) Here they come.
(b) There they go.
(c) I see you.

Timeless Generality (4) (a) Gail likes men.
(b) Gail is a woman.
(c) Gail knows a lot about people.

Timeless Repetition (5) (a) Gail leaves for work at 7:00 every day.
(b) Gail visits her mother on Sundays.
(c) Gail washes her hair once a week.

From the examples above, it is clear that the present tense gains a great deal of its meaning from the particular verbs and other featuers of the environment in which it occurs. The present tense is by no means restricted to indicating present time; it is, temporally speaking, quite flexible. The flexibility of time reference should come as no surprise since in fact this tense has no marking of tense. The irregular marking of the third person singular by *–s* is best seen as a marker of person and number, rather than of tense, since there is no marker for the other persons. Excluding this exceptional marking of the third person singular, what is referred to as the present tense in English is basically the uninflected, pure form of the verb. What is labeled the present tense occurs in the same sorts of contexts as other tenses, e.g., between subject and object, and undergoes the same sorts of transformations as other tenses, e.g., extraction and preplacement of an auxiliary in questions and negatives. One is from this point of view justified in describing the present tense as a tense, though it is more conservatively described as a verb form unmarked for tense, aspect or mood.

Twaddell (1960) describes the lack of overt marking of the present tense as consistent with a meaning of "timelessness". Langacker (1978) describes this lack of overt marking as indicating the conceptually unmarked nature of the present tense. Hence, the simple present tense, when not limited by particularizing context, can be viewed as indicating unlimited or unmarked generality. The speaker always has the option, though, of using this tense in more specific contexts, e.g., to describe immediate sensations or sequences of particular past or future events. As the unmarked form of the verb, the simple present tense is the logical choice for describing feelings and perceptions which are present in the speaker's consciousness at the time of utterance. That is, it is the logical choice for describing situations which are of particular relevance to the "here-and-now" of the speaker's environment. Analogously, when the simple present tense is used to describe the chronological past or future, the speaker is describing them in a very immediate way, in a sense bringing the past or future into the present. In such uses of the present tense, the speaker brings events from other times into the immediate frame of reference, including them as part of the present reality of the speaker and the hearer. As pointed out by Brown and Levinson (1978), shifting to the "vivid" present tense is a way to show deference and positive regard towards the hearer, "making a good story" which "pulls [the hearer] right into the middle of the events being discussed, metaphorically at any rate, thereby increasing their intrinsic interest...." (p. 111).

The basic meaning of the simple present tense is then "unmarked within the speaker's frame of reference". Hence, the simple present tense does not have any of the meanings which have been ascribed to it in the

ESOL literature. In particular, it does not have the meaning "habitual", which has most often been mentioned as its central meaning. What constitutes habitual action is determined completely by experience, and not at all by language — especially not by the tense of the verb. Smoking cigarettes or drinking coffee or getting up at 7.30 may, or may just as well not, be habitual. It just so happens that we know that such activities may be repetitive or habit-forming, so that we can easily associate a habitual meaning with the following combinations of lexical items:

(6) (a) smoke + cigarettes.
(b) drink + coffee.
(c) get up + at 7:30.

Accordingly, sentences such as the following can in fact describe habitual actions:

(7) (a) Ann smokes cigarettes.
(b) Ann drinks coffee.
(c) Ann gets up at 7:30.

However, it is only what we know about these actions, along with the absence of any contextual features tying them to a particular place and time, that makes the sentences of (7) habitual. And certainly the present tense is not responsible for the habitual interpretation since sentences in other tenses may also express what can be viewed as habitual states of affairs:

(8) (a) Ann will be smoking cigarettes for the rest of her life.
(b) Ann has been drinking coffee for ten years.
(c) Ann always got up at 7:30 in those days.

As these examples and the ones in (1)-(5) above show, certain meanings attributed to a particular tense may not be intrinsic to that tense but rather are the result of combining the intrinsic semantic properties of the tense with the semantic properties of lexical and other contextual features.

The Past Tense

As Riddle (1986) notes:

> Even very advanced students often use the past tense inconsistently.... A key source of the difficulty may be that the past tense is generally taught as having a completive sense, while a more general meaning and discourse conditions on its use go unrecognized.... Specifically, it is argued here that the past tense simply means 'true before speech time' and that completion is not part of its denotative meaning, although it is an implication often associated with the past tense in many contexts (p. 267).

Several examples of the type of explanation offered for the meaning of the simple past tense in ESOL grammar books confirm Riddle's suggestion about how this tense is taught. Praninskas (1975), for instance, states: "*Simple past* expresses a one-time completed past event" (p. 110). According to Frank (1972): "The past tense indicates *definite time terminating in the past*, whether a time word is given or not" (p. 73). Even the more recent, student-oriented grammar texts carry on this tradition of describing the past tense in "completive" terms. Azar (1981), for example, writes: "The simple past indicates that an activity or situation began and ended at a *particular time in the past*" (p. 86). Werner (1985) gives the following brief account: "Simple Past — Describes an action or situation completed in the past" (p. 18).

These descriptions of the meaning of the past tense are inaccurate on several counts. First of all, the specific type of meaning associated with a use of the past tense depends on the predicate context in which it occurs. For example, (9a) and (9c) are more "completive" than (9b) and (9d). (9a) and (9c) each describe a single event completed at a certain time, whereas (9b) and (9d) describe activities engaged in by the subject at some time.[2]

(9) (a) Mildred reached the summit ahead of the others.
(b) Mildred did a lot of mountain climbing in her day.
(c) Mildred ate an apple last night.
(d) Mildred ate apples last night.

Secondly, they do not account for the fact that the past tense is also used to describe situations which are non-past, such as counterfactual conditionals. In some ESOL grammar books, the past tense is taught as indicating "completion" or "past time", and a distinction is made between a "specific" past time meaning and a "general" ("durative" or "repetitive") past time meaning analogous in meaning to the "used to" past. In general, the counterfactual or hypothetical uses are simply "tacked on" to general descriptions of the uses of the past tense or taught entirely separately from the uses indicating "past completion". Frank (1972), for example, says:

> The past tense may refer to:
> 1. *One* event completed in the past:
>   *I saw him last night.*
>   *They left two hours ago.*
> 2. *Repeated* events completed in the past and no longer happening:
>   *Last year it rained frequently in this area.*

(custom) *When I was young, I went swimming every day.*

3. *Duration* of an event completed in the past:
He lived in New York for thirty years and then he decided to return to France.
In Columbus' day, people believed that the earth was flat.

The past form used as a subjunctive in *if* or *as if* clauses, and in *that* clauses after the verb *wish*, represents *present* time:

If he studied harder now, he would get better grades.
She wishes she were rich instead of beautiful.

(p. 73)

It is easy to show that the simple past tense — like all other tenses — gains its proper meaning, including its time reference, from context. Consider the following example:

(10) Susan left work at 5:00.

One's first impression of this sentence might be that it is an unambiguous statement of one specific event in the past. Indeed, it would be, in the discussion of any of the topics in (11):

(11) (a) what Susan did at 5:00 today (or yesterday, etc.)
(b) when Susan left work today (or yesterday, etc.)
(c) where Susan is now

In each case, the context of the conversation in (11) would make the time reference of (10) specific.

It is important to realize that every sentence, whether spoken or written, occurs in a larger situational and linguistic context. Thus a sentence such as (10) does not contain all the information required for its interpretation. Sentence (10) in fact has several possible interpretations besides referring to a specific event in the past, i.e., it occurs in contexts besides those of (11). The sentences of (12) below represent a range of examples of different types of context which could be present in a variety of forms, linguistic and non-linguistic. (12a), for instance, represents contexts such as those in (11) above; it is a kind of shorthand for all such contexts.

(12) (a) Last night, *Susan left work at 5:00.*
(b) For two months, *Susan left work at 5:00.*
(c) Last year, *Susan left work at 5:00.*
(d) When she worked here, *Susan left work at 5:00.*

(e) When she was alive, *Susan left work at 5:00.*
(f) Susan might not leave work at 5:00 today. If *Susan left work at 5:00* today, I could ride home with her.
(g) Susan does not leave work at 5:00. If *Susan left work at 5:00*, I would ride home with her every day.
(h) Susan used to leave work at 5:00 sometimes. If *Susan left work at 5:00*, I always rode home with her.

(12a) describes one particular event in the past; as we move from (12a) to (12e), we move from the particular to the general. (12b) is more general than (12a), (12c) is more general that (12b). (12d) is intended as more general than (12c) — assuming that Susan worked "here" longer than one year, and (12e) is intended as more general than (12d) — assuming that Susan was alive longer than she worked "here". From these examples it is clear that not only the fact of generality or specificity, but also the degree of generality or specificity, depends on the context. Hence, it is inaccurate to say that the past tense has the two meanings "specific past time" and "general past time", as some ESOL texts state. As (12f) and (12g) indicate, the past tense can occur in sentences which do not express past time of any kind. In (12f), the time reference is future, and there is an element of uncertainty in the meaning. In (12g), the time reference is general and non-past, and there is an element of unreality in the meaning, i.e., the dependent clause is contrary to fact. As in (12a)-(e), the time reference and the generality or specificity in (12f) and (12g) of Susan's leaving work at 5:00 depends wholly on context.

Notice that it is the speaker's knowledge about Susan's actions and other contextual elements — e.g., *today* in (12f) and *every day* in (12g) — which make (12f) unlikely and (12g) unreal. It is not merely the presence of *if*, in combination with the past tense, which signals unlikelihood or unreality. The interpretation of *if*, like the interpretation of every linguistic element, depends on the context. In (12h) there is no sense of unlikelihood or unreality; rather, *if* must be interpreted as meaning "whenever", so that (12h) refers to general (or repetitive) past time.

A broad meaning, common to all of these cases, for the past tense is "distance from the speaker's world" or "distance from the present reality". One way of creating distance from the present reality is to talk about the past, a previous reality. Another way is to hypothesize about the future in the present, and another is to hypothesize about the oppcsite of what is true at present.

According to Riddle's analysis:

> the speaker's point of view and purpose in communicating play a crucial role in the choice between the past and present tenses. A situation whose time frame extends from the past to the present may be described in the past rather than the present or present perfect tenses if the purpose is to present information or ask a question from a past point of view (p. 269).

There are two senses in which speakers may have a "past point of view":

> 1. Past association: The fact or nature of a person's association with a particular situation in the past is more relevant to the purpose in speaking than the objective current existence of that situation.... In this case, the past tense functions as an indicator of subjective attitude.
> 2. Background information: Although the information to be presented is about a situation subjectively viewable as existing in either the present or the past (as above), this is considered to be background to other information whose present existence is to be emphasized. Here the past tense functions as a discourse-organizing device which backgrounds information (pp. 269–270).

Riddle provides a number of examples of how point of view and communicative purpose determine the choice of a past tense rather than a present tense form. Such features of the speaker's attitude and intentions — which have traditionally been subsumed under the grammatical category of "mood" rather than "tense" or "aspect" — are in fact even more important to the choice of a past or present tense form than has generally been assumed. To see that this is true, consider for a moment the cases in which the present tense substitutes for the past tense, e.g., in "blow-by-blow" accounts such as (13), or in the conversational historical present as in (14):

(13) Navratilova *hits* a low ground stroke, Evert Lloyd *runs up* and *returns* it low over the net to Martina's backhand, and *it's* a slam to Evert Lloyd's forehand; but, no, she *misses* it by a mile....

(14) Well, we *were* getting dressed to go out one night and I *was*, we *were* leaving, just walking out the door and the baby *was* in bed, and all of a sudden the doorbell *rings* and Larry *says*, "There*'s* somebody here for you", and I *walk* in the living room and she*'s* there with both kids.

(Wolfson, 1979, p. 174)

In such cases, the use of the present tense is chosen to make the description of events more vivid, to bring them into the frame of reference of current relevance, the "here-and-now" of the speaker. Conversely, the past tense can be used in speaking English to emphasize not only past association, rather than present relevance, but also in cases in which the speaker elects to create a kind of "psychological distance" from the immediate situation, that is, to avoid "vividness" or immediacy. In one type of example, the use of the past tense covers up embarrassment or discomfort in a certain type of social situation, as when a nervous teenager asks for a date in the following way, using the past tense:

(15) I just thought, I mean, I hoped, er, I had this idea that — maybe you'd like to go out with me?

A similar instance (cf., Leech, 1971; Waugh, 1975; Wallace, 1982; Comrie, 1985) is the "polite" or "indirect" use of the past tense:

> In English, for example, to say "Did you want me?" with reference to a present desire is more tentative and thus more polite than to say abruptly "Do you want me?". Compare also in this regard the widespread modern western Indo-European tendency to use the conditional (etymologically a past tense) for present politeness: *I would like...*, French *je voudrais...*, German *ich hätte gerne...*, Spanish *querrá...*, Dutch *ik zou graag...*, and so forth (Wallace, 1982, pp. 202-203).

Brown and Levinson (1978) describe this function of the past tense as follows:

> As the tense is switched from present into past, the speaker moves *as if* into the future, so he distances himself from the here and now. Hence we get negatively polite [speech acts] with increasingly remote past tenses, for requests:
>
> (396) I $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{have been}\\ \text{was}\end{matrix}\right\}$ wondering whether you could do me a little favour.
>
> and for questions:
>
> (397) I was kind of interested in knowing if ...
>
> Note that the present relevance of the present perfect form *have been* renders (396) less distant than the same sentence with *was*, and hence less negatively polite. Even more remote and therefore more polite are forms like:
>
> (398) I $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{wondered whether}\\ \text{felt}\\ \text{hoped}\\ \text{thought}\end{matrix}\right\}$ I might ask you ...
>
> and still one more degree of remoteness can be gained byuse of the

unstressed auxiliary *did*, as in:

(399) I did wonder whether you might ... (pp. 209–210)

Knowles (1979, p. 22) offers the example, *Did you want anything else, sir?* as typically occurring in an elegant restaurant. "This kind of polite, formal language is often heard in good department stores and other places where service is considered important" (Knowles, p. 23).

Another kind of example, that of the counterfactual or hypothetical use of the past tense, as in (12f) and (12g) above, demonstrates that the past tense can indicate non-immediacy in yet another sense — that of speculation or hypothesizing. Riddle excludes this type of example as "too abstract to be suitable for pedagogical purposes and ... best covered separately" (p. 267, n. 1). However, if this type of example is excluded from the analysis, an important generalization is missed which may be of value to students and which may in fact help the teacher to provide a unified presentation of the uses of the past and present tenses in English. Moreoever, it is simply incorrect to exclude counterfactuals as qualitatively different from other uses of the past tense. In fact, "temporal past" and "counterfactual" meaning are on a continuum, as can be seen in comparing the response of the second speaker (S2) to the first speaker (S1) in examples such as (16)(a)–(e) below, where inferences concerning the truth or possibility of the underlined proposition are shown in square brackets for each context.

(16) (a) S1: Patricia said that the accountant made an error.
S2: I know that *Patricia said that*.
[I am sure that Patricia said that (the accountant made an error).]
(b) S1: Patricia said that the accountant made an error.
S2: If *Patricia said that*, I am inclined to believe her.
[I believe you that Patricia said that (the accountant made an error).]
(c) S1: I'm not sure whether or not the rain stopped yet.
S2: Well, if *it stopped*, then it's time to go home.
[I do not know whether or not the rain stopped.]
(d) S1: I'm afraid it might rain all day.
S2: If *it did*, then it would be the first

time in ten years.
[It is possible that it might rain, but it is unlikely in my estimation.]

(e) S1: I'll give you a loan to cover your rent this month.
S2: If *I had a decent job*, I could pay my own rent.
[I do not have a decent job.]

In moving from (a) to (e), we move from cases of certainty on the part of the second speaker about the truth of the proposition, through increasing degrees of uncertainty about its truth, to a pure counterfactual use of the past tense.

From the examples above, it can be seen that the use of the past tense to denote "true before speech time" is but a specific case, albeit a common one, of a more general meaning or function of the past tense whereby the speaker signals distance from the present reality or the immediate frame of reference. Thus, the one-dimensional concept of the past tense as indicating temporal distance from the speaker's point of reference is replaced by a multidimensional concept in which the distance from the speaker's point of reference may be temporal, psychological, hypothetical, or evaluative, in the sense of showing the speaker's attitude regarding the relevance or pertinence of information to that reference point. The present tense, in contrast, indicates that the speaker views whatever is described by means of that tense as non-distant temporally, psychologically or actually. Indeed, it is possible that the temporal use of the simple past tense is not the most central use of that tense,[3] and that a type of modal meaning involving speaker judgments and perceptions is more basic to both that tense and to the simple present, in English as well as in a number of other Indo-European languages such as Dutch, German, Russian, French and Spanish. As Wallace (1982), following work by a number of other linguists (e.g., Joos, 1964; Waugh, 1975; Lyons, 1977: Langacker, 1978, 1982), concludes:

> No reasonable person would deny that time is an important semantic property of the categories of tense. The moot point is whether or not it is a focal, central, nuclear property. One might in fact argue that the distinction between "present" and "past" "tense" in the languages mentioned is not so much temporal as it is modal: immediate-direct-certain "present" mode versus remote-indirect-hesitant "past" mode (p. 203).

In fact, the second function of the past tense cited by Riddle, that of backgrounding situations, may be more central to its use — and more essential for characterizing and understanding its use — than its temporal properties. Kumpf (1984) describes the distinction between grammatical foreground and background as follows:

> The foreground, then, is the event line, and the background consists of clauses which set the scene, make digressions, change the normal sequence of events, or give evaluative remarks. For virtually any language which has been described in this regard, the background is more elaborate in terms of grammatical devices than the foreground. The background marking load is greater — in whatever way the language does that — because there is more to explain, in terms of time relationships. Contrast the event line, which stays in the same time frame for the entire episode or story (p. 133).

Besides the possibility of explicit backgrounding by means of the past tense, that tense is in a sense "naturally" backgrounded as compared to the present tense, which is the speaker's conceptual anchor point or unmarked reference point (Langacker, 1978).[4] The present tense frame of reference is therefore automatically "foregrounded", that is, it serves as the psychological or temporal focus, in a discourse context in which it occurs in a main clause. The distinction between foreground and background appears to be a pervasive one in grammar, differentiating concrete from mass nouns, perfect from imperfect tenses, and pervading a host of other grammatical and semantic distinctions (Wallace, 1982). Moreover, the distinction can be revealingly portrayed in visual form, for the purposes of coding data to show discourse structure or for helping students to visualise meaning or discourse organisation as will be seen in the next section.

The account presented here is a kind of "deictic" view of tense. According to Comrie (1985):

> ...[T]ense is grammaticalised expression of location in time (p. 9). A system which relates entities to a reference point is termed a deictic system, and we can therefore say that tense is deictic. (By contrast, aspect is non-deictic, since discussion of the internal consistency of a situation is quite independent of its relation to any other time point.) (p. 14).

The present treatment of tense as a form of deixis, however, goes beyond that of Comrie, whose account is primarily temporal, to incorporate non-temporal aspects of deixis, as in the work of Brown and Levinson (1978), based on studies by Fillmore (1971, 1974). According to Brown and Levinson:

> Deixis has to do with the ways in which sentences are anchored to certain aspects of their contexts of utterance, including the role of participants in the speech event and their spatio-temporal and social location.... It seems a safe hypothesis that the normal unmarked deictic centre is the one where the speaker is the central person, the

> time of speaking (or 'coding time') is the central time, and the place where the speaker is at coding time is the central place.... That is to say, temporal and spatial descriptions are here understood relative to the time and place of speaking, the central reference point. These central locations provide the unmarked anchorage point, from which all other usages are departures which take their meaning by reference to this basic anchorage point. However, the fact is that many utterances have deictic centrings that are not this one. We call such departures 'point-of-view operations'.... (p. 123).

In sum, the meaning differences between the simple present and simple past tenses reduce essentially to differences in perspective on the part of the speaker as to the relevance or immediacy of situations. The reference of speaker perspective to situation in this account of the meaning differences in English simple tenses implies that such meaning differences must be analysed at the level of discourses and not that of individual utterances. It also implies that part of what a non-native speaker must learn to become a competent speaker of a second language involves the evaluation of situations in terms of perspective: "Knowing a language includes knowing what perspectives[5] are available for talking about different types of situations" (Smith, 1983, p. 479).

Practical Applications

A general conclusion arising from the analysis presented above is that the tenses must be taught in discourse contexts, through paragraph and longer readings and through extended conversational contexts. Two underlying principles can be employed for teaching the usage of the simple tenses: *contrast*, to show the differences among forms and functions, and *clustering* to show how forms can be clustered together under similar uses or contexts. Under the first principle, the present and past tenses should be illustrated together in one context, especially in contexts where the differences in point of view is easily illustrated, e.g., through pictures. Examples such as the following, which include simple present and simple past tenses, the latter (in contrast to the former) shown as occurring with both stative and non-stative verbs, would be easy to illustrate or to elicit through picture prompts showing "Before" and "After" scenes:

(17) Some workmen *came* to paint our house today. So when I *left* to go to school this morning, the house *was* white, but now *it's* blue.

(18) Mr. Salgado *changed* his hair color. It *was* white before, but now *it's* black.

It makes sense to teach such contexts very early, and before the contrast of present progressive and simple present tense is introduced.

There is a conceptual boundary separating the present and past tenses into two different "worlds" or "universes of discourse". Nothing can be in both the simple present and the simple past worlds simultaneously. This conceptual boundary can be represented by a solid vertical line as follows:

(21) WORLD OF "PAST" MEANING (Distant)	WORLD OF "PRESENT" MEANING (Non-Distant)

Carrying this metaphor a bit further, we can also illustrate the relationship between the present and present perfect tenses, and that between the past and past perfect tenses, as involving a weaker, or a different, sort of conceptual boundary, illustrated by the dashed vertical lines in the figures below:

(22) WORLD OF "PAST" MEANING (Distant)	WORLD OF "PRESENT" MEANING (Non-Distant)
If I had been born a man... I was not born a man	I have eaten I eat

The meaning of the perfect tenses thus involves the relationship between two particular frames of reference, or worlds.

Possibly the most concrete and practical way of using these visual representations of the distinctions among the tenses is to "diagram" or "chart" the contrast and development of tenses within a discourse. Example (14) from above, taken from natural conversation, and an example cited by Riddle (1986) have been analysed below:

(23) WORLD OF "PAST" MEANING (Distant)	WORLD OF "PRESENT" MEANING (Non-Distant)
Well, we *were* getting dressed to go out one night	
and I *was*, we *were* leaving, just walking out the door	
and the baby *was* in bed,	
	and all of a sudden the doorbell *rings*
	and Larry *says*, "There*'s* somebody here for you",
	and I *walk* in the living room
	and she*'s* there with both kids.

(Wolfson, 1979, p. 174)

In a narrative such as that shown in (23) above, in which the past tense alternates with the conversational historical present tense, the charting also serves to indicate episodic boundaries. The functions of different episodes may also be labeled on the chart (see Wolfson, 1979, 1982 for a discussion and for similar charting conventions), as shown in the following example:

(24) WORLD OF "PAST" MEANING (Distant)	WORLD OF "PRESENT" MEANING (Non-Distant)
In November 1859, Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species*, one of the greatest and most controversial works in the literature of science, *was* published in London.	
	The central idea in this book *is* the principle of natural selection.
In the sixth edition, which *appeared* in 1872	
and which Darwin *regarded* as the definitive one ...	
Darwin *wrote*:	
	This principle of preservation or the survival of the fittest, I *have called* Natural Selection

(Eigen & Winkler, 1981, pp. 53–54)

In discourses in which more than one tense occurs, this type of charting represents the relative level of backgrounding and foregrounding by the left-to-right dimension, the leftmost parts of the context being the most backgrounded (and the least foregrounded). Thus the use of the present perfect tense in figure (24) is shown as relatively more backgrounded than the present tense but relatively less backgrounded than the past tense. The styles of different types of written or spoken discourse in terms of tense usage can be graphically represented to students in this type of charting, which will give a clear indication of such features as main ideas (those not backgrounded) and subdiscourses (those stretches of unbroken text occurring on one side of a line). A tangent may be identifiable, perhaps, as a stretch of discourse occurring in a portion of the diagram in which very little, if any, other text is located.

For maximum contrast, students can be shown a present tense and a past tense version of the same sequence of actions in this framework, which may help them visualise the distinctions in appropriate contexts.

(25) WORLD OF "PAST" MEANING (Distant)	WORLD OF "PRESENT" MEANING (Non-Distant)
Preamble: Setting for Main Event I was getting ready for my boyfriend to come over last night,	
	Sequence of Events = Main Event when all of a sudden the phone rings. I pick it up and say hello. But there's no answer. I hang up. It rings again. The same thing happens three times in a row.
Resolution: Conclusion of Narrative So I called my boyfriend and told him we were going out.	

(26) WORLD OF "PAST" MEANING (Distant)	WORLD OF "PRESENT" MEANING (Non-Distant)
	Clara *enters*, stage left, and *walks* briskly over to Eunice, who *picks* up the gun and *throws* it across the room, knocking Clara unconscious.

For example, the present tense sequence of events below in (26) could be stage directions for a play. Students could then be asked to use these "stage directions" to write a report of what actually happened in that part of the play, as though they were a reporter viewing the scene from the audience. Their reported version would presumably be as shown in (27):

(27) WORLD OF "PAST" MEANING (Distant)	WORLD OF "PRESENT" MEANING (Non-Distant)
Clara *entered*, stage left, and *walked* briskly over to Eunice, who *picked* up the gun and *threw* it across the room, knocking Clara unconscious.	

Another way of indicating discourse structure is through color highlighting, e.g., on computer, to show tense shifts, backgrounding and foregrounding in different parts of a text.

Such charting or highlighting devices serve to illustrate graphically the tense structure of a text and how the tense structure of one text differs from another. This kind of visual display may be valuable for helping students to focus on important contrasts and to attend to certain relevant aspects of discourse structure. In addition, such devices may have utility in illustrating the results of discourse analyses carried out as research, or for characterizing the interplay of different tenses in the developing interlanguage of a sample of speakers or of one speaker over a period of time.

According to the clustering principle alluded to above, the temporal uses of the past tense would be taught in the context of modal verbs and hypothetical uses, both of which have similarly "distal" (Langacker, 1978) or "remote" (Knowles, 1979) meanings. From the point of view of function and meaning, this group of verb forms comprise a cluster of "non-present" meanings. Considering students for whom the native language does not mark distinctions of tense or for whom the native language marks temporal distinctions in ways which are significantly different from English usage, it is possible that such clustering will be meaningful in terms of the native pattern. To give just one example, in Turkish, the *mis* "aspectual marker" subsumes parts of the English categories of past time, reported speech, conjecture and uncertainty of the sort described by English modal verbs.

As another type of clustering, the present/past distinction can be taught in the context of other foregrounding/backgrounding devices, e.g., subordination and weak stress as backgrounding devices, front of sentence placement (*Here they come; there they go*) and emphatic/contrastive stress as foregrounding devices. Languages differ in the degree to which foregrounding/backgrounding or close/distant perspectives are codified in the verb system, as opposed to some other linguistic system — e.g., the system of nouns or adverbs. Clustering in terms of functional similarity can therefore help the student to see how pragmatic distinctions are realized in English by various aspects of its grammar and how this codification differs from the way in which those pragmatic distinctions are realized in the native language.

It is possible that foregrounding is a more difficult skill to master than backgrounding, especially as regards the past tense, which is customarily backgrounded. Two limited studies (Kumpf, 1984; Riddle, 1986) suggest that this is at least an interesting hypothesis to test. The use for temporal reference of contextual anchor points established in earlier parts of a discourse (cf. Long and Sato, 1984) and how the development of these discourse anchoring strategies relates to the development of backgrounding and foregrounding strategies would seem to be a fruitful area for investigation.

A general question to be examined is whether the grammaticalization of tense distinctions in interlanguage develops on a basis of the pragmatic distinction between background and foreground, or distant and non-distant perspective. Researchers might also wish to compare the developmental sequences for use of the variety of English devices for foregrounding and backgrounding, to discover to what extent they covary in the interlanguage of sample groups or individuals over time. It would be interesting, for example, to analyse whether any universal tendencies exist, e.g., for early learners to prefer a combination of discourse-initial stress and sentence-initial placement of topic, that is, for a foregrounding communicative strategy at the beginning of a discourse, or for the opposite, a backgrounding strategy beginning with weak stress and non-topical information. In this way, the analysis would become *multidimensional* in the sense of Long and Sato (1984).

Concluding Remarks

It might at first have seemed that a focus, advocated here, on the apparently idiosyncratic, subjective features of tense usage, on the details, the "exceptions" and the most general aspects of a tense in comparison to other forms of the language, both tenses and non-tenses, would not be a productive use of student time. However, such attention to subjective aspects, detail, hard to explain areas and general patterning of meaning and function of the simple tenses in the context of other related items of English might be just the data that learners need to really understand how those tenses are used and how they fit into the larger scheme of the language. We must beware of assuming that students cannot handle a certain amount of abstraction since it should be expected that most learners, particularly adults, are accustomed to the abstract nature of the world and of language, to the fact that grammatical forms can have many varied and non-transparent functions. We do our students a disservice, I think, when we simplify our presentation of the language to the point where the information which they are exposed to, in formal instruction or "natural" classroom approaches, is incorrect or oversimplified to the point of being entirely inadequate for understanding or producing most real human communication. Similarly, we handicap our research efforts when the framework for gathering and analysing data is not sufficiently rich for testing hypotheses about real human learning and communication. Wolfson (1982) reminds us:

> If native speaker usage is to be the model for second language learners, then we must know how native speakers use the features we wish to investigate, recognizing that discourse rules apply differently to different genres. While discourse analysis is undoubtedly of far greater value than simple sentence level analysis, it also requires a much more sophisticated approach toward research (p. 68).

With the above points as background, a few interrelated observations about ESL teaching and research can serve as concluding remarks:

(A). ESOL practitioners are, by and large, presenting students with the wrong meanings of the English tenses. Certain notions deserve special mention — e.g., that the "central" meaning of the past tense is "completion" or "specific past time" and that the "central" meaning of the present tense is "habitualness". These are not meanings of the tenses; they are the meanings of whole sentences or larger contexts, of different uses of the tenses in different environments. And there is no one "central" use of the tenses which should be presented to the exclusion of other uses.

(B). The ESOL instructor must be thorough in presenting the whole range of uses of a given tense, being careful not to exclude the uses of the simple present tense in past or future time contexts, nor of the simple past tense in present or hypothetical contexts. The instructor must seek to conceptually tie together all the uses of a given tense, explaining why and how, for example, past time can be represented by present tense forms. It is unrealistic to expect students to be able to use English tenses properly without having a grasp of the overall system: students cannot master the use of a single tense until they know when it is *not* appropriate to use it, which means until they know the unique place which that tense and its usage occupies in the tense system as a whole.

(C). ESOL practitioners are focusing too much on traditional categories of grammar, both form and meaning, and not enough on modal meaning. They are giving students the wrong system of English tenses. The English system is essentially modal, rather than temporal or aspectual, in that the choice of tense is determined as much by the perceptions and interpretations of situations by the speaker as by the time of occurrence relative to the time of utterance or the type of action described by the verb. As Knowles (1979) states:

> It is therefore unwise to structure explanations of predicate forms [i.e., tenses — MP] into time frameworks, for the simplicity that seems to appear is superficial at best and usually a distortion that eventually leads to confusion (p. 25).

The basic distinction between past and present tenses is one between "distant" and "non-distant" viewpoints. It is important for students to realize that the way they want to represent facts — e.g., as immediate or non-immediate in a given context — will determine the selection of tense as much as the chronological time of what is described.

(D). In general, more attention needs to be paid to situational variables in all aspects of ESOL practice. ESOL practitioners are focusing too much on individual items and sentences, rather than on the larger context of utterances, including both explicit and implicit assumptions, perceptions, preferences, values, etc. As a consequence, students are not being taught the types of analysis (for comprehension) and synthesis (for production) which are necessary for correctly interpreting and formulating utterances in English. It is hoped that the treatment offered above, in conjunction with some of the pedagogical suggestions, will be helpful in teaching students what to attend to in order to achieve a high level of competence as an English speaker.

(E) It is possible that the acquisition of tense involves gradually moving from the more concrete, immediate uses to the less concrete, less immediate uses. We can thus expect that students might master the uses of the present tense to indicate immediate sensations, desires and needs before mastering the unlimited sense of the present tense. Similarly, it is likely that the skills required to background in different contexts and to explicitly foreground information by means of tense choice or other discourse features develop only gradually and in certain identifiable ways. It would be of value to examine these developments in detail, both for the tenses individually and for the larger tense system as a whole — e.g., comparing present and past tense usage over time in the interlanguage of a variety of learners — to see if any complementary or contrasting patterns obtain. Perhaps the foregoing analysis will serve to elicit more specific hypotheses along these lines in the research presently underway on the development of the tenses in second language learners. Indeed, the presentation above may be able to add to the analysis of data already obtained and provide tools for continued work in the future on the development of tense in second language learners.

Notes

[1] The term "tense" is used throughout this paper to refer to a class of linguistic forms (morphemes) which have traditionally been called the "simple present" and the "simple past" tenses, even though the former is not in fact marked by any verbal inflection (see discussion of the present tense as "unmarked" below). According to this line of thought, there is no future tense in English and hence no way of indicating "pure" futurity. Instead, there are various forms which happen to indicate futurity, in various ways. *Be going* to expresses a planned action or a future event for which there is already some evidence (*It's going to rain*). *Be about to* indicates immediate readiness. *Will* expresses certainty on the part of the subject, and in general contexts (*Boys will be boys*) indicates general, rather than future, certainty. In more specific contexts, the subject's certainty functions as a promise (*I will be a doctor*) or a predication (*The plane will arrive at 5:00*). With definite future context, the present tenses can indicate an event which occurs in the future (*The plane arrives/is arriving at 5:00 tomorrow*).

[2] In one tradition, examples such as (9b) and (9d) are described as *iterative*, that is, as repeating a series of (completed) events. However, in the interpretation presented in the present article, which is based on Vendler (1967) and which it is felt will be more transparent to students, a distinction is made between *activities* — as in (9b) and (9d) — and *achievements* or *accomplishments* — as in (9a) and (9c). Vendler's analysis elucidates the fact that sentences such as (9a) and (9c) imply "completion" in any tense.

[3] On this point, I disagree with Comrie (1985) that "past time reference is the basic meaning of the past tense" (p. 20), whereas other meanings or uses such as those indicating politeness or counterfactual conditionals are secondary. In the treatment presented above, I believe that I (and Knowles, 1979, who groups together all uses of the past tense morpheme under the meaning of "remote") have met the following condition set up by Comrie for an alternative account of the past tense (and the present

tense) as having one meaning underlying all uses:

> In order to abandon the characterisation of the English past as indicating basically past time reference, it would be necessary to show that there is some alternative characterisation of its meaning from which past time reference, as well as politeness (and perhaps present counterfactuality) would all fall out automatically as special cases (p. 20).

[4] I have intentionally avoided the "figure/ground" terminology of Wallace (1982) and the use of "ground" in the sense of Langacker (1978), which is equivalent to my "anchor point" or "unmarked reference point", to avoid confusion. If it were not for this unfortunate clash of meanings, it might be useful to speak of both background and foreground as relative to ground.

[5] Smith's specific meaning of "perspective" and "viewpoint" is not exactly equivalent to my usage, as she is mainly concerned with describing the aspectual properties — what Comrie (1985) calls "the internal temporal countour[s]" (p. 40) — of situations viewed as either events or states, in a sense, a "finer" level of analysis than that undertaken in the present paper. However, I think it might be fruitful to explore the points of intersection between her work and what is presented here.

References

Azar, B.S. (1981). *Understanding and using English grammar*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1978). *Questions and politeness: Strategies in social interaction (pp. 56#289). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.*

Comrie, B. (1985). Tense. Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press.

Dittmar, N. (1981). On the verbal organization of L2 tense marking in an elicited translation task by Spanish immigrants in Germany. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, *3*, pp. 136–164.

Eigen, M., & Winkler, R. (1981). *Laws of the game: How the principles of nature govern chance* (R. & R. Kimber, Trans.) New York: Alfred A, Knopf.

Fillmore, C. J. (1971). Toward a theory of deixis. *Working Papers in Linguistics*, *3*(4). Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

Fillmore, C. J. (1974). Pragmatics and the description of discourse. *Berkeley studies in syntax and semantics*, *1*, pp. V.1–21. Institute of Human Learning, Berkeley: University of California.

Frank, M. (1972). *Modern English: A practical reference guide*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Joos, M. (1964). *The English verb: Form and meanings*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Knowles, P. L. (1979). Predicate markers: A new look at the English predicate system. *Cross Currents*, *6*(2), pp. 21-36.

Kumpf, L. (1984). Temporal systems and universality in interlanguage: A case study. In F.R. Eckman, L.H. Bell, & D. Nelson (Eds.), *Universals of second language acquisition* (pp. 132-143). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Langacker, R.W. (1978). The form and meaning of the English auxiliary. *Language*, *54*, pp. 853-882.

Langacker, R.W. (1982). Remarks on English aspect. In P.J. Hopper (Ed.), *Tense-Aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics* (pp. 265-304). Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Leech, G.N. (1971). *Meaning and the English verb*. London: Longman.

Long, M.H., & Sato, C.J. (1984). Methodological issues in interlanguage studies: an interactionist perspective. In A. Davies, C. Criper and A. Howatt (Eds.), *Interlanguage* (pp. 253-279). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Lyons, J. (1977). *Semantics*, Volumes I and II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meisel, J. (1987). Reference to past events and actions in the development of natural second language acquisition. In C. Pfaff (Ed.), *Cross-Linguistic Studies of Language Acquisition* (pp. 206-224). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Praninskas, J. (1975). *Rapid review of English grammar*, Second Edition. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Riddle, E. (1986). The meaning and discourse function of the past tense in English. *TESOL quarterly*, *20*, pp. 267-284.

Sato, C. (1986). Conversation and interlanguage development: Rethinking the connection. In R.R. Day (Ed.), *Talking to learn* (pp. 23-45). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Smith, C.S. (1983). A theory of aspectual choice. *Language*, *59*, pp. 479-501.

Twaddell, W.F. (1960). *The English verb auxiliaries*. Providence, RI: Brown University Press.

Vendler, Z. (1967). *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University.

Von Stutterheim, Cristina, and Klein, Wolfgang (1987). A concept-oriented approach to second language studies. In C. Pfaff (Ed.), *Cross-Linguistic Studies of Language Acquisition* (pp. 191-205). Rowley, Ma: Newbury House.

Wallace, S. (1982). Figure and ground: The interrelationships of linguistic categories. In P. J. Hopper (Ed.), *Tense-Aspect: Between semantics and pragmatics* (pp. 201-223). Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Waugh, L.R. (1975). A semantic analysis of the French tense system. *Orbis*, *24*, pp. 436-485.

Werner, P. K. (1985). *Mosaic I: A content-based grammar*. New York: Random House.

Wolfson, N. (1979). The conversational historical present alternation. *Language*, *55*, pp. 168-182.

Wolfson, N. (1982). On tense alternation and the need for analysis of native speaker usage in second language acquisition. *Language Learning*, *32*, pp. 53-68.

Self-Assessment of Foreign Language Skills: Implications for Teachers and Researchers

Patrick Blanche
AMVIC Institute of Foreign Language
Okayama, Japan

Abstract

Self-assessment accuracy is a condition of learner autonomy. If students can appraise their own performance accurately enough, they will not have to depend entirely on the opinions of teachers and at the same time they will be able to make teachers aware of their individual learning needs. The purpose of this article is (1) to summarize the literature on self-evaluation of foreign language skills and (2) to show what it could mean to teachers and researchers. The conclusions of several self-assessment studies are somewhat contradictory, but these differences seem to support Stephen D. Krashen's Monitor Model/theory. Therefore both teachers and researchers should keep in mind that foreign language learners' self-estimates may be influenced to a varying degree by the use of the Monitor.

Introduction

Students need to know what their abilities are, how much progress they are making and what they can (or cannot yet) do with the skills they have acquired. Without such knowledge, it would not be easy for them to learn efficiently.

From an educational standpoint, knowing to what extent students can appraise their own performance is also important. If they can do it accurately enough, they do not have to depend entirely on the opinion of teachers and at the same time they can make teachers aware of their individual learning needs.

Self-assessment accuracy is a condition of learner autonomy. In this respect, however, foreign language students may be at a disadvantage because they are not always able to compare themselves to native speakers. Moreover, the reliability of these students' judgements may be hampered by the fact that language learning is a complex process in which subjective factors such as affectivity and personality traits play a very important role.

The purpose of this article is twofold. First, it is to summarize the literature on self-evaluation of foreign language skills with regard to cases in which the estimates given by adult learners have been compared to teacher appraisals and/or to other, more objective measures of proficiency. Second, it is to ponder the implications of self-rating for foreign language teachers and researchers.*

Summing up the Literature

The information presented in this article was obtained through (a) an extensive search of the literature, (b) the examination of completed questionnaires about ongoing activities in the field, (c) research projects reports dealing with the theoretical and practical aspects of self-assessment and (d) a self-evaluation experiment conducted by the author at the U.S. Department of Defense Language Institute, Foreign Language Center (DLIFLC), in Monetary, California, during the first four months of 1985. The bulk of the information was collected at the administrative headquarters of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France, between March and June of 1984, before the DLIFLC experiment. An exploration of the ERIC File data base was carried out in the United States in 1985, which supplemented the EUDISED[1] search that had already been done in Europe.

The literature which the author reviewed was focussed on the lower levels of language learning. The oldest reports that came to his attention were published in 1976. The topic of self-assessment (variously termed 'self-rating", "self-appraisal", "self-control", etc...) has apparently just begun to expand as a distinct field of interest in language testing and evaluation. The Modern Languages Proejct of the Council of Europe, dedicated as it is to promoting student-centered, needs-oriented and motivation-based learning, seems to have played a crucial role in this development.

Research reports dealing with self-evaluations of foreign language skills were produced in different parts of the world. Most of them involved high-school or university undergraduate students and, in the majority of all cases, students of English as a foreign language (other languages studied were French and, once only, Swedish — but that time the learners were adult migrants).

Few reports were concerned specifically, let alone exclusively, with

---

*Author's note: The second section ("SUMMING UP THE LITERATURE") and the last section ("A PROPOSED FORM FOR CONTINUOUS SELF-APPRAISAL") of this paper are largely based on the rough draft of the comprehensive survey which Professor Mats Oskarsson (of the University of Göteborg, Sweden) submitted to the Council of Europe in 1983. Professor Oskarsson's original input and subsequent encouragement are gratefully acknowledged.

Table 1 Research Summary

INVESTIGATOR	N	SELF-TESTING INSTRUMENTS	WAS THE RELIABILITY AND/OR VALIDITY OF THE INSTRUMENTS CHECKED?	COMPARATIVE MEASURES OF PROFICIENCY OBTAINED FROM:	C	LANGUAGE SKILLS ASSESSED	SKILLS LEAST ACCURATELY ASSESSED	WHO GIVES OVERESTIMATES?	WHO GIVES UNDERESTIMATES?	COMMENTS
Raasch, 1979, 1980	231 German adult school SS	Questionnaire	n/s	Standard German State Exam	n/s ("very good for 50% of SS")	All	Writing Speaking Pronounciation)	n/s	n/s	Receptive skills more accurately assessed than productive skills)
Ferguson, 1978	89 university SS. 90 SS at a school of language interpretation in Switzerland.	Questionnaire Recorded speech samples	n/s	n/s	$C \leq 39$	Speaking	n/a	Weak SS	Good SS	
Windeatt, 1981	23 University/ ESL SS in Britain	Questionnaire	n/s	Unspecified Tests Teacher Estimates	n/s	All	n/s	Most SS	n/a	Prounciation is rated lower than other skills. Overestimation tendency increases with time.
Palmer and Bachman, 1981	110 Non-native English speakers with 118 language backgrounds in the U.S.	Questionnaire	yes	Teacher ratings based on SA questionnaire	$.34 \leq C \leq .76$	Reading Speaking	n/s (Grammar)	n/s	n/s	SA accuracy is lowest for grammatical correction and pragmatic competence.

Table 1 *(cont'd.)*

INVESTIGATOR	N	SELF-TESTING INSTRUMENTS	WAS THE RELIABILITY AND/OR VALIDITY OF THE INSTRUMENTS CHECKED?	COMPARATIVE MEASURES OF PROFICIENCY OBTAINED FROM:	C	LANGUAGE SKILLS ASSESSED	SKILLS LEAST ACCURATELY ASSESSED	WHO GIVES OVERSTIMATES?	WHO GIVES UNDERESTIMATES?	COMMENTS
Evers, 1981	231 Dutch University SS	Global questionnaire Situational questionnaire	yes	n/s	.39≤ ≤.65	Reading Speaking Listening	Listening	n/a	Good SS more than weak SS	Concrete examples of communicative behavior increase SA accuracy.
LeBanc and Painchaud, 1981	500 Canadian University SS	SA forms with graded statements	n/s	Unspecified standard test	C ≤ .68	All	n/s	n/s	n/s	Good SA accuracy for listening and overall ability.
Lee and Low, 1981, 1982 Fok, 1981	Unspecified N of Hong Kong University SS	Questionnaire	yes (Reading and speaking parts only)	Multiple-part test test somewhat similar to Hong Kong public exams	C ≤ .3	All	n/S	n/s	n/s	Positive relationship between SA accuracy and past academic records. Productive skills are rated higher than receptive receptive skills. GOod SS make more accurate SA's. Significant SA accuracy differences between good, average and weak SS. SA seems to increase SS motivation. External factors, SA reliability and validity are problems.
Achara, 1980, 1980, 1981	49 Thai University SS	7-point self-rating scale plaining how	Investigator says it was without ex- ciency test. Thai lan-	Thai University English proficiency scpres) guage aptitude test. Teacher estimates.	C ≤ .3 (Formal test .65≤C≤ .87 (Teacher estimates)	All	n/s	n/a	Most SS	Good SS give more accurate SA's.

Table 1 *(cont'd.)*

INVESTIGATOR	N	SELF-TESTING INSTRUMENTS	WAS THE RELIABILITY AND/OR VALIDITY OF THE INSTRUMENTS CHECKED?	COMPARATIVE MEASURES OF PROFICIENCY OBTAINED FROM:	C	LANGUAGE SKILLS ASSESSED	SKILLS LEAST ACCURATELY ASSESSED	WHO GIVES OVERSTIMATES?	WHO GIVES UNDERESTIMATES?	COMMENTS
Anderson, 1982	22 University/ESL SS with 8 language backgrounds in the U.S. Random sample	Questionnaire	yes	Teacher ratings based on SA questionnaire. TOEFL scores.	n/s	All	Speaking Writing (Grammar)	SS from the Middle-East	SS from the Far East	Underestimation of productive skills. Overestimation of receptive skills. SA accuracy depends on cultural factors and self-esteem levels.
Bournemouth Eurocentre, Britain, 1982	Unspecified N of adult ESL SS	Cue cards. Self-scales. Graded (model) audio recordings of native speakers.	n/s	Teacher ratings of SS' own audio recordings and video tapes.	n/s	Speaking	n/a	n/a	Good SS	SS need a clear SA framework. SA accuracy increases with time. SS should be trained in SA. SA seems to increase SS motivation.
Von Elek, 1981, 1982	387 Adult immigrants in Sweden	Multiple-part self-test booklet and multiple-choice answer sheets.	yes	Teacher ratings based on SA instrument	$.6 \leq C \leq .97$	All	n/s (Grammar)	Most SS	n/a	SA seems to increase SS motivation.
Rea, 1981	200 University SS in Tanzania	Self-rating forms	n/s	Teacher ratings based on SA instrument	n/s ("high level of agreement")	All	n/s	n/s	n/s	SA facilitates curriculum development.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Table 1 *(cont'd.)*

INVESTIGATOR	N	SELF-TESTING INSTRUMENTS	WAS THE RELIABILITY AND/OR VALIDITY OF THE INSTRUMENTS CHECKED?	COMPARATIVE MEASURES OF PROFICIENCY OBTAINED FROM:	C	LANGUAGE SKILLS ASSESSED	SKILLS LEAST ACCURATELY ASSESSED	WHO GIVES OVERSTIMATES?	WHO GIVES UNDERESTIMATES?	COMMENTS
Heindler, 1980	Unspecified large N of high-school SS in Austria	Self-rating components of experimental texbook	n/s	Teacher ratings based on SA instrument	n/s	All	n/s	Weak SS	Good SS	SA seems to increase SS motivation.
Blanche, 1985	43 SS at a language school for military persons in the U.S.	Self-Appraisal form	no	Tests regularly administered by instructors	n/s (Average SA error was less than 7.5% of mean test scores)	Speaking (oral achievement and oral proficiency)	Oral Achievement (Grammar)	Weak SS	Average SS	No significant relationships between the SS' SA accuracy and their objective test performance
Heidt (UNESCO), 1979	n/a (Research review)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	SA seems to increase SS motivation. SA of pronunciation is difficult. Finding common assessment criteria for SS and teachers is a problem
Oskarsson (Council of Europe), 1977, 1978, 1980	n/s (Research review and description of own pilot experiment)	Self-rating forms based on functional or situational specifications	n/s	n/s	n/s ("generally high C's")	All	n/s	n/s	n/s	SS should be trained in SA.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

self-appraisal practices. Often times self-rating got into the picture because student input was needed by course developers for a more general needs analysis; or else it was one component of a much larger research design.

The studies that were reviewed are compared in Table 1 below. Each study is identified by the name(s) of the investigator(s) who described it.

The emerging pattern is one of consistent overall agreement between self-assessments and ratings based on a variety of external criteria. The accuracy of most students' self-estimates often varies depending on the linguistic skills and materials involved in the evaluations (Raasch, 1979, 1980; Evers, 1981; Anderson, 1982; Blanche, 1985), but these estimates are generally good or very good (Raasch, 1979, 1980; Palmer and Bachman, 1981; Evers, 1981; LeBlanc and Painchaud, 1981; Achara, 1980, 1981; von Elek, 1981, 1982; Rea, 1981; Blanche, 1985; Oskarsson, 1977, 1978, 1980).

Several studies included quantitative comparisons between self-appraisals and more objective measures of proficiency, usually in the form of calculations of Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients. Values ranging from .50 to .60 are common, and higher ones not uncommon. What this means is that a set of self-assessments (such as answers to a questionnaire) tends to carry about the same weight as any of the various parts (sub-tests) of a standardized testing instrument. However, the more elaborate statistical analyses of two researchers (Anderson, 1982; Blanche, 1985) revealed that there were *no significant* relationships between the *accuracy* of the students' self-evaluations of their foreign language skills and their actual (classroom/test) *performance*. In addition, some investigators have pointed out that self-assessed scores may often be affected by subjective errors due to past academic record, career aspirations, peer-group or parental expectations, lack of training in self-study and self-management, etc.... The need for *practice* in autonomous learning and self-directed evaluation was emphasized a number of times (Bournemouth Eurocenter, 1982; Oskarsson, 1977, 1978, 1980): the author himself believes that teacher-training in these areas is an important prerequisite for the effective development of student-centered control techniques.

Several kinds of self-rating instruments were employed. Some of them were used for general research purposes, others for purposes of continuous performance appraisal in ordinary teaching-learning situations. The self-test items that seem to have yielded the most accurate answers contain descriptions of concrete linguistic situations which the learner can size up in behavioral terms. Moreover, higher correlations were obtained between self-assessments based on such situational models and other examination results than between other examination results and *global* self-aprpaisals of "macroskills" like "writing" or "understanding a native speaker."

In eight of the studies which were examined (Lee and Low, 1981, 1982; Fok, 1981; Bournemouth Eurocentre, 1982; von Elek, 1981, 1982; Heindler, 1980; Heidt, 1979) the researchers found that self-evaluation practices appeared to have increased the learners' *motivation*. Likewise, many investigators concluded that their more proficient subjects tended to underrate their linguistic abilities (Ferguson, 1978; Evers, 1981; Achara, 1980, 1981; Heindler, 1980; Bournemouth Eurocentre, 1982). Conversely, overestimation cases involved weak students to a greater extent than high achievers (Ferguson, 1978; Heindler, 1980; Blanche, 1985).

Low self-estimates as well as low correlations with more objective scores were consistently reported in two language learning areas: pronunciation (Raasch, 1979, 1980) and grammar (Palmer and Bachman, 1981; Anderson, 1982; von Elek, 1981, 1982; Blanche, 1985). Thus, on the basis of the research literature reviewed, most learners would be likely to find it comparatively *easier to assess their purely communicative skills*.

It also appears that the self-evaluations of different language skills are probably *not* comparable. For instance, Anderson (1982) has suggested that some ESL students may appraise their overall performance *only* in relation to their ability to speak and write English. Consequently, an experiment that was not focussed on just a few linguistic processes could have been overambitious.

The variety of the cultural backgrounds of the subjects who took part in the studies reviewed was another frequent problem. Many of these persons were adult foreign students who did not share the same value systems with their instructors. This situation was often aggravated by a third problem: the lack of common, valid criteria which both learners and instructors could use to make sound judgements. Too many studies relied solely on questionnaires. Even when students and teachers were answering the same graded questions, this type of procedure might still not have afforded precise measures of the learners' self-rating accuracy levels. What a majority of teachers and students are considerably more familiar with is administering or taking examinations. Tests routinely administered by instructors did not seem to have been used as self-assessment tools before the author of this article designed an experiment in which the subjects were asked to guess their grades immediately after such regular checkups.

Implications for Researchers

The self-assessment studies found in the research literature were somewhat contradictory, but many of the contradictions which these studies imply seem to support Stephen D. Krashen's Monitor model/theory.

Krashen's model "attempts to account for several perplexing phenomena, such as discrepancies in oral and written second language performance ... and the observation that certain students display a firm grasp of the structure of the target language, while others do poorly on structure tests and appear to be able to communicate quite well." It proposes that adult learners concurrently develop two possible independent systems for second language performance, one "acquired," developed in ways similar to first language acquisition in children, and the other "learned," developed consciously and most often in formal situations. The model assumes that "adult linguistic production in second languages is made possibly by the acquired system, with the learned system acting only as a Monitor. The Monitor, when *conditions permit*,[2] inspects and sometimes alters the output of the acquired system." As a result, the model predicts that performers will *vary* with respect to the degree to which conscious monitoring is used. At one extreme, there are performers who seem to monitor whenever possible ("Monitor over-users") and whose performance is therefore quite uneven. At the other extreme are performers who do not seem to use a Monitor at all ("Monitor under-users"), even when conditions would allow it.

Thus Krashen's Monitor theory appears to account for differences between the self-evaluation accuracy rates observed in several studies: while the Monitor only has the function of editing, performers often self-correct using acquisition in both first and second language (Krashen, 1983). This means that in the future investigators should first try to determine whether their subjects are more likely to use the Monitor *or* the acquired system for self-appraisal purposes. Then it will be much easier to select those research results which can legitimately be compared.

The L_1 plus Monitor Mode

For example, cases involving the "L_1 plus Monitor Mode" would theoretically be comparable. The L_1 plus Monitor Mode of speaking makes it possible for adult learners to produce utterances without acquired competence. Adults can apparently resort to their first language as a substitute utterance initiator, which may take the place of acquired second language competence (Krashen, 1977). This happens more often when learners need to perform very early in their second language experience, before they have had a chance to acquire the needed L_2 structure through natural input. They simply start from the surface structure of their first language, and then utilize the conscious grammar as a Monitor to make alterations to bring the L_1 surface structure into conformity with their own idea of the second language. The L_1 plus Monitor Mode enables adults to engage in conversation. It invites input. This, in turn, may stimulate language acquisition (if the input is comprehensible: Krashen, 1985). Such a mode does allow for early production and in and of itself helps to account for early progress in second languages. But it is very *limited*, since it depends so much on the performer's ability to make repairs. As soon as learners become aware of this constraint, they will be induced to rely more and more on their acquired system. In an intensive course, they will probably feel the pull sooner.

The learner's age or level of cognitive development

In none of the self-rating studies which the author reviewed was the age of each subject taken into consideration, yet it could have been an important variable. We do know that monitoring is more easily done when learners have reached Piaget's "Formal Operations" stage (Krashen, 1982); but we do not know whether self-correction is generally easier for younger or older adults. Furthermore, it would be useful to find out how differently children, adolescents and adults perform on the same or similar self-assessment tasks.

The amount of formal instruction the learner has experienced

The learner's level of cognitive development also depends on the amount of formal instruction he or she has experienced. We would expect that the more training one has had, the greater one's monitoring capacity will be. In the DLIFLC experiment (Blanche, 1985), however, neither prior education nor prior exposure to foreign languages seemed to have a measurable impact on self-appraisal error rates. This might be explained in two ways. On the one hand, the availibility of conscious knowledge of the rules of a language does not guarantee that it will be used (Krashen, 1982). On the other hand, the monitoring function makes sense only after there is something to monitor, i.e., after communication strategies are somewhat developed and after the acquisition process is well established. Thus the following two research questions should be asked in future studies: how many rules do the performers know in any language? How many rules have they actually been able to acquire in the target language?

The individual personality of the learner

Likewise, it would be advisable to control for some aspects of personality, due to the observed relationship between personality and avoidance behavior (Kleinman, 1977): persons who are insecure, self-conscious and afraid to make mistakes tend to use the Monitor more than others (Krashen, 1982). In addition, the relationships between the learner's attitude, aptitude and self-evaluation accuracy should be investigated, since we already know that (1) both attitude and aptitude can be related to achievement in foreign languages (even though they are unrelated to each other) and (2) attitudinal factors almost certainly outweigh aptitude factors in second language *acquisition* (Krashen, 1985).

The nature of the linguistic task being performed and the focus required by this task

But the degree to which the Monitor is likely to be used by foreign language learners may depend even more on the nature of the linguistic task being performed and the focus required by this task than on other variables. Tasks which cause students to focus on linguistic analysis (such as fill-in-the-blank with the correct morpheme) invite monitoring, while tasks which impel the speaker to focus on communication (such as answering a real question) do not (Krashen, 1982). It follows that the Monitor should be more effective in writing and prepared speech exercises — if the students already communicate well in the target language and if they are given enough time to make the use of the Monitor desirable. Unfortunately very little research is available on the self-assessment of writing exclusive of other language skills.

The nature of the curriculum

Lastly, the background against which linguistic tasks are being performed is bound to reflect the entire language curriculum that undergirds it. Although we do not know how the curriculum itself may affect the accuracy of self-estimates of learning, we may hypothesize that language programs as different from one another as a short intensive course especially designed for high-level business executives in Western Europe and a two-semester course at an average American high school should not be compared without certain qualifications.

Implications for Teachers

So what does this all mean to language teachers? Knowing that self-appraisal exercises are likely to increase their students' motivation is probably not enough.

A growing body of research clearly shows that acquisition (as opposed to learning) is responsible for *most* second language performance. Acquisition results are also sub-conscious. We are never completely aware of the rules we have acquired. A lot of times we only have a "feel" for correctness (Krashen, 1983): when we hear a mistake, we may not know exactly which rule was broken, but somehow we know that was a mistake. The notion that complex aspects of grammar are difficult to teach through rule is shared by many curriculum developers. Nevertheless, language teaching has traditionally been directed at learning and not acquisition. Therefore teachers should know when and how self-rating can in fact help to promote acquisition in the classroom.

Situations involving a high degree of communicative urgency (such as simulated telephone conversations) make the learners attend to the accuracy of their message and the appropriateness of their utterances to the discourse rather than to their grammatical accuracy (Schlue, 1976). Stated simply, communication goals call for more meaningful input and encourage language acquisition (Krashen, 1983). However, only the tasks that direct the learners' attention to linguistic form bring monitoring into play (Krashen, 1982). Although such a contradiction can be a problem, it is not a dead-end. If teachers realized that a majority of students find it *easier* to estimate their purely *communicative* competence level than their mastery of grammar, they might wish to employ self-evaluation devices to keep these students intent on communicating.

According to Krashen, the goal of the language teacher should be to produce optimal Monitor-users, i.e., performers who can use rules to supplement acquisition when appropriate without interfering with the flow of communication. This implies that formal grammar instruction should not have a central place in the curriculum — but it does have an important role to play. One of Krashen's beliefs is that while children inevitably acquire language, adults both acquire and learn. Given this, the ideal foreign language classroom might be one in which both learning and acquisition are possible, and in which the creative construction process is stimulated by contextualized exercises and the opportunity to use natural language, while clear presentation of grammatical rules and selective error correction may be effective for those in class who are Monitor-users. Yet teachers should not expect the students at the end of a particular course to have acquired a certain group of structures or forms. Instead they should expect them to deal with a particular set of topics in a given situation.

Therefore, students could and should be asked to assess their ability to handle topics on a regular basis, as there is plenty of evidence that they can do it with a fairly high degree of accuracy. This kind of self-appraisal would be particularly helpful in the case of (false) beginners. Beginners of any age have very little use for monitoring, unless monitoring involves the L_1 plus Monitor Mode. Indeed too much reliance on grammar in early acquisition stages is often detrimental, because speakers may spend so much time grappling with rules and forms that they miss the message being conveyed, thereby hindering the progress of acquisition (Krashen, 1983).

On the other hand, intermediate and advanced students of a second language (those who can communicate fairly well and who usually understand most of what is said to them) might profit by concentrating on learning aspects of morphology and syntax that are normally acquired late. In this case, self-rating exercises calling for the utilization of the Monitor would be in order. In addition, grammar-oriented self-evaluation components could be incorporated into computer language learning units, which would allow teachers to increase the time spent on communicative activities in class.

Finally, both the Monitor Model and recent self-assessment research data point to the advantages of two-tiered language programs that consist of a core curriculum supported by language skills "clinics" in grammar, vocabulary, reading, writing, listening comprehension, pronunciation and discussion. Such programs can very strongly emphasize interactive communication, but in the clinics students working in small groups have an opportunity to make up for specific deficiencies and to learn how to utilize the Monitor more efficiently. As a result, self-estimates made in these clinics can involve either communicative ability or knowledge of rules in relation to a particular language skill.

A Proposed Form for Continuous Self-Appraisal

In closing, the author of this article would like to propose a draft form that could be used as a basis for continuous self-evaluations of learning progress in a language course. The questions and item descriptions which it includes should be translated into the students' native language unless these students are at a fairly advanced stage of linguistic development. Items should be sampled, rephrased, rearranged and supplemented in such a way that they give each learner an opportunity to reflect upon all the various aspects of the course.

Notes:

[1] EUDISED stands for "European Documentation and Information System for Education." Produced by the Council of Europe in collaboration with national agencies, the EUDISED data base is the spinoff version of the printed abstract, journal EUDISED R&D BULLETIN and contains ongoing and completed projects of educational research and development carried out in Europe.

[2] Author's own emphasis

References

Abé, Danièle, et al. "When the Learners Have the Floor" ("Quand les apprenants ont la praole"). *Etudes de Linguistique* Appliquée, XVI (1981), 64–85.

Achara, Wangsotorn. "Self-Assessment in English Skills by Undergraduate and Graduate Students in Thai Universities," in *Directions in Language Testing*, ed. J. Read. Singapore: Singapore Univ. Press, 1981. (Also titled "Self-Assessment of Language Proficiency" [mimeo]. Singapore: SEAMEO Regional Language Center, 1980.)

Anderson, Pamela L. "Self-Esteem in the Foreign Language: A Preliminary Investigation." *Foreign Language Annals*, XV (1982), 109–14.

Bachman, Lyle F., and Adrian S. Palmer. "A Multitrait-Multimethod Investigation into the Construct Validity of Six Tests of Speaking and Reading," in *The Construct Validation of Tests of Communicative Competence*, eds. Adrian S. Palmer, P.J.M. Groot, and G.A. Trosper. Washington: Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), 1981.

______ . "The Construct Validation of Some Components of Communicative Proficieny." TESOL Quarterly, XVI (1982), 449–65,

Bailey, Kathleen M. "An Introspective Analysis of an Individual's Language Learning Experience," in *Research in Second Language Acquisition*, eds. Stephen D. Krashen, and Robin C. Scarcella. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1980.

______ . "Oral Proficiency Testing of Non-native Speaking Teaching Assistants: Issues in Criterion-Related Validity." Paper read at the 1982 TESOL convention.

Blanche, Patrick. "The Relationships Between Self-Assessment and Other Measures of Proficiency in the Case of Adult Foreign Language Learners." M.A. thesis. Davis: University of California, Department of Education, 1985.

Branham, Harold E., Jr. "Designing and Developing a Management/Autoinstructional System, Test, Evaluation, and Review (MASTER) Program for Second Language Acquisition." Practicum presented to the Faculty of the Management Institute, Brevard Community College, September 1981.

Candelier, M., et al. *A Critical Analysis of Forms of Autonomous Learning (Autodidaxy and Semi-Autonomy) in the Field of Foreign Language Learning*. Paris: UNESCO (Division of Methods, Materials and Techniques), 1975.

Council of Europe. *Report Presented by CDCC Project Group 4, with a Résumé by J.L.M. Trim, Project Adviser*. Strasbourg, 1981.

_______ . Miscellaneous working documents. Strasbourg, 1981-1985.

Cox, Barbara, et al. *New Approaches to Bilingual Bicultural Education: Self-Assessment Units*. Austin, Tex.: Dissemination Center for Bilingual Bicultural Education, 1974.

Dulay, Heidi, Marina Burt, and Stephen Krashen. *Language Two*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Evers, Riet. "Self-Evaluation of French Language Proficiency" ("Zelfbeoordeling van taalvaardigheid frans": MIMEO). Nijmegen, The Netherlands: The Catholic University of Nijmegen (Department of Applied Linguistics), 1979.

_______. "Self-Evaluation of Proficiency Levels in French as a Second Language" ("Auto-évaluation du niveau en francais langue étrangère": MIMEO). Paper read at the Sixth International Congress of Applied Linguistics in Lund, Sweden, 1981.

Fayer, Joan M., and Emily Krasinski. "Measuring Student Attitudes for Curriculum Planning: A Study of ESL Students at the University of Puerto Rico." Paper presented at the 1984 TESOL convention.

Ferguson, Nicholas. "Self-Assessment of Listening Comprehension." *IRAL*, XVI (1978), 149-56.

Ferris, Dan. "The Influence of Continuous Self-Eavluation of Speaking Skills on Teaching Methodology" (L'influence de l'auto-évaluation continue des capacités orales sur la méthodologie de l'enseignement"), in "Contributions to a Renewal of Language Learning and Teaching" (*Contributions à une rénovation de l'apprentissage et al l'enseignement des langues*), eds. Coste D., et al. Strasbourg: Council of Europe (Council for Cultural Cooperation), 1982.

Fishman, Joshua A. *The Measurement and Prescription of Language Dominance in Bilinguals*. New York: Yeshiva University, 1967.

_______. *Bilingualism in the Barrio*. Blommington: Indiana University Press 1971.

Fok, A.C.Y.Y. *Reliability of Student Self-Assessment*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Language Centre, 1981.

Heidt, Erhard. *Self-Evaluation in Learning: A Report on Trends, Experiences and Research Findings*. Paris: UNESCO (Division of Structures, Content, Methods, and Techniques of Education), 1979

Heindler, Dagmar. "Teaching English in Secondary Schools: Third Project Report" (*Englisch an Gesamtschulen [3. Projektbericht]*). Klagenfurt, Austria: Government Ministry for Art and Education, Center for Experimental School Education and Development (Bundesministerium für Unterricht und Kunst, Zentrum für Schulversuche und Schulentwicklung), 1980.

Holec, Henri. Autonomy and Foreign Language Learning. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979.

_______. "Arguing for Self-Evaluation" ("Plaidoyer pour l'autoèvaluation"). *Francais dans le Monde*, XXI (1981), 15-23.

Houck, N., J. Robertson and S. Krashen. "On the Domain of the Conscious Grammar: Morpheme Orders for Corrected and Uncorrected ESL Student Transcripts." *TESOL Quarterly*, XII (1978), 335-39.

Keeler, Stephen. "Practising What We Teach: Teaching Teachers About Self-Directed Learning Through the Integrated Use of Self-Access Environments in the Teacher Training Course." *SYSTEM*, X (1982), 259-68.

Kleinman, H. "The Strategy of Avoidance in Adult Second Language Acquisition," in *Second Language Acquisition Research: Issues and Implications*, ed. William C. Ritchie. New York: Academic Press, 1978.

Krashen, Stephen D. "Monitor Theory: A Model of Adult Second Language Performance." Paper presented at the USC-UCLA Second Language Acquisition Forum, 1976.

_______. "Individual Variation in the Use of the Monitor," in *Second Language Acquisition Research: Issues and Implications*, ed. William C. Ritchie. New York: Academic Presss, 1978.

_______. *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning*. Oxford, England: Pergamon Press, 1981.

_______. *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition*. New York: Pergamon Press, 1982.

_______. *The Input Hypothesis: Issues and Implications*. New York: Longman, 1985.

_______, and Tracy D. Terrell. *The Natural Approach*. Oxford, England: Pergamon Press, 1983.

_______, J. Butler, R. Birnbaum, and J. Robertson. "Two Studies in Language Acquisition and Language Learning." *ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics*, XXXXIX-XL (1978), 73-92.

_______, N. Houck, P. Giunci, S. Bode, R. Birnbaum, and J. Strei. "Difficulty Order for Grammatical Morphemes for Adult Second Language Performers Using Free Speech." *TESOL Quarterly*, XI (1977), 338-41.

König, F.H. and N.D. Vernon. "Advancing 'Advanced Conversation'," in *ESL and the Foreign Language Teacher*, ed. A Garfinkel. Lincolnwood, Ill.: National Textbook Company, 1982.

Kreeft, H., and Rijlaarsdam. "Self-Evaluation in Foreign Language Education" ("Zelf-evaluatie in het moedertaalondervijs"). *Levende Talen*, No. 352, 1980, pp. 397-417.

Labov, William. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.

Lambert, Wallace, and R. Gardner. *Attitudes and Motivation in Second Language Learning*. Rowley, Mass.: NewburyHouse, 1972.

LeBlanc, Raymond, and Gisèle Painchaud. "Self-Assessment Scales: An Investigation into their Validity," in *AILA 81: Proceedings I* (Abstract), eds. B. Sigurd, and J. Svartvik. Lund, Sweden: University of Lund.

Lee, Yick Pang. *Report on the Use of Student Self-Assessment in the Testing Programme of the Language Centre of the University of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Language Centre, 1981.

Liemberg, Ellie. "Self-Evaluation" ("Zelf-evaluatie"). BNVU (Association of Dutch Universities [Bond van Nederlandse Volksuniversiteiten]) Newsletter (*Nieuwsbrief BNVU*), No. 2, 1979, pp. 7-9.

Low, Graham D. "Report on the Use of Student Feedback in a Testing Programme" (mimeo). Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong Language Centre, 1981.

_______. "The Direct Testing of Academic Writing in a Second Language." *SYSTEM*, X (1982), 247-57.

Née, C., and M. Pétrod. "A Comparison of the Results of Self-Assess- and Objective Tests with 30 Candidates in English and French" ("Sammenligning mellem resultater af selvvurdering og objective tests for 30 testede i engelsk og fransk": MIMEO). Copenhagen: Association for Continuing Education (Selskabet for efteruddannelse), 1979.

Oskarsson, Mats. *Approaches to Self-Assessment in Foreign Language Learning*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980. (Originally Published in 1978 by the Council of Europe.)

_______. "Subjective and Objective Assessment of Foreign Language Performance," in *Directions in Language Testing*, ed. J. Read. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981.

_______. "Self-Evaluation in Foreign Language Learning" ("L'auto-evaluation dans l'apprentissage des langues pour adultes: quelques résultats de recherches"). *Etudes de linguistique appliquée*, XLI (1981), 102-15.

Palmer, Adrian S., and Lyle F. Bachman. "Basic Concerns in Test Validation," in *ELT Documents III — Issues in Language Testing*, eds. J.C. Alderson and A. Hughes. London: The British Council, 1981.

Raasch, Albert. "To Evaluate Oneself — Is That a Neologism?" ("S' auto-évaluer-un néologisme?"). *Francais dans le Monde*, No. 149, 1979, pp. 63-7.

______. "Self-Evaluation in Adult Education" ("L'auto-évaluation dans l'enseignement des adultes"). *Recherches et échanges*, V (1980), 85–99.

______. "Self-Assessment For the Learner — An Aid to the Teacher of French" ("Selbsteinschätzungstests für den Lerner — eine Hilfe für den Französischlehrer"). *Zielsprache Französisch*, I (1979a), 1–7.

Rea, Pauline M. "Formative Assessment of Student Performance: The Role of Self-Appraisal." *Indian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, VII (1981), 66–88.

Schlissinger, Jacqueline. "Formative Evaluation Procedures and Their Role in the Acceleration of the Learning Process" ("L'Evaluation continue et son rôle dans l'accélération des processus d'apprentissage"). *Francais dans de Monde*, XXI (1981), 24–32.

Schlue, K. "An Inside View of Interlanguage." M.A. thesis. Los Angeles: University of California, English as a Second Language Department, 1976.

Schumann, Francine M. "Diary of a Language Learner: A Further Analysis," in *Research in Second Language Acquisition*, eds. Stephen D. Krashen, and Robin C. Scarcella. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House, 1980.

______, and John H. Schumann. "Diary of a Language Learner: An Introspective Study of Second Language Learning," in *Teaching and Learning: Trends in Research and Practice* (Selected Papers from the 1977 TESOL Convention), eds. H.D. Brown, R.H. Crymes, and C.A. Yorio. Washington, D.C.: TESOL Georgetown University, 1977.

Soule-Susbielles, N., and F. Weiss. "An Observation Tool: The Linear Grid" ("Un outil d'observation: la grille linéaire"). *Langues Modernes*, LXXV (1981), 197–207.

Trim, John L.M. *Developing a Unit/Credit Scheme of Adult Language Learning*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1980. (Originally published in 1978 as "Some Possible Lines of Development of an Overall Structure for a European Unit/Credit Scheme for Foreign Langauge Learning by Adults.")

______, R. Richterich, J.A. Van Ek, and D.A. Wilkins. *Systems Development in Adult Language Learning*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980. (Originally published in 1973 by the Council of Europe.)

Uren, Ormond. "Thoughts on Language Testing." *Audio-Visual Language Journal*, XII (1975), 135–40.

Valette, Rebecca M. "The Evaluation of Second Language Learning," in *The Second Language Classroom: Directions for the 1980's*, eds.

J. Alatis, H.B. Altman, and P. Alatis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

van Ek, Jan A., and L.G. Alexander. *Threshold Level English*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1980. (Originally published in 1975 by the Council of Europe.)

von Elek, Tibor. "Self-Assessment of Swedish as a Second Language" ("Självbedömning av fardigheter i svenska som andra sprak"). Göteborg: University of Göteborg (The Language Teaching Research Center, Work Paper No. 30), 1981.

______ . "Test of Swedish as a Second Language: An Experiment in Self-Assessment." Göteborg: University of Göteborg (The Language Teaching Research Center, Work Paper No. 31), 1982.

Windeatt, Scott. "A Project in Self-Access Learning for English Language and Study Skills." Practical Paper in English Language Education. Lancaster, England: University of Lancaster, 1981.

AMVIC

1. In the last few lessons (days, weeks), we/I have studied/practiced/ worked on:

(a) ....

(b) ....

(c) ....

(d) ....

(e) ....

(f) ....

Fill in the empty spaces with topics and areas of study that are relevant in your case for example:

(a) pronunciation of words containing the sound /θ/
(b) how to greet people
(c) questions with do/does

The "new words" you have used will be covered under items 3 and 4 below, so please don't include vocabulary in this section.

2. In your estimation, how well can you deal with the above topics?

	Not at all	To some extent	Fairly well	Very well	Thoroughly
(a)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(b)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(c)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(d)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(e)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(f)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3. On reflection, to what extent do your find the above topics important in relation to your own needs?

	Not important at all	Not very important	Fairly important	Very important	Extremely important
(a)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(b)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(c)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(d)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(e)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(f)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. We/I have also come across new words of the following type, or within the following subject area(s):

(a) ....

(b) ....

(Write down your native language equivalents if it's easier for you)

(c) ....

(d) ....

5. In your estimation, how well do you know the above vocabulary/areas?

	Not at all	To some extent	Fairly well	Very well	Thoroughly
(a)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(b)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(c)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(d)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6. On reflection, to what extent do you find the above vocabulary/areas important in relation to your own needs?

	Not important at all	Not very important	Fairly important	Very important	Extremely important
(a)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(b)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(c)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
(d)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

7. Summarizing the last few lessons (days, weeks) we/I feel that we/I have learnt:

Nothing at all	Very little	A little	Enough	A lot
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

8. Looking back, I realize that I should change my study habits/learning approach/priorities in the following way:

....

....

....

....

....

9. Overall, I think my weaknesses are as follows:

....

....

....

....

....

10. I would want to see instruction in the next few lessons (days, weeks) focussed on the following points/skills/areas:

....

....

....

....

....

Follow-up

Discuss your assessment and your points of view with a fellow student or in a small group — or with your teacher/instructor/professor. Try to find out whether others think you tend to overestimate or underestimate your ability and acquired skills and then decide whether you should reconsider and readjust your personal "yardstick." Be sure to compare your subjective impressions with other criteria such as test scores, your teacher's evaluations and your fellow students' opinions.

Current Research in Southeast Asia

Yolanda Beh
RELC

There was encouraging response to the recent call for reports on language-related research relevant to Southeast Asia. Most of the reports were on completed research. Those included in this section are on research in progress or nearing completion at the time of compilation. Grateful thanks must be expressed to the researchers for providing information on their studies through the "Questionnaire on Research in Language and Linguistics in SEAMEO Countries". Researchers are always welcome to request copies of this form from the address below or to send to the same address write-ups on their projects (under the headings: title, description, name of principal researcher (and other researchers, if any) and the sponsoring or financing body):

Librarian and Head of Information Centre
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

Title:	**The Use of Malay and English in the Work Domain in Brunei Darussalam**
Description:	The aims of this study are to (1) obtain a picture or pattern of the use of Malay and English in Bruneian government and non-government departments/institutions (2) pinpoint specific areas which may demand the attention of the Bruneian language planners as well as the language curriculum designers and implementers when reviewing their plans (3) draw some implications of the findings for the planning of Malay and English and for the implementation of the national language education programme. Using a stratified random sampling method a total of 225 adults has been selected from both government and non-government institutions and offices in the country for the study. Data has been collected through questionnaires, language diaries and informal observations.

Thesis (M.A. Appl. Ling.) — National University of Singapore.

Principal researcher: Tarip Mat Yassin
Education Officer
Institut Pendidikan Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah
Universiti Brunei Darussalam
Brunei Darussalam

Sponsoring or financing body: Ministry of Education
Brunei Darussalam

INDONESIA

Title: **Speed Reading by Computer**

Description: The purposes of the project are to determine (1) if students using computers improved reading speed and comprehension (2) if they improved more so than students using books in the classroom (3) how the *Sanata Dharma Speed Reading Program* compared with the commercial programme *Speed Reader II.*

Principal researcher: Gloria R Poedjosoedarmo
Lecturer
IKIP Sanata Dharma
Tromolpos 29, Yogyakarta
Indonesia

Other researchers: Mukarto, Soegiarto, and Sister Barbara, Lecturers, English Department; Yanti, Lecturer, Indonesian Department, IKIP Sanata Dharma

Title: **The Use of Voice to Convey Emotive Expressive Meaning in Javanese**

Description: The project aims to determine the exact nature in both articulatory and acoustic terms of (1) features distinguishing the voice of a *pesindhen* (traditional Javanese singer) from a singer trained in the western classical tradition (2) features distinguishing the voices of speakers who employ various auditorily evident voice qualities (3) features distinguishing the voices of major characters in wayang kulit performances. In addition a questionnaire will be administered to determine (1) preference of voice type in singing (2) associations in the minds of

Javanese speakers between particular voice features and particular personality features.

Principal researcher: Gloria R Poedjosoedarmo
Lecturer
IKIP Sanata Dharma
Tromolpos 23, Yogyakarta
Indonesia

Sponsoring or financing body: Social Science Research Council
605 3rd Ave
New York, NY 10158
U.S.A.

Title: **Denominal Verb and Deverbal Noun: A Study of the Morphology of the Noun and Verb Classes in Standard Javanese**

Description: After extraction from written resources (texts and a dictionary), data were checked by interviewing a number of informants from different parts of Central Java, namely, Surakarta, Klaten, Yogyakarta, Magelang, and Purwarejo. The analysis was conducted by using the Word and Paradigm approach, i.e. by applying the proportional opposite technique based on the correspondence among the meanings, forms and/or syntactic valences of words. The expected results include a description of (1) the morphological systems of the pure noun and the pure verb (2) the morphological system of the denominal verb (3) the morphological system of the deverbal noun.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — Universitas Indonesia

Principal researcher: B Karno Ekowardono
Lecturer
FPBS IKIP Semarang
Jalan Kelud Utara III, Semarang
Indonesia

Sponsoring or financing body: TMPD Depdikbud
Jakarta

Title: **A Case Classification of Suwawa Verbs**

Description: This study is an attempt to classify verbs in Suwawa, a language spoken in Gorontalo, North Sulawesi, Indonesia. The objectives are as follows (1) to determine the non-case non-aspectual affixes that are allowed for each verb (2) to categorize verbs according to the nature of their case environments (3) to determine the cases that appear in each verb (4) to take into consideration the total semantic reading of a sentence. The study will also illustrate how the case selectional features of the verb are introduced into a complex symbol, a matrix of specified features, and attempt to make more adequate and precise subcategorization of Suwawa verbs by the use of the features.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — Universitas Hasanuddin

Principal researcher: Hamzah Machmoed
Lecturer
Fakultas Sastra
Universitas Hasanuddin
Ujung Pandang, Sulawesi Selatan
Indonesia

Sponsoring or financing body: Universitas Hasanuddin

Title: **Question Types and Questioning Techniques Among Teachers of the English Department, IKIP Semarang**

Description: The purposes of the study are to ascertain (1) the types of questions teachers ask their students in order to help them process textual information (2) the thinking levels and duration of students' answers (3) the lapse of time between the questions and the students' responses (4) the verbal patterns used by the teachers after the questions are given and (5) the quality of time teachers spend in instruction and non-academic engagements.

Principal researcher: Poernomodjati
Professor of Educational Statistics
Perumdin IKIP Semarang
Bendan Ngisor No. 4, Semarang
Indonesia

Title: **Folklore in Central Java: a Study of its Moral Values in Relation to the State Philosophy**

Description: The aim of the study is to identify some of the moral values in the folklore of Central Java. Analyses will be made by matching the identified moral values with the thirty-six moral values generated from the five principles of the State Philosophy, *Pancasila*. The ultimate goal of this study is to classify the stories into categories based on their relative adequacy to the *Pancasila* moral teaching and to further recommend the development of such stories into more popular versions.

Principal researcher: Moeljono Djojomartono
Chief of Language and Social Studies Section
Research Centre, IKIP Semarang
Jl Kelud Utara III, Semarang
Indonesia

Other researchers: Mursid Saleh, Suwardi Tjokrosudarmo, Tjetjep Rohendi Rohidi, S Suharyanto, Sugiyanto D A
Language and Social Studies Section, Research Centre, IKIP Semarang

Sponsoring or financing body: Department of Education & Culture
Indonesia

MALAYSIA

Title: **Kamus Bahasa Perancis-Bahasa Malaysia (French-Malay Dictionary)**

Description: This project aims at producing a simple bilingual French-Malay dictionary to meet the needs of Malay learners of French in the region. The well-established French dictionary 'Larousse de Poche' containing about 25,000 entries is used as the basis for compiling this dictionary. Entries that are archaic or culturally irrelevant to learners of French in the region will be omitted.

This dictionary seeks to provide the user with the synonym or definition in Malay of a term in French; the phonetic representation to facilitate an understanding of the pronunciation; the gender of the word and its part of speech. Different word classifications and meanings are also explained within an entry for the benefit of the user. The dictionary, however, does not attempt a comprehensive explanation of grammatical and semantic nuances of a word.

Principal researcher: Choi Kim Yok
Lecturer in French, Pusat Bahasa
Universiti Malaya
59100 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia

Other researchers: Zainab Abdul Majid, Laurent Metzger, Lecturers, Pusat Bahasa, Universiti Malaya

PHILIPPINES

Title: **The Development of a Communicative Needs Profile of Second Year High School Learners of English: an Approximation**

Description: The study is an attempt to develop and validate an instrument that can be used to draw up a communicative needs profile of second year high school students learning English in the Philippines.

The instrument is designed around Munby's parameters of setting, interaction, instrumentality, target level, and communicative event. Other parameters, e.g. resources and objectives, from Chancerel and Richterich's model, are also incorporated in the instrument.

Thesis (M.A.) — Philippine Normal College

Principal researcher: Julieta T Hernandez
Principal
St Augustine School
Tanza, Cavite 2722
Philippines

Other researchers: Phebe S Pena, Alice M Karaan, Philippine Normal College, Taft Avenue, Manila

SINGAPORE

Title: **The Composing Processes of ESL Student Writers**

Description: This is a study of the decision making processes that take place in student writers as they compose. Twenty-four university students were observed and video-taped as they wrote in individual sessions in the researcher's presence. Immediately after writing each student was interviewed and assisted in recalling the problems/decisions that he/she wrestled with during extended pauses (pauses that interrupt the production of text for 15 seconds or longer). The data will be analysed to discover (1) what kind of problems hinder written discourse production (2) what strategies of decision making ESL student writers employ (3) what differences exist in the composing/decision making strategies of basic writers and those of moderately competent writers in an ESL situation. The main aim of the research is to further understanding of the composing process by observing the process itself instead of the written product alone.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — National University of Singapore

Principal researcher: Antonia Chandrasegaran
Lecturer, English Language Proficiency Unit
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 0511

Title: **Functional Objectives in Language Learning (for English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil)**

Description: This research is intended (a) to identify what may be called "functional objectives" in learning English/Chinese/Malay/Tamil at three grade levels, viz Primary 6 Normal (P6N), Secondary 4 Normal (S4N) and Secondary 4 Express (S4E) and (b) to determine empirically how realistic or attainable these objectives are for pupils at each of the three grade levels.

Each language project has four phases. The English Language Project and the Chinese Language Project have completed the first two phases and are currently in the third phase. The Malay and Tamil Language Projects have just commenced.

English Language Project:

Principal researcher: Ho Wah Kam
Head, Educational Research Unit

Institute of Education (IE)
469 Bukit Timah Road
Singapore 1025

Other researchers: Oliver Seet Beng Hean, Head, School of the Arts and Language Studies, (Team Leader); Victor Neo, Richard Parker, Pauline Steele, Ruth Wong, Wong Yin Mee, Lecturers, English Studies Department, IE

Chinese Language Project:

Principal researcher: Leong Weng Kee
Head, Department of Asian Language Studies, IE

Other researchers: Chew Cheng Hai, Neo Eng Guan, Ong Yong Peng, Chia Shih Yar, Teo Choo How, Lecturers, Department of Asian Language Studies, IE

Sponsoring or financing body: Institute of Education, Singapore

Title: **English Language Education in Singapore and Japan**

Description: This project, which is intended to culminate in a book, is aimed at providing a comprehensive description of the history and present situation of English education in Singapore and Japan. Among the topics to be covered are language policies, the status, role and function of English, English as a second/international language, English language programmes on TV and radio, methodology, syllabi, instructional materials, educational technology and teacher education. Evaluation will be attempted, suggestions for improvement will be made and future directions indicated.

Principal researcher: Lee Kok Cheong
Head, English Language Proficiency Unit
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 0511

Other researcher: Yoshihiro Nakamura
c/o International Christian University
Tokyo
Japan

Title: **A Computer-aided Analysis of a Teaching Text with an Evaluation of the Results for EFL/ESL Pedagogical Purposes**

Description: The aim is to research a corpus of text for such linguistic features as the computer will allow. The texts comprise the content of two subjects which the students study in their first year in one of the courses at Ngee Ann Polytechnic (i.e. the Diploma in Business Studies). The corpus of about 80,000 words consists of the entire course material for Business Organisation and Business Economics. Given a certain identifiable relationship between the source texts and model answers for examinations, certain linguistic features can be identified by CAL-based research (using a Concordance software programme). These features will enable the language teacher to design an ESP course where one of the main aims is to teach students to write exam-type answers appropriate to their course of study. As yet, one of the main areas of research is to evaluate tokens or exponents of notions used in related English language textbooks. Thus appropriate emphases would be put into course design. Other areas of research (not yet decided on) could be lexical distribution, cohesion of text and, possibly, readability.

Thesis (M.A.) — University of Wales, Cardiff

Principal researcher:
Ken Collins
Lecturer, English Language Centre
Ngee Ann Polytechnic
535 Clementi Road
Singapore 2159

Title: **The Development of Communicative Competence through Play in Pre-School Children — a Longitudinal Study**

Description: Three groups of children, aged between 3 and 5 years are video-taped for about one hour every two months while they are at play in a child development centre. Data are analysed in terms of the relation between play structure and language to see how these children develop their communicative competence through play over a period of three years.

Principal researcher: Loke Kit Ken
Lecturer, Department of English Language and Literature
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 0511

Sponsoring or financing body: National University of Singapore

THAILAND

Title: **Effective Methods for Correcting Writing Errors in English Made by Thai Students: an Exploratory Study**

Description: The research aims to (1) find the most effective and appropriate method for correcting errors in writing English of Thai university students in Bangkok (2) find the most effective method for improving the students' English writing (3) compare and contrast the short-term and long-term results of student writing corrected through the four methods of error correction (writing over the mistake by teachers, underlining and explanations in class, symbolic labelling of errors, and individual feedback).

The research is classroom-centred (CCR). The methods of data collection consist of observation, interview and paper-pencil writing tasks. Both qualitative and quantitative analyses will be employed.

Principal researcher: Achara Wangsotorn
Deputy Director, Research and Services
Chulalongkorn University Language Institute
Prem Purachatra Building, Phyathai Road
Bangkok 10500
Thailand

Sponsoring or financing body: The Royal Thai Government

Title: **The Effects of the Postponement of Foundation English I to Second Semester on First Year Engin-**

	eering and Science Students
Description:	The research aims to (1) examine problems and investigate effects on first year engineering and science students of the postponement of Foundation English I from first to second semester (2) study and compare attitudes and motivation of the engineering and science students who take the Foundation course and those who are exempted (3) study the retention of language proficiency of the two groups mentioned in (2).
Principal researcher:	Priya Teerawong Assistant Professor Chulalongkorn University Language Institute Prem Purachatra Building, Phyathai Road Bangkok 10500 Thailand
Sponsoring or financing body:	The Royal Thai Government
Title:	**A Meta-Analysis of the English Teaching and Learning Process Researches During 1970–1985**
Description:	This is an attempt to meta-analyze about 300 research works undertaken during 1970–1985 in Thailand in order to find out the situation concerning the English teaching and learning process in the country. All the research works gathered for the study were completed by graduate students and instructors of English from various universities and colleges. The data analyzing techniques used are those proposed by Glass and others (1981).
Principal researcher:	Suphat Sukamolson Deputy Director, Research and Planning Affairs Chulalongkorn University Language Institute Prem Purachatra Building, Phyathai Road Bangkok 10500 Thailand
Sponsoring or financing body:	Chulalongkorn University Language Institute
Title:	**Thai-Khmu-English Dictionary**
Description:	This dictionary will contain 4000 Khmer words

written in phonetic alphabet and Thai script. The meaning of the words in Thai and English will be provided. The Khmu variety to be presented is the central dialect spoken in Park Bank in Laos and in Chieng Khoung District, Chiengrai Province, Thailand. The other main Khmu varieties spoken in Thailand (especially in Nan Province) will also be included where necessary.

Principal researcher: Suwilai Premsrirat
Assistant Professor
Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development
Mahidol University at Salaya
Salaya, Nakorn Chaisri, Nakorn Pathom
Thailand

Sponsoring or financing body: Mahidol University
National Research Council

Title: **Thai-Southern Thailand Malay Dictionary**

Description: The term "Thai" refers to "Standard Thai", the official language of Thailand. The term "Southern Thailand Malay" refers to Pattani Malay, a dialect of Malay spoken mainly in Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat which are the southern provinces of Thailand. The dictionary will list over 7000 vocabulary items with illustrations of the usage of each item.

Principal researcher: Pitsamai Yupho
Assistant Professor
Institute of Language and Culture for Rural Development
Mahidol University at Salaya
Salaya, Nakorn Chaisri, Nakorn Pathom
Thailand

Sponsoring or financing body: Mahidol University

Title: **A Comparative Study of Morphology and Semantics in Northern Thai and North-Eastern Thai Dialects**

Description: A survey of both spoken and written forms of Northern Thai and North-Eastern Thai dialects has revealed that although both have common origins, they have begun to differ greatly. The research project is aimed at finding out the relationship between the two dialects and at analyzing semantic changes that have occurred.

Principal researcher: Bampen Rawin
Assistant Professor, Department of Thai
Faculty of Humanities, Chiangmai University
Chiangmai 50002
Thailand

Other researcher: Mantana Kiettipongse, Assistant Professor; Wimonson Salaiwong, Assistant Professor; Youkhiang Saekho, Lecturer, Department of Thai, Faculty of Humanities, Chiangmai University

Sponsoring or financing body: Chiangmai University

Title: **The Analysis of Literary Terms Translated into Thai**

Description: As an increasing number of literary works is being translated into Thai, there is a greater need to develop a lexis which is commonly accepted among Thai literature teachers and literary exponents. At present there is little agreement on appropriate terms to describe literature. Different terms are often used to describe the same literary event and words are often borrowed from the target language when suitable terms do not exist in Thai. The project is aimed at collating the terms currently used, and after analysis of the data, it is hoped to understand the underlying structure involved in forming literary terms in the Thai language. It is also intended to produce a glossary of globally acceptable terms.

Principal researcher: Sarawanee Sukhumvada
Lecturer, English Department
Faculty of Humanities, Chiangmai University
Chiangmai 50002
Thailand

Other researcher: Theera Santadusit
Assistant Professor, French Department

Faculty of Humanities, Chiangmai University

Sponsoring or financing body: National Research Center

Title: **Comparative Study of Attitudes, Needs and Achievement of Students Studying Foundation English Courses**

Description: The teaching and learning of English, including the texts and the methodology, are at present based on the structural approach in the Department of Languages, Kasetsart University. Since the communicative approach is now the trend, there are some instructors involved in a pilot project to develop a new curriculum based on this approach. This study will obtain data on students' attitudes, needs and interests which will assist in determining the best approach to be used.

Principal researcher: Siriluk Limpakdee
Assistant Professor, Department of Languages
Faculty of Humanities, Kasetsart University
Paholyotin Road, Bangkok 10900
Thailand

Other researchers: Wani Sirikeeratayanon, Assistant Professor, Monitra Surawan, Instructor, Department of Languages, Faculty of Humanities, Kasetsart University.

Sponsoring or financing body: Faculty of Humanities
Kasetsart University

BOOK REVIEW

Course Design: Developing Programs and Materials for Language Learning

Fraida Dubin and Elite Olshtain
Cambridge Univeristy Press, 1986

Reviewed by
Margaret van Naerssen
Singapore

Course Design by Fraida Dubin and Elite Olshtain, has been long awaited by this reviewer. I long wish it had come out sooner, when I first started teaching course design/curriculum planning. It definitely fills a gap in the language teaching/learning field, giving integrity to the profession of curriculum planning and mateials development. With a few exceptions (to be discussed later), I feel the content is basically solid, and makes a contribution towards moving the field forward in this area. I also have a few concerns about the presentation, but these will be covered after a brief introduction to the book.

The authors accurately observe that the development of expertise in planning courses and writing materials has been "glossed over" or "benignly neglected." They remind us that due to the complexity of human language and the wide variety of teaching circumstances, in language teacher training courses the emphasis has been on the activities of single teachers and their students. The authors note that this has tended to keep the field of second and foreign language pedagogy from paying much attention to the well-developed field of general curriculum construction outside of ESL. It has also tended to keep us from examining how a particular theoretical view toward language and language learning can be built into course design/curriculum planning.

This book differs significantly from others in several ways, thus contributing in these areas to the field. First, the authors have deliberately tried to write from a course designer's perspective rather than a teacher's perspective to stress that designing a course or materials for others to use requires expertise that goes beyond that required for simply planning one's own teaching. (Though certainly much of what they include would also be valuable to consider when writing one's own courses even if no one else uses the materials.) As part of this perspective, they have also provided a practical orientation to the role of the curriculum developer.

Second, their perspective also differs from that of most others who have written about methodologies and syllabuses: these have tended to describe and/or evaluate methodologies and set up theoretical frameworks for the content of syllabuses. Dubin and Olshtain go further by also tackling the processes of putting it all together into an appropriate course, with a coherent rationale, and one that is expected to have a life beyond a single cycle of the course.

And third, while the authors are not the first to draw on models of curriculum development from outside of the second/foreign language field, they do effectively adapt them to English language teaching contexts, specifically in the area of language content and existing assumptions about language learning processes. They cover the basic curriculum processes proposed by Taba (1962 in Dubin and Olshtain 1986:2) and listed below. As their labels and headings do not always explicitly follow Taba's, I have cross-referenced chapters from Dubin and Olshtain that seem to have significant sections on these curriculum processes.

1. Diagnosis of needs (Chapters 1 and 2)
2. Formulation of objectives (Chapter 2 and 3)
3. Selection of content (Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 8)
4. Organization of content (Chapters 3, 6, 8)
5. Selection of learning experiences (Chapters 5, 7, 8)
6. Organization of learning experiences (Chapters 3, 7, 8)
7. Determination of what to evaluate and the means to evaluate (Epilogue)

As this book is somewhat of a pioneer, it is all too easy for the reader to want it to answer all his/her questions about course design processes in a single book. The authors have recognized they can only sample the many potential topics in this field. They have tried to provide some theoretical background and have shown, through concrete examples, how the development might occur for a curriculum with communicative goals, selecting specific content and skills.

"This book is intended for teachers and teachers in training who may be involved in course planning and materials development either on a large scale or simply within their own institution." (Dubin and Olshtain 1986: cover page) It is also implied that it could be used in university programs in applied linguistics, English language teaching and teacher training. The text certainly can be read by individual teachers, but for the most part a teacher or trainee, relatively new to the field, may find parts of the text too dense to handle effectively without some guidance and follow-up discussions, and, in particular, readers/trainees who are non-native speakers of English. (This will be discussed further elsewhere in this review.) Thus *Course Design* would most effectively be used as the core text of a course on curriculum development with follow-up discussions and use of the Practical Applications sections that follow each chapter. An individual experienced teacher with the goal of further developing his/her own materials for broader use or who might be joining a curriculum development team could also benefit from using this as a reference. As I have not yet used this text in a course, my comments are based on my own experience in teaching curriculum development and in designing courses and programs.

Observations About Content

1. Special Strengths of the Content

While there is much of value in this book, certain content areas deserve specific mention.

a. *The curriculum writer's view*

Chapter 9 gives a particularly valuable overview of curriculum processes from the writer's viewpoint: the audience; whether the writer is working on self-initiated or commissioned materials; and implications and models of team work. A practical checklist is also provided covering basic assumptions about the curriculum/materials design as well as the actual shape and design.

Building on the authors' notion about the importance of teamwork, I would also suggest that a course instructor might set up the structure for the class to operate as a team for the duration of a course on curriculum planning. When the class make-up permits, a few of the Practical Applications activities might inspire the development of an actual curriculum design rather than having trainees only role-play hypothetical cases or sample isolated activities in each chapter. Students could work on course designs for actual populations with the development coordinated with the content of the book where possible. Students could present their materials at various stages to the class team for critique and discussion so they could gain confidence in expressing opinions and in receiving suggestions, an important part of working as a team.

b. *Social norms*

Incorporating Grammars of Social Norms (Chapter 7) provides a very useful "state of the art" sampling of how the language for various communicative functions and in varied settings has been introduced into learning activities through matching situations and utterances, using a story line, and through five other techniques.

c. *Roleplays*

The authors provide a very valuable treatment of roleplays, expressing a concern about the effective and appropriate use of roleplays for reaching communicative goals. They want teachers and designers to be clear about the theoretical and practical assumptions made about roleplaying. To do this they first trace its antecedents in other disciplines, then discuss a number of concerns related to the preparation of roleplays for use in the language classroom and provide concrete examples from existing materials. One concern is the frequent misuse of the roleplay label, making activities appear to be communicative when, in fact, they might not be. As the authors say, this is like "putting old wine in new bottles."

d. *Teacher's role*

In Chapter 5 the authors explore the role of teachers and others in a communicative curriculum and propose a new metaphor that might effectively capture the nature of the interaction and responsibilities. The language class is a play or sometimes a play within a play. The teacher is the director; the learners, are the players; the administrators are the producers; writers are writers; and second language researchers are trendsetters.

e. *Reading Skills*

The selection of reading to illustrate the development of a specific skill in a communicative curriculum will be greatly appreciated, especially by those in foreign language settings where reading is still frequently of highest priority. Also, too frequently teachers in these settings still see reading as a passive skill and have difficulty visualizing how it can be taught communicatively. Dubin and Olshtain, with their experience in developing reading texts, are able to provide a persuasive logic for the development of reading lessons along with concrete examples of materials.

2. Suggested Supplement to the Content

The book seems to be written primarily as an academic text on curriculum development, but also has a relatively wide range of activities (Practical Applications) for trying out ideas suggested in each chapter. As mentioned before, it can also serve as a very useful general reference. But naturally, any course instructor using this as a core text will wish to adapt it to the needs and interests of the trainees and to other local conditions.

Because the content varies from chapter to chapter, the follow-up activities do as well. Thus, if the objective of a course on curriculum design is for more than an academic study of the topic — if an objective is for trainees to really sense curriculum development as a process —

this text should be supplemented by a supervised curriculum development effort. This would provide a greater sense of continuity and a better understanding of the importance of linking up the various stages of development.

As an emphasis of the book is on process, it would have been useful to have had at least the suggestion for such a supplementary effort or even some Practical Applications activities built in that would be relevant to the chapter content, that would have continuity from Chapter to Chapter and that would support the development of small-scale curriculum/materials projects, linking the stages of development. (But perhaps individual course instructors would prefer to personally determine the stages and criteria for each stage of a curriculum project.) One of the authors has pointed out (Olshtain, personal communication) that she does provide a practical component when using the book. The book content is covered in the first semester; this is followed by a semester of practical curriculum development. In my own experiences in teaching such courses, I have not had two semesters available, thus I have had to parallel the content of the course with the relevant stages of a practical curriculum development effort. Course instructors will have to consider local time constraints.

The authors' chapter content and Practical Applications offer a breadth to the issues. The main point, then, of these comments is to suggest that if this book were combined with an actual curriculum development effort, the training experience would be even more valuable.

3. Concerns About the Content

b. *Inventories*

In Chapter 6 the authors seem to have forgotten their intention of illustrating principles using curricula with communicative goals when they discuss three possible inventories for selecting syllabus content: Inventory A: Notions and Grammar, Inventory B: Themes and Topics, Inventory C: Socio-cultural Functions. They do admit that determining which inventory is to be basic depends entirely on the course goals, and I agree. However, in the discussion of combining these three inventories into a syllabus, they fall back on Inventory A, as the example of the easiest one for skeletal planning, with units from Inventories B and C providing the "padding and the flesh."

However, admitting that it is not imperative to use A as the basic one, they also give an example using Inventory B as a pivotal inventory, but do not provide an example for Inventory C. In my opinion, Inventory B (if themes and topics can include specific communication settings and situations) and Inventory C are more closely linked to the actual communicative needs of students. First, determine when students need to use the language (B). One could then work from there in selecting what students actually need to be able to do with the language (C). Priorities should be set along the way. Then the linguistic content can be selected. Approaching it otherwise results in ignoring needs assessment, which, unfortunately, is what frequently happens.

Since Inventory B and C are more basic to developing a course with communicative goals, the authors would have done a great service to have highlighted B, using settings, and then to have shown how Inventory C and then A can be derived from B, instead of highlighting A and ignoring C. (Use of C as a basic inventory, however, would probably be just as problematic as A since it could result in just another list of items like A without a rationale and without a direct link to needs through communication settings.)

They also argue that inventories B and C do not require any inherent sequential ordering, whereas, "the linguistic inventory has traditionally been organized in a certain sequence so it fits everyone's cultural expectations. Like reciting the alphabet in customary order, it seems natural and basic." (Dubin and Olshtain 1986: 110). I disagree with this assumption. As the authors have pointed out, "the linguistic content has been determined by a particular theoretical view of the nature of language" (Dubin and Olshtain, 1986:45), and this has changed over the years. Thus, one can argue that even Inventory A has no more *inherent* sequential ordering than B or C. Solid rationales for ordering can be developed for Inventories B and C, based on setting priorities for communicative needs of the learners. Using B and C, if derived from needs, is valid for both ESP courses and general proficiency courses.

c. *Evaluation*

The treatment of curriculum development processes seems to be fairly balanced except for evaluation. As the authors note, the field of evaluation is too broad to cover in this text, thus, they were selective. As a result only two pages are given to evaluation. They emphasize humanistic aspects of evaluation, particularly the role of student feedback and external measures of success. The brief reference to evaluation, due to space limitatons, is somewhat understandable. However, since the focus of the book is on curriculum development processes, a few strong statements on the importance of viewing evaluation as a part of the developmental process would have been valuable. Too often evaluations are seen primarily as judgmental and threatening, thus, avoided or hidden. And while certainly it is hard to ignore the reality of politics in evaluation, the authors could have made a valuable contribution in this area by strongly promoting program and materials evaluation as a natural part of the developmental process. It would also nicely parallel current views in language learning that making mistakes is a part of the natural language learning process!

Observations about Presentation: Some Problems

1. *Clarity*

Chapters 1-3 are particularly densely packed with information, concepts, and implications of theoretical assumptions on planning. In fact, I was somewhat overwhelmed and impressed by the authors' efforts at synthesizing so much. But I also wondered how some readers, perhaps less experienced in curriculum development, might respond to the content. For the first three chapters I could only absorb one chapter at a time without a significant break to reflect on the contents. And if this is intended as a core text for a course in curriculum development, then the book probably would not be read straight through in one sitting. This is mentioned only to alert prospective users, particularly course instructors, of a potential frustration trainees might have initially in getting into the book. It would be unfortunate if they were to "tune out" before seeing the whole process. Elsewhere in this review, I have suggested approaches that might help readers personally get into the book.

In Chapter 5 two scales are provided for assessing the communicative potential (5.2.2.) and cognitive potential (5.2.3.) of workouts. The communicative scale has no introductory explanation, immediately follows a list of "example workouts," and is followed by the cognitive scale. Thus, the communicative scale is visually swallowed up and lacks a statement of the intentions of the authors.

2. *Organization*

Overall, the organization of the book is relatively well done with an initial overview of the contents at the beginning of each chapter, and headings generally seem appropriate; however, two aspects concern me.

My major concern is the relatively dense dose of theory at the beginning without a "warm-up" for the reader. While the Introduction is thoughtfully written, it does not really prepare or excite the reader/trainees to see themselves as potential writers before they get into the theory the way Chapter 9 does. If some or all of Chapter 9 (slightly modified) were placed at the beginning of the book, with such a warm-up, trainees/readers might then be more receptive of the theoretical bases of curriculum in Chapters

1-3. However, given the existing organization of the book, I would recommend that Chapter 9 be read first, followed by one or two activities suggested by the authors, then re-read later.

A second area of concern is that the comments on evaluation are inserted, almost as an afterthought, in the Epilogue, thus, almost negating the value of the authors' observations. In a later version the authors might consider putting these comments in either Chapter 3 or 9. As revision, based on evaluation, is a vital part of the development process, and as evaluation includes feedback from the learner, comments on evaluation could probably fit into either of these chapters.

Closing

In spite of some problems, the authors' development of course design/curriculum planning as a legitimate profession is perhaps the most valuable overall contribution of this book. They have shown that the study of curriculum development can be an academically valid area as well as crucial to the practical success of language programs.

Culture Bound

Joyce Merrill Valdes (ed)
Cambridge Language Teaching Library CUP 1986

Reviewed by
Ian Martin
York University
Toronto

This latest addition to the excellent Cambridge Language Teaching Library series brings together 18 articles on the theory and practice of integrating culture teaching/learning into the second/ foreign language classroom.

Four of the articles were specially produced for this volume, and the rest were selected from articles or books from the past fifteen years (only 3 articles date from the 1960s or earlier).

The material is grouped into three parts (original material asterisked):

I. Language, thought and culture (4 articles)
    - Boas "Language and Thought"
    - *Kaplan "Culture and the Written Language"
    - *Acton and Walker de Felix "Acculturation and Mind"
    - H.D. Brown "Learning a Second Culture"

II. Cultural Differences and Similarities (7 articles):
    - Lado "How to compare two cutures"
    - Morain "Kinesics and Cross-cultural Understanding"
    - Osterloh "Intercultural Differences and Communicative Approaches to foreign-language teaching in the Third World"
    - Condon "... So near the United States"
    - Parker et al. "Cultural Clues to the Middle Eastern Student"
    - Maley "Xanadu — 'A Miracle of rare device': the teaching of English in China"
    - Wolfson "Compliments in cross-cultural perspective"

III. Practical classroom applications (7 articles):
    - Brooks "Culture in the Classroom"
    - Blatchford "Newspapers: vehicles for teaching ESOL with a cultural focus"
    - *Merrill Valdes "Culture in literature"
    - Dunnett, Dubin and Lezberg "ELT from an

Intercultural Perspective"
Hughes "An argument for culture analysis in the second language classroom"
*Archer "Culture bump and beyond"
Valette "The Culture test"

Although the contributors but two (Karl-Heinz Osterloh and Alan Maley) are American, the articles aim to reach a specific audience of ESL teachers in the U.S. and other SL contexts, and a wider audience of teachers of English around the world.

Merrill Valdes has provided a general preface, an introduction to each part, an extensive and valuable bibliography and "questions for consideration" following each selection, facilitating the use of this volume in teacher education courses.

The problem, which this book seeks to illuminate, occurs when L2 learners encounter C2 with, depending on their unpreparedness, potentially traumatic results. This trauma can inhibit L2-learning. Language teachers must be aware of this potential problem, and seek ways to "assist in bringing them through it to the point that culture becomes an aid to langauge learning rather than a hindrance." (p. vii).

Merrill Valdes acknowledges the multiplicity of current views on the place of culture in language teaching, but a book of readings — *any* book of readings — can do little more than confirm the impression of multiplicity, with the consequence that single articles stand out for their interest and coherence in contrast to the book as an ordered whole.

Part I. Language Thought and Culture

The four theoretical articles on the language-culture relationship are a strange selection indeed. Franz Boas' 1911 micro-emic analytic excursus are, with the exception of the Lado excerpt, not mentioned further in the book. Neither Kaplan nor Acton and Walker de Felix allude to the Boas-Sapir-Whorf tradition, while the Brown selection clearly comes out on the side of language, cognitive and cultural universals.

Kaplan explores the relationship between culture and the written language by discussing the destabilizing impact of literacy on traditional orate societies in the process of modernization. Literacy makes science and the extension of man's control over nature possible. The impact of the spread of English as the world's technical language ("a separate culture of its own") and the impact of English on other writing and rhetorical systems is discussed, the latter with reference to the situation of Korean today.

The article which by far, in my

view, synthesises a very wide range of relevant research and points to practical curriculum design is by William Acton and Judith Walker de Felix. They challenge the assumption (stemming from John Schumann 1976) that "difference" or "social distance" is the essential factor affecting acculturation. Instead, they broaden this line of sociolinguistic enquiry to include the "mind" of the C2-learner, the psychological (cognitive and affective) processes that underlie acculturation. Synthesizing no less than thirteen theoretical frameworks from the sub-fields of language acquisition, cognitive psychology, personality and role development, and affect and acculturation, Acton and Walker de Felix argue for a "Four-stage Acculturation Model", a model which could stand as a paradigm for much fruitful future research.

The stages they present are:

Stage I	"Tourist" novice proficiency level; L1 ego only involved; dependence on teacher/group etc.
Stage II	"Survivor" advanced beginner; L2 ego begins to develop; nurturing by teacher/group, etc.
ACCULTURATION THRESHOLD	
Stage III	"Immigrant" competent in L2; L2 ego is distinct; independent of teacher/group etc.
Stage IV	"Citizen" proficient in L2; L2 ego is as integrated as L1 etc.

The language classroom, they claim, may lead learners "into stage 3", but "it appears to require extensive socialization or acculturation beyond the classroom to proceed much further than that." (p. 29)

Douglas Brown's selection, from his *Principles of Language Learning and Teaching* (1980 and 2nd. ed. 1987), views culture learning as requiring an understanding of acculturation ("the process of becoming adapted to a new culture"), culture shock ("the second of four successive stages of acculturation") and (perceived) social distance. This discussion leads to his hypothesis of a "culturally-based critical period" which has been included in the Acton-Walker de Felix survey.

Part II: Cultural Differences and Similarities

The seven articles in Part II focus on specific cultural differences and similarities.

Robert Lado's "How to Compare Two Cultures" (from his 1957 *Linguistics Across Cultures*) introduces emic and etic strategies for a universal structural analytic method of culture comparison.

Genelle Morain's article points to the necessity of including the categories of kinesics (posture, movement, facial expression, eye management, gestures and proxemics) in any attempt to fully understand cross-cultural communication. She argues for "perceptual education" in the L2/C2 classroom.

Karl-Heinz Osterloh isolates key differences between the world-view carried into the Third World by the major Western languages, products of the Industrial Revolution and advanced technological consciousness-creating, and the traditional, pretechnocratic languages-and-cultures upon which they impact. Thus, the intercultural differences between, say, German and Arabic or English and Thai, are of a different order entirely than those which exist between English and German or French and Russian.

Western technocratic languages favour the introduction into the Third World of a secular, "objectified" reality, anonymously-written texts, abstract concepts, and a progressive functionalization of terms and discourse structures. A Western-language teacher in the Third World must "teach the student to relate foreign language expressions to himself and to his environment," relating the new language to the learner's familiar experience; otherwise the learning experience may result in the learner being alienated from his own culture.

John Condon's socio-historical perspectives on typical communication difficulties between Americans and Mexicans point to four unspoken and out-of-awareness cultural assumptions and expectations which are vastly divergent in the two cultural traditions: "individualism", "straight talk", "the truth" and "time".

Orin Parker et al provide insights on the general cultural characteristics of the Middle Eastern student in the United States, and offer practical suggestions to teachers and international student advisors on how North American campuses could more sensitively meet the culture-learning needs of Middle Eastern sojourners.

Alan Maley, formerly of the British Council, Beijing, "speaking frankly, but as a good friend of China", critically analyses the reasons for the widespread disappointment on the part of TESL professionals with their English teaching experiences in the People's Republic of China. While cross-cultural communication problems abound, Maley suggests that Chinese curricular planning, teacher recruitment, bureaucratic management of teaching/learning and the Chinese restrictions on "normal" person-to-person relationships, are largely to blame for what he sees as great wastage of foreign expertise in the service of the Four Modernizations.

Maley's plea is for greater realism and patience on the part of western "experts", more well-defined projects with counterpart training of Chinese staff, more curricular-planning power to be given to the younger Chinese teachers recently returned from abroad, a general (mutual) lowering of expectations, and a greater openness on both sides.

Nessa Wolfson argues for more empirical cross-cultural studies of speech acts in order to develop contrastive analyses of rules of speaking. Her extensive study of American English compliments reveals that they serve a number of important social functions which are largely uninterpretable to non-Americans.

The articles in Part II are individually interesting, but exhibit such a plurality of stated or unstated assumptions about what "culture" may be, that the insights arrayed here do not add up to a coherent whole, or even to a general framework which might at some point in the future lead to coherence.

Part III: Classroom Applications

The six articles in Part III are intended to represent practical applications of the theoretical views presented in Parts I and II.

Nelson Brooks' cultural "hors d'oeuvres" topics is an early example of the teacher's "laundry list" approach to culture. Unlike many of the other authors represented in this collection, Brooks feels that incidental teaching of cultural topics is all that is needed in the classroom, and he suggests a five-minute segment at the beginning of classes before students get down to the main course; presumably decontextualized language.

Charles Blatchford's lively treatment of the newspaper as a cultural artifact contains practical advice on tackling this difficult medium in an ESL classroom in the U.S.

Merrill Valdes presents a case for the inclusion of unabridged, culturally-rich (but linguistically non-discouraging) literary texts in the diet of the upper intermediate-advanced learner, and cites her own experience in her sophomore ESL course "American Life Through Literature". The literary text, once chosen, may be "parsed" for social values allegedly characteristic of the United States ("individualism", "fair play" "competition" etc.) and Merrill Valdes offers practical methodological suggestions. She advises a chronological ordering, mixing genres and using the text as a jumping-off point for exciting and enjoyable cross-cultural discussions. There is no doubt that this approach to literature is valuable, providing teachers can avoid simple sociologizing and treating literary situations and characters as if they were socially rather than imaginatively real.

Dunnett, Dubin and Lezberg speak to language programme administrators as well as teachers, arguing that culture learning deserves a basic place in overall planning. EFL teachers must be trained, materials must be chosen, and methodology adopted so that culture learning is present throughout the programme, not merely as a separate curricular component or minor adjunct (as the Brooks selection would suggest). The authors offer practical suggestions and give examples of successful programmes which embody an intercultural approach to EFL.

Hughes distinguishes individual from institutional aspects of culture teaching/learning and contends that the former holds more attraction for most learners. Five models for the analysis of culture (Brooks 1975, Murdock 1971, Hall 1959, Taylor and Sorenson 1961, Nostrand 1974) are summoned to demonstrate that integrative culture study is possible, and eight techniques for teaching cultural awareness are offered, to be used preferably by teachers with intercultural or anthropological training.

Archer's intriguing treatment of "culture bumps" (cross-cultural micro-shocks) followed by a "mirroring process" (in which the one "bumped" shares his experience with others, whether his cultural fellows or with his/her ESL classmates), is simple and extremely valuable. A "depersonal" analysis of culture bumps entails a process of practical reasoning about the event, the setting, the "other's" behaviour, one's own behaviour, one's feelings, expectations and one's underlying values. When such techniques are brought into the language classroom, Archer cautions teachers of non-Western students who "take a longer time than Western students to participate fully". This is an excellent article, presenting practical applications solidly grounded in a contemporary intercultural discourse-in-action framework.

Valette presents a range of sample test items (most constructed on the multiple-choice format) which could be used in L2-C2 courses. She would expose learners to authentic material from the target L/C and lead them toward interpreting the situation in terms of the target community's values, while remaining conscious that a plurality of values is to be expected according to social class, age, sex, region etc.

Summary

As with many other collections of readings, Merrill Valdes selections will appeal in quite different ways to the broad range of readers she hopes to reach. Its strength lies with the insights of certain of the chosen authors (Acton and Walker de Felix, Osterloh and Archer are the most thought-provoking, in my opinion), and if the editor fails to sort out a framework from the multiplicity of current approaches — indeed several of the selections are mutually contradictory, not mutually supporting — perhaps this is fairly representative of the very lively multi-paradigm (but post-Structuralist) state of the culture-teaching art in the United States at present.

Strictly Academic: a Reading and Writing Text

Pat Currie and Ellen Cray

Reviewed by
Gordon Taylor
Monash University
Melbourne

Good text-books on reading and writing for students entering college or university are much needed and rarely to be found in bookshops whose shelves groan with works that purport to fill this function. This is true whether the students aimed at are native speakers of English or not. Most such texts are hardly worth the shelf-space given to them because they greatly oversimplify the requirements and the complexities of academic reading and writing. Students (and very often their teachers) are thus misled. One of the problems is that authors do not sufficiently understand what 'academic' work in the disciplines of knowledge really is, in particular how college and university-level work differs from what happens at school. So when a text with the title *Strictly Academic* comes along, we might fairly hope that some hard thinking has been done on these matters by the authors.

There is no 'method' for writing such a book. In their prefatory note to the instructor (this text is not a self-help one), Currie and Cray acknowledge that students have to be prepared for the complexity of academic studies and have attempted to develop what they call an "underlying philosophy" for the approach they have taken. (This philosophy is explained in an accompanying instructor's manual.) Though the authors do not use these terms explicitly, *Strictly Academic* is based on a communicative approach to the teaching of reading and writing, and perhaps more particularly on the 'process writing' model now widely followed in North American and many other English speaking school systems.

Each of the eight chapters is based on a topic, for example dreaming, animal communication, the greenhouse effect, artificial intelligence. All but one begins with a section called 'Thinking about the topic' in which various pre-writing questions are raised for individual thought and class discussion. Then come readings on the topic, becoming longer and more demanding as the book proceeds, which are used to teach one or other aspect of reading and note-taking skills. In addition, tied to these texts are certain generic kinds of writing (for example, classification, causality, comparison, argument and counter-argument) and writing skills (parallel structure, coherence, achieving clarity and emphasis with relative clauses, and so on). Then, typically, an essay topic will be set, and the student is led through four stages: getting ready to write; setting down the first draft attending mainly to content; revising the draft for clarity; and then editing the essay for mistakes in spelling, grammar and punctuation. At each stage the student exchanges drafts with a partner and the two comment on each other's work. Finally, some chapters have sections on useful skills such as oral presentations in seminars, writing exam answers and using the library.

The authors have performed quite a feat in organising all these things into a course text that is coherent and which progresses quite well from start to finish. Chapter 1, which gets the student gradually to write a self-improvement handbook for English, demonstrates an excellent sense of the problems and anxieties that face overseas students when they arrive to study in an English-speaking college. Things like overcoming the fear of conversation, developing a willingness to take risks with one's English, and realising the importance of starting work on a topic with one's own thoughts and ideas which can be expanded in discussion with other students — all these provide an excellent orientation to academic work, especially for those students who come from academic cultures which emphasise the solitary swotting and simple reproduction of information gleaned from books. By the end of the course the student has to face up to a genuine major controversy in paleontology — whether the early hominid Lucy was truly an upright 'human', or whether she was still partially adapted for climbing trees.

The overall conception of the book is therefore a good one. What of its treatment of the parts that go to make it up? Here I begin to have some major reservations. The first concerns the fact that this course is quite clearly designed only for students entering North American colleges or other education systems which follow the model of an introductory freshman year.

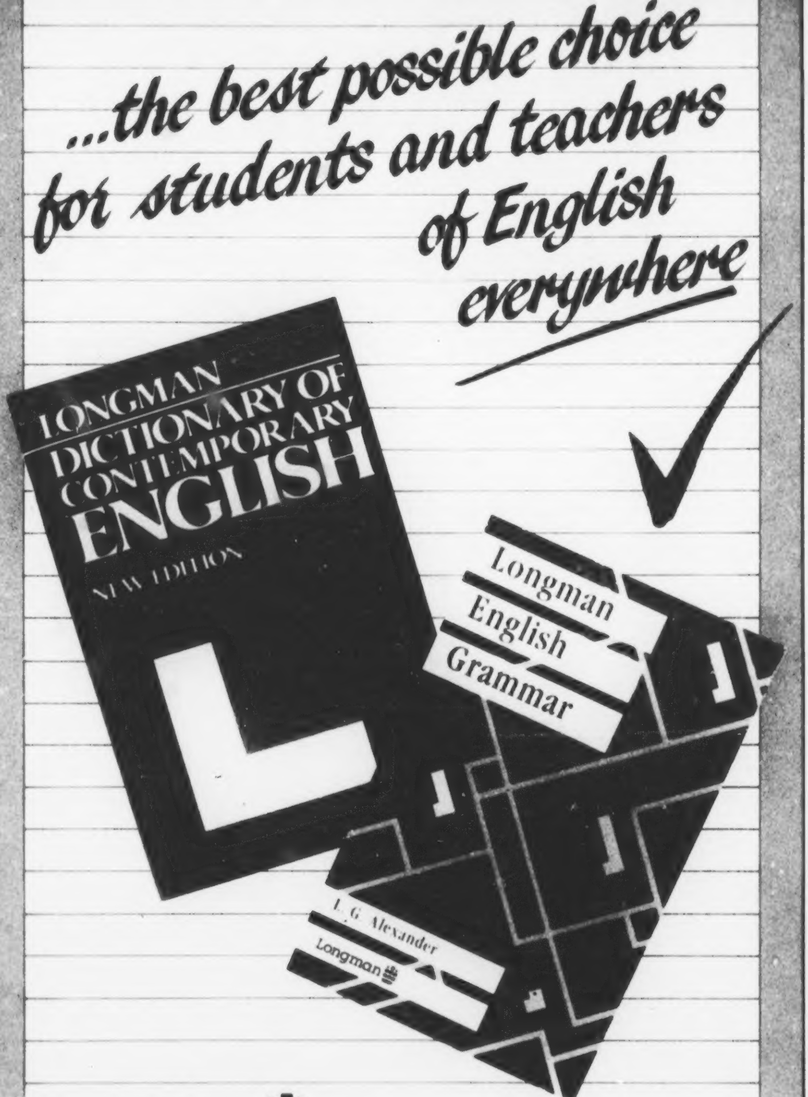
The authors claim that the reading texts they use are "authentic". By this they seem to mean more than that the language of the texts is not simplified. For the most part, though the topics are genuine enough, the texts are not. There are a few taken from text-books and monographs, but the majority by far are from newspapers and semi-popular magazines. Journalistic language, however good it is, does not serve as a suitable model for students going into arts, social science, law and similar courses in Australian or British universities, where real books must be tackled and where many of the quirks of more popular writing are rigorously eschewed. The shape of an argument or exposition and therefore the shape of paragraphs are often quite different in the two genres. The dependence on this kind of text leads the authors into a serious error in academic method. Dealing with appositives (p. 217) they write: "When you cite an authority, it is important to establish the credentials of that person, so that you gain credibility in the eyes of your reader". Hence, sentences like "David Pilbeam of Harvard, one of the country's foremost paleoanthropologists, ... puts the case more succinctly". This is not a feature of good academic writing for the very important reason that what the logic books call 'appeals to authority' are not sufficient to establish one's credibility. The evidence and the arguments of the authorities have to be treated in a distinctively analytical mode of writing which *Strictly Academic* does not address. In many parts of the world this book would better serve the needs of senior secondary school students.

The second reservation relates to this one, but stems more particularly from the process writing approach, on which the book is founded. We have seen how it helps the book to hold together as a whole and to provide necessary practice in thinking, writing and re-writing. But 'process writing' has certain endemic limitations; it does not tell us very much about how best to approach some of the more important aspects of reading and writing. In *Strictly Academic*, the sections on the genres of writing — classification, definition, explanation, exemplificaiton, comparison etc. — are really too sketchy. They tell the student what to look out for when reading and what to do when writing. But they cannot quite say *how* these things are to be done, *how* a writer 'builds up' text which integrates these things. On a few occasions they advocate a 'scissors and tape' solution to structural problems in writing (a dubious approach at best) without warning of the consequences for argument and language. Similarly, with respect to reading and taking notes, the authors do get 'inside' a text by looking to ways of clarifying and structuring ideas, but the big problem for most students is not mentioned: 'How do I summarise an author's text in my own words'. Process writing is insufficiently rich as a model of composition to suggest answers to problems such as these, or even very often to raise them as questions.

What the authors have set out to do is accomplished well. But for this reviewer more needs to be attempted. While I agree with Currie and Cray that an exclusive focus on details of language does not constitute a good way of approaching academic writing, there are many problems of grammar, sentence structure and meaning faced by ESL students that can hardly be ignored. For example in a short section (p. 38) on causal verbs, the opportunity is missed to draw the distinction, frequently confused, between *result in* and *result from*. A thoroughly inadequate flow-chart method of constructing classifying sentences (p. 23) allows such unsatisfactory pieces of English as '*X* can be divided into *n* divisions' and 'You can group *X* into *n* groups'.

I should prefer to see much of the procedural repetitiousness made necessary by the process writing approach (Discuss this with your teacher; Gather your information; Exchange sketches with your partner) consigned to the teacher's manual. The space made available could then be used to tackle matters of language and understanding more thoroughly.

The book is well set out. If you like that sort of thing, plenty of space is left for students to write in their answers. (This is a facility not entirely consistent with the emphasis on drafting and revision.) The tone adopted by the authors is appropriate to the target readers. Perhaps the best way to sum up *Strictly Academic* is to say that, while it definitely moves towards many of the things required in academic studies, it has not *strictly* quite arrived. I should like the authors to attempt a successor volume.


...the best possible choice
for students and teachers
of English
everywhere
LONGMAN
DICTIONARY OF
CONTEMPORARY
ENGLISH
NEW EDITION
L
Longman
English
Grammar
L. G. Alexander
Longman

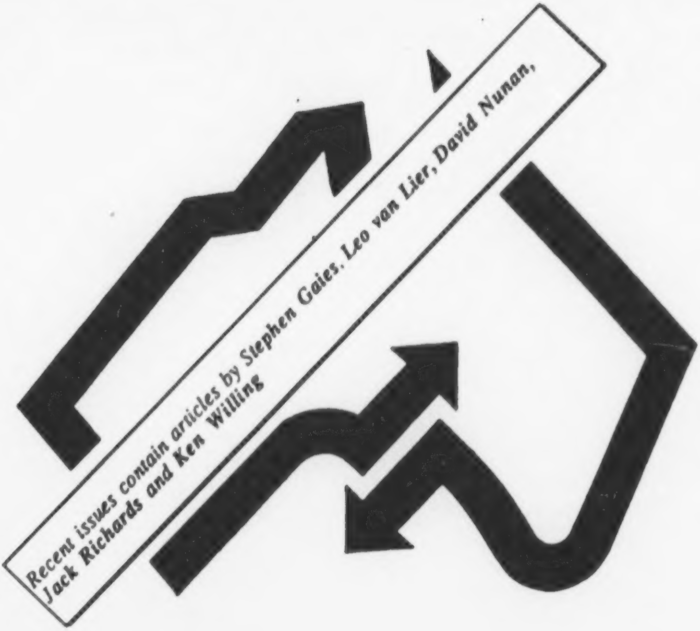
Longman

Longman English Language Teaching, Longman Group UK Ltd,

Burnt Mill, Harlow, Essex CM20 2JE, England.

PROSPECT

THE JOURNAL OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM



Recent issues contain articles by Stephen Gaies, Leo van Lier, David Nunan, Jack Richards and Ken Willing

Prospect is the national professional teaching journal of the Australian Adult Migrant Education Program (AMEP), which offers ESL and orientation tuition each year to over 100 000 adult immigrants to Australia from all over the world.

Prospect publishes articles, notes, reports and reviews on applied linguistics and teaching related to adult TESOL. It is published three times per year.

Prospect subscription rates can be obtained from Gerd Stabler,
National Curriculum Resource Centre, 5th floor, Renaissance Centre,
127 Rundle Mall, Adelaide, South Australia 5000.

Jill Burton, Editor

ARE THESE ON YOUR READING LIST?

ISSN 0289-7938
全国語学教育学会
JANUARY 1987
VOL. XI, NO. 1
THE Language Teacher
THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS JALT ¥350

JALT JOURNAL

Publications of …

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

The Language Teacher – A monthly magazine with features, reviews, meeting announcements, employment opportunities, etc.
JALT Journal – A semi-annual journal featuring articles relevant to language teaching/learning in Japan and Asia

Overseas Membership (including subscriptions to both publications):
Sea Mail $30 U.S. Air Mail $40 U.S.

Send all remittances by bankers draft in yen, drawn on a Japanese bank, or dollars drawn on an American bank. The postal giro account may also be used by international subscribers.

JALT International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning – An annual event featuring over 250 lectures/workshops/demonstrations. Over 1000 participants yearly.

November 21-23, 1987 – Tokyo
October 8-10, 1988 – Kobe
November 3-5, 1989 – To be announced

Send requests for further information and remittances to:
JALT, c/o Kyoto English Center, Sumitomo Seimei Bldg., Shijo-Karasuma Nishi-iru, Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan. Tel.: (075) 221-2376

Domestic Membership Fees:
Regular Membership, ¥6,000; Joint, ¥10,000; Student, ¥4,000; Associate, ¥50,000
Postal Furikae (Giro) Account: Kyoto 15892, "JALT"

RELC

ANNOUNCEMENT

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

Language Teaching Methodology for the Nineties

10–14 April 1989

For more information, please contact:
CHAIRMAN,
SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE,
SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
30 ORANGE GROVE ROAD
SINGAPORE 1025

Subscription form

RELC JOURNAL

A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and a subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is ten Singapore dollars (S$10.00) for subscribers within SEAMEO countries and US$10.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and sent it to

The Publications Officer
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
RELC Building
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at S$7.00*/US$7.00⁺ per copy.

For the complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications Officer.

I enclose S$10.00*/US$10.00⁺. Please send me the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for ....

Name: ....

Address: ....

....

....

- * within SEAMEO countries
- ⁺ other countries

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Clarification:

The present members of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) are: Negara Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copy must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, e.g., the suffix *-s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text.

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221-222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14-16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, 221-254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC PUBLICATIONS

Monograph Series
An Introduction to Linguistics for the Language Teacher
Cultural Components of Reading
The Testing of Listening Comprehension
Problems of Learning English as a Second Language in Malaysia
Strategies for Communication between Teachers and Pupils in a Rural Malaysian School
Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in Multilingual Societies
An Historical Study of Language Planning

Anthology Series
(1) Reading: Insights and Approaches
(2) Teaching English for Science and Technology
(3) Curriculum Development and Syllabus Design for English Teaching
(4) Language Education in Multilingual Societies
(5) Papers on Southeast Asian Languages
(6) Applications of Linguistics to Language Teaching
(7) Bilingual Education
(8) Patterns of Bilingualism
(9) Language Testing
(10) Language Teaching Issues in Multilingual Environments in Southeast Asia
(11) Varieties of English in Southeast Asia
(12) Transfer and Translation in Language Learning and Teaching
(13) Trends in Language Syllabus Design
(14) Communicative Language Teaching
(15) Language Across the Curriculum
(16) Language in Learning

Occasional Papers Series
(2) Research Proposals for Studies in Language Learning
(3) Controlled and Guided Composition
(5) Group Activities for Language Learning
(6) A Handbook of Communication Activities for Young Learners
(7) Form and Function in Second Language Learning
(8) New Varieties of English: Issues and Approaches
(9) Papers on Variation in English
(10) Error Analysis and Error Correction in Language Teaching
(11) Studies in Second Language Acquisition
(12) Developing Awareness Skills for Interethnic Communication
(13) Treds in Language Teaching and Bilingual Education
(14) Approaches to Communicative Competence
(15) Contrastive Instructional Materials Development
(16) An Error Analysis of English Compositions by Thai Students
(18) Papers on Language Testing
(19) Measuring Affective Factors in Language Learning
(20) Studies in Classroom Interaction
(21) Ten Papers on Translation
(22) A Study of Hokkien-Mandarin Phonological Correspondences
(23) What Is Standard English
(24) Techniques and Approaches for Advanced ESL Students
(25) On Conversation
(26) Psycholinguistic Dimensions of Language Teaching and Bilingualism
(27) Papers on Team Teaching and Syllabus Design
(28) Papers on Translation: Aspects, Concepts, Implications
(29) Varieties of English and Their Implications for ELT in South-east Asia
(30) Concepts and Functions in Current Syllabuses
(31) Case Studies in Syllabus and Course Design
(32) Language, Identity and Socio-Economic Development
(33) Interlanguage of Learners of English as a Foreign Language
(34) On Composition
(35) Minidictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes
(36) A Quantitative approach to the Study of Sociolinguistic Situations in Multilingual Societies
(38) Studies on Sociocultural Factors Affecting Language Education
(39) Studies in Philippine English
(40) Language Attitudes
(41) Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning

Guidelines. A Periodical for Classroom Language Teachers
June 1979 No. 1 Communication Activities
Dec 1979 No. 2 Teaching Reading Skills
June 1980 No. 3 Vocabulary Teaching
Dec 1980 No. 4 Audio-Visual Aids in Language-Teaching
June 1981 No. 5 Language Games
Dec 1981 No. 6 Writing Activities
June 1982 Vol. 4 No. 1 Study Skills
Dec 1982 Vol. 4 No. 2 Group Activities
June 1983 Vol. 5 No. 1 Classroom Tests
Dec 1983 Vol. 5 No. 2 Drama Activities
1984–1986 A Periodical for classroom Language Teachers

RELC Newsletter. This publication is mailed quarterly to over 3,500 readers within and outside Southeast Asia. Each issue reports on the Centre's recent activities.

Printed by Fong & Sons Printers Pte.

RELC JOURNAL

JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

VOLUME 19 NUMBER 2 DECEMBER 1988

Articles

Kyle Perkins and Sheila R Brutten **An Item Discriminability Study of Textually Explicit, Textually Implicit, and Scriptally Implicit Questions** 1

John Read **Measuring the Vocabulary Knowledge of Second Language Learners** 12

Christopher Cleary **The C-Test in English: Left-hand deletions** 26

Makhan L Tickoo **In Search of Appropriateness in EF(S)L Teaching Materials** 39

Mohsen Ghadessy **A Study of Four Attitudes and Reading Comprehension of Primary Six Students in Singapore** 51

Ian Tudor **A Comparative Study of the Effect of Two-prereading Formats on L2 Reading Comprehension** 71

Audrey Ambrose-Yeoh **A Study of the Concept of ESL Proficiency in Selected Malaysian Contexts and Its Implications for Assessment** 87

Yolanda Beh **Current Research in Southeast Asia** 98

Book Review

Gail Schaefer Fu **Crosscultural Understanding: Process and Approaches for Foreign Language, English as a Second Language and Bilingual Educators** 106

N S Prabhu **Interactive Writing: An Advanced Course in Writing Skills** 110

Michael J Harrick **Principles of Course Design for Second Language Teaching** 113

Publications Received 114

145

PUBLISHED BY THE SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, SINGAPORE

Editorial Committee

Makhan Lai Tickoo, *Editor*
Eugenius Sadtono, *Review Editor*
Lim Kiat Boey
Sarinee Anivan
Yolanda Beh
Melchor Tatlonghari
Paroo Nihalani

NOTES FOR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Aisa.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$10.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$10.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal*, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of the respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Regional Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization.

(Notes for Subscribers continued on inside back cover)

RELC

© REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1988
ISSN 0033-6882

146

RELC JOURNAL

Volume 19

Number 2

DECEMBER 1988

RELC P359-88

An Item Discriminability Study of Textually Explicit, Textually Implicit, and Scriptally Implicit Questions

Kyle Perkins and Sheila R Brutten
Department of Linguistics
Southern Illinois University
USA

Abstract

This paper reports the effect that background knowledge has on the item discriminability of reading comprehension items; item discriminability is an index of how well a test item discriminates between weak and strong examinees in the ability being tested.

The questions from three reading comprehension tests were placed into one of the following categories: (1) textually explicit; (2) textually implicit; and (3) scriptally implicit. An item discriminability index was computed for each item. The results indicated that there were significant differences in the three categories of items with respect to item discriminability and that reading comprehension items which are heavily dependent on background knowledge do not exhibit good item discriminability. The findings indicate that researchers must control for background knowledge in a reading test when they use test *products* as the basis for making inferences about the *processes* underlying reading comprehension.

Introduction

Current reading research indicates that if general aptitude (Coleman, 1971) and IQ (Tuinman, 1979) can be statistically controlled, a large proportion of variance in a measure of reading comprehension can be accounted for by the reader's relevant background knowledge (Johnston and Pearson, 1982). Farr, Carey, and Tone (1986) have noted the role which background knowledge plays in the reading comprehension process:

> The emerging model of comprehension asserts that comprehension is an active process in which the reader constructs meaning from text cues, calling upon knowledge of language, text structure and conventions, content concepts, and communication. This process is essentially inferential, with readers using their existing knowledge to link discrete pieces of information in the text, to ascribe appropriate meanings to words, and to fill in implied information. In addition, readers monitor their state of understanding and engage various strategies according to different reading purposes and genre, or to encountered difficulties (p. 136).

Because background knowledge is crucial to the reading comprehension process, and because each reader's store of background knowedge relevant to each reading passage is unique, we were led to investigate the effect which background knowledge has on the psychometric properties of reading comprehension items, namely on item discriminability, an important characteristic of a test item which indicates how well it discriminates between weak and strong examinees in the ability being tested.

Our hypothesis was that items whose correct responses were dependent on the reader's prior knowledge would have lower indices of item discriminability than items whose correct responses were more textually explicit because of the great variance in the readers' textually relevant background knowledge. Researchers such as Kintsch (1974), Searle (1975), and Schank (1975) from myriad disciplines have noted in their theories that background knowledge is the basis for inferential processes and for the reader's relating to the text. In a criticism of keyed responses for multiple choice reading comprehension items Farr and Carey (1986) lend further credence to our research hypothesis:

> Recent research has emphasized that reading comprehension is a constructive process and that meaning is as dependent on the reader as it is on the text. Thus, the single correct answer format provides a dilemma for authors of multiple choice tests. Even if a particular answer is agreed upon by a committee of experts, the possibility exists that a creative reader is capable of going beyond conventional implications of the passage to infer a response that is incorrect when measured against the single response anticipated and allowed (p. 34).

Methodology

Subjects

This research was conducted in an intensive English center at a large midwestern university. The subjects who generated the data for this research were non-native speakers of English who were enrolled in full-time intensive English classes. The subjects were enrolled in three different proficiency levels: 2, 3, and 4. Data were elicited from 28 level-2 subjects; 28 level-3 subjects, and 57 level-4 subjects.

At the center, placement of students into the four full-time proficiency levels (1, 2, 3, and 4) is determined by the results of an institutional Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) test which is administered to new students at the beginning of each term. Students who score 374 or lower are placed into level 1; students who score between 375 and 429 are placed into level 2; those who score between 430 and 469 are placed into level 3; and those who score between 470 and 524 are placed into level 4.

There are no behavioral anchoring data available to indicate what reading skills students at the different proficiency levels have competence in. For the reader who is not familiar with English as a Second Language proficiency, perhaps the following guideline will be helpful. Most undergraduate colleges require a minimum TOEFL score of 525 for admission; graduate schools, a minimum of 550. Some graduate departments such as English and Journalism may require a TOEFL score of 600.

Materials

Each proficiency level has its own final reading comprehension exam which is administered at the conclusion of each eight-week term. Each exam contains 25 questions which are multiple choice with a single correct answer format such as the format described by Farr and Carey (1986).

The proficiency level 2 exam has five sections: (1) a 409-word passage about early groups of settlers in the United States followed by ten questions; (2) a section of newspaper classified advertisements for apartments, houses, and mobile homes followed by four scanning questions, e.g., "How much does the gorgeous one bedroom apartment cost per month?"; (3) a 131-word passage about volcanoes followed by five questions; (4) a 132-word passage about color followed by five questions; and (5) a 171-word passage about the differential effects of gravity upon bodies depending upon the location of such bodies on the earth followed by two questions. McLaughlin's (1969) SMOG readability formula estimated the readability level of the level 2 exam to be at Grade 8.

The proficiency level 3 exam has seven sections: (1) a 431-word passage about tornadoes followed by eight questions; (2) a 177-word passage about the directional behavior of plant cuttings followed by five questions; (3) a 165-word, one-paragraph passage about the blue whale followed by two questions; (4) a 100-word, one-paragraph passage about retarding the aging process followed by two questions; (5) a 93-word, one-paragraph passage about the effects of television on society followed by two questions; (6) a 125-word, two-paragraph passage about how the coyote is too wily to become endangered followed by two questions; and (7) a 238-word passage about Hawaii's geothermal energy followed by four questions. The SMOG readability estimate for the level 3 exam was Grade 10.

The proficiency level 4 exam has two sections: (1) a 684-word passage about industrial America and the worker followed by 15 questions; and (2) a 1648-word passage about the theory of demand followed by 10 questions. The SMOG readability estimate for the level 4 exam was Grade 12.

These exams can be considered criterion-referenced measures. The students' homework, quizzes, and final exam scores form a composite score, and the criterion for passing into the next higher proficiency level is 75 percent. The final exam comprises 30 percent of the composite score.

Item Type Categorization

Independently the two authors classified the relations between each question and its keyed response and placed each question into one of the following categories: (1) textually explicit; (2) textually implicit; and (3) scriptally implicit. There was 94 percent agreement between the two raters; a third evaluator adjudicated the disagreements, and the consensus was recorded.

Pearson and Johnson (1978) originated this classification scheme and provided the following operational rules for determining the comprehension categories:

> A question-answer relation is classified as *textually explicit if* both question and answer are derivable from the text *and if* the relation between question and answer was explicitly cued by the language of the text (p. 163). A question-answer relation is classified as *textually implicit if* both question and answer are derivable from the text *but* there is no logical or grammatical cue tying the question to the answer *and* the answer given is plausible in light of the question (p. 163). *Scriptally implicit* [comprehension] occurs *whenever* a plausible nontextual response is given to a question derivable from the text (p. 164).

Schlesinger and Weiser's (1970) facet design was also utilized as an auxiliary in the categorization process because it assists one in determining whether a test question required text information or the reader's prior knowledge.

The level 2 exam contained five textually explicit questions; five textually explicit scanning questions based on the classified advertisements; twelve textually implicit questions; and three scriptally implicit questions. A separate category — scanning questions — was created because the level 2 exam is unique in that it is the only one of the three exams which has scanning questions and a non-prose stimulus, i.e., classified ads.

The level 3 exam contained four textually explicit questions; seventeen textually implicit questions; and four scriptally implicit questions.

The level 4 exam contained five textually explicit questions; fifteen textually implicit questions; and five scriptally implicit questions.

Analyses

An item discriminability index was computed for each item by using the point biserial correlation procedure which yields a correlation coefficient between item responses and total scores. Henning (1987) has noted that point biserial correlations of .25 and above are acceptable indices of discriminability.

Our research hypothesis was that items whose correct responses were dependent on the reader's prior knowledge would have lower indices of item discriminability than items whose correct responses were more textually explicit because of the great variance in the readers' textually relevant background knowledge. We needed a statistical test of equal means of the discriminability indices for each category of items. Because we could not guarantee homogeneity of variance nor normality of distribution, we elected to use the Kruskal-Wallis test, a nonparametric alternative to the one-way analysis of variance. The Kruskal-Wallis test generates a test statistic which is calculated from the sums of ranks for the different item types.

We were also interested in the average point biserial correlation for each item type in order to ascertain how well each class of items performed with respect to item discriminability, keeping in mind Henning's recommendation that .25 is the minimum, acceptable coefficient for item discriminability.

The point biserial correlations were averaged for each item type as follows. First, each point biserial correlation was corrected for part-whole overlap to remove the contribution of the item score to the total score in a post hoc fashion. The Fisher Z transformation was then utilized to transform each correlation coefficient from a distorted ordinal to a normal interval scale so that arithmetic averaging could be accomplished using the coefficients. After the averaging was completed, the averages were then converted back to correlation coefficients.

Null hypothesis

For each test the null hypothesis was that there was no difference in the ranks for the different item types. The alternative, research hypothesis was that there was a difference in the ranks, that is, at least one item type had a higher rank order than one other item type.

Results

Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, standard errors of

Table 1 Means, standard deviations, standard errors of measurement, and estimates of reliability

Proficiency Level	No. of subjects	No. of item	Mean	Standard deviation	Standard error of measurement	Estimate of reliability
2	28	25	20.14	4.13	1.69	.832
3	28	25	19.36	3.79	1.78	.780
4	57	25	15.75	4.15	2.19	.721

measurement, and estimates of reliability for the three tests. The Kuder-Richardson Formula 20 was used to estimate the internal consistency reliability of the three tests.

Table 2 portrays the sums of the ranks squared and divided by the number of ranks for each item type, the chi squared test statistics, and the levels significance for each test. In the analyses, where tie scores were encountered, the tie correction factor was employed.

Table 2 Kruskal-Wallis results

Proficiency Level	Textually explicit-scanning sum of ranks squared and divided by *n* ranks	Textually explicit sum of ranks squared and divided by *n* ranks	Textually implicit sum of ranks squared and divided by *n* ranks	Scriptally implicit sum of ranks squared and divided by *n* ranks	Chi square	df	Level of significance
2	1674.45	96.80	2465.33	243.00	9.325	3	$<$ $p<.05$
3		156.25	4677.88	81.00	10.472	2	$<$ $p<.01$
4		224.45	4842.02	96.80	14.944	2	$<$ $p<.01$

Table 3 presents the average point biserial correlation for each item type in each of the three tests.

The data in Table 2 indicate that in each of the three analyses the null hypothesis was rejected: that is, there was a significant difference in the ranks of the three (and four) item types. The sum of the ranks squared and divided by the number of ranks for the level 2 exam were as follows: 2465.33, textually implicit; 1674.45, textually explicit-scanning; 243.00, scriptally implicit; 96.80, textually explicit. For the level 3 exam,

Table 3 Average point biserial correlations

Proficiency Level	Textually explicit-scanning	Textually explicit	Textually implicit	Scriptally implicit
2	.52	.11	.45	.22
3		.13	.41	.07
4		.16	.36	.11

the sums were: 4677.88, textually implicit; 156.25, textually explicit; 81.00, scriptally implicit. For the level 4 exam, the sums were as follows: 4842.00, textually implicit; 224.45, textually explicit; 96.80, scriptally implicit. Therefore, it is probably safe to conclude that the textually implicit questions had significantly higher item discriminability indices than the scriptally implicit questions, but nothing can be stated on the basis of the Kruskal-Wallis test with respect to whether one item type had significantly higher ranks than another. The point is this: with nonparameteric statistics it is not possible to conduct multiple *a posteriori* comparisons such as Fisher's least significant difference, the Scheffe test, nor Tukey's honestly significant difference.

Table 3 indicates that, as classes of items, the textually explicit and scriptally implicit items do not meet the minimum criterion of item discriminability, that is, have an average point biserial correlation of .25.

Discussion

The results of this study suggest that reading comprehension items which depend heavily on a reader's background knowledge do not exhibit a desired psychometric property of test items: good discriminability. This finding poses a dilemma for reading researchers. Reading researchers have become increasingly more interested in *process* research than *product* research — a point well argued and well definted by preeminent researchers such as Farr and Carey (1986); Farr, Carey, and Tone (1986); and Johnston (1983, 1984). Many reading researchers use the products of reading (e.g., item responses from a test) as a basis for trying to infer something about the underlying processes which, hopefully, can be altered, enhanced and modified by instruction. But this process is indirect and oblique, as Farr and Carey (1986) explained:

> Most reading tests only assess the construct of the product of reading. From these products, test users assume certain conclusions about the reading process. Reading tests are valid measures to

> describe, rather than explain, reading behavior; therefore, the information they make available for classrom instruction has its limitations. (pp. 151-21).

> All reading measures use the products of reading behavior as a means of trying to assess the reading process. Even our assessment of reading products is an indirect measurement because we can really assess the true product of reading only by realizing changes in understanding and/or beliefs that have resulted from reading (p. 150).

The results from this study indicate that scriptally implicit questions based on background knowledge are not good discriminators, and thus an assessment instrument which contains them has lower reliability and lower validity than is desirable. The point is this: if we are to use test products as the basis for making inferences about the underlying processes, background knowledge must be controlled for statistically and/or by the research design employed in the study. In the Campbell and Stanley (1963) paradigm, background knowledge is a confounding variable which can lead to reduced item discriminability.

Researchers have suggested means to control the effects of background knowledge in reading comprehension assessment. For example, Royer and Cunningham (1978) noted that reading assessment instruments should be written in accordance with the knowledge base of the students to be tested. Johnston (1981, 1984) has suggested (1) using a specific vocabulary test as a measure of prior knowledge; (2) constructing tests that are not so dependent on prior knowledge; and (3) first administering a content knowledge test derived from the passages' content and subsequently adjusting the reading comprehension scores depending on the students' prior knowledge score on the content test.

Farr and Carey (1986) noted that reading measurement should entail background knowledge because it is integral to the underlying processes, but they offered a more moderate position: "The frustrating challenge in reading comprehension assessment may be to keep reader background in reasonable balance to new information that can be understood only if the reader can use other aspects of the reading process that background helps call into play" (p. 50). An application of these procedures may well enable the test constructor to manipulate items that test background knowledge in order to ensure that they exhibit higher item discriminability.

Table 3 indicates that, as a class, the textually explicit questions were also very poor discriminators. A large number of the textually explicit questions were of a template matching type. For example, the text might have the following sentence: "Josephine was a plumber" followed by a question like this: "What was Josephine?" This type of question does not engage the higher-order cognitive and linguistic processes that textually explicit questions engage. In addition, textually explicit questions in these tests seem to be more susceptible to problematic concerns in item construction such as mixed responses, length cues, convergence cues, and inconsistent distractor cues. These factors may account for the textually explicit items' exhibiting excessively low indices of item discriminability.

It is well established that item difficulty and item discriminability affects a test's internal consistency, or reliability. We edited the data matrix for each test, deleting the textually explicit and scriptally implicit items, and recalculated the reliability estimates for a shorter version of each test containing only textually implicit items, again using the Kuder-Richardson 20 formula. The results were as follows. For the level 2 test the new reliability estimate coefficient was .922 (17 items) versus .832 (25 items); level 3, .865 (17 items) versus .780 (25 items); level 4, .759 (15 items) versus .721 (25 items). These results are quite surprising given that, all other things being equal, the more items a test contains, the higher its reliability estimate.

We are not suggesting that one delete all textually explicit and scriptally implicit items from a reading comprehension test. Quite the contrary. The test constructor will want to include these item types to assess specific content and skills to ensure content validity and shape the information curve to ensure psychometric validity. What we are suggesting, however, is that during the item analysis after a pilot administration of a reading comprehension test, these item types be given particularly close scrutiny with regard to item discriminability. In addition, during the planning stages of test development, the test constructor should pay heed to the suggestions offered by Farr and Carey (1986), Johnston (1981, 1984), and Royer and Cunningham (1978) for controlling the effects of relevant textual background knowledge.

Conclusion

In this paper we have attempted to synthesize some of the relevant published research on the reader's prior knowledge and to use that synthesis for application in a study of how background knowledge affects item discriminability in the assessment of English as a Second Language reading comprehension. The results of the study indicated that scriptally implicit items are poor discriminators, probably due to great differences in each reader's stock of textually relevant background knowledge. The results also indicated that the textually explicit items were also poor discriminators. These items seem to be susceptible to various miscues at the item writing stage such as mixed responses, length cues, convergence cues, and inconsistent distractor cues. The textually implicit questions which engage higher-order cognitive and linguistic processes proved to be very robust discriminators. Guidelines were also suggested which may help to control for the effects of prior background knowledge in reading assessment.

References

Campbell, D.T., and Stanley, J.C. (1963). *Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for reseacrh*. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company.

Coleman, E.B. (1971). Developing a technology of written instruction: Some determinants of the complexity of prose. In E. Rothkopf and P. Johnson (Eds.), *Verbal learning research and the technology of written instruction*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Farr, R., and Carey, R.F. (1986). *Reading: What can be measured?*, second edition. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Farr, R., Carey, R.F., and Tone, B. (1986). Recent theory and research into the reading process: Implications for reading assessemnt. In J. Orasanu (Ed.), *Reading comprehension: From research to practice*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Henning, G. (1987). *A guide to language testing*. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House Publishers.

Johnston, P. (1981). *Prior knowledge and reading comprehension test bias*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univeristy of Illinois.

Johnston, P. (1983). *Reading comprehension assessment: A cognitive basis*. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Johnston, P. (1984). Assessment in reading, In P.D. Pearson (Ed.), *Handbook of reading research*. New York and London: Longman, Inc.

Johnston, P., and Pearson, P.D. (1982). *Prior knowledge, connectivity, and the assessment of reading comprehension*. Technical report no. 245. Champaign, IL: Center for the Study of Reading, University of Illinois.

Kintsch, W. (1974). *The representation of meaning in memory*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

McLaughlin, G. (1969). SMOG grading — a new readability formula. *Journal of Reading*. *12*:639–646.

Pearson, P.D., and Johnson D.D. (1978). *Teaching reading comprehension*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Royer, J.M., and Cunningham, D.J. (1978). *On the theory and measurement of reading comprehension*. Technical report no. 91. Champaign, IL: Center for the Study of Reading, University of Illinois.

Searle, J. (1975). A taxonomy of illocutionary acts. In K. Gunderson (Ed.), *The philosophy of science:* VII. I *Language, mind and society*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Schank, R.C. (1975). The structure of episodes in memory. In D.G. Bobrow and A. Collins (Eds.), *Representation and understanding: Studies in cognitive science*. New York: Academic Press.

Schlesinger, I.M., and Weiser, Z. (1970). A facet design for tests of reading comprehension. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 5:566–580.

Tuinman, J.J. (1979). Reading is recognition — when reading is not reasoning. In J. Harste and R.F. Carey (Eds.), *New perspectives on* comprehension. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Measuring the Vocabulary Knowledge of Second Langauge Learners

John Read
Victoria University of Wellington
New Zealand

Abstract

There is renewed recognition these days of the importance of vocabulary knoweldge for second language learners. This means that it is often necessary to find out, for diagnostic and for research purposes, how many words are known by particular learners. In order to measure vocabulary size, we need to deal with three methodological problems: defining what a word is; selecting a suitable sample of words for testing; and determining the criterion for knowing a word. A first attempt to produce a diagnostic test of this kind for EAP learners is represented by the Vocabulary Levels Test, which uses a matching format to measure knowledge of words at five frequency levels. The development of the test is outlined, followed by an analysis of the results obtained from a group of learners at Victoria University. Another approach, the checklist, is proposed as an alternative testing format. The literature on the checklist is reviewed, with particular reference to methods of controlling for the tendency of learners to overrate their knowledge of the words.

Vocabulary is a component of language proficiency that has received comparativerly little attention in language testing since the general move towards more integrative formats. The testing of word knowledge was a core element of the discrete-point philosophy but with changing ideas about the concept of language test validity it has tended to be neglected in favour of higher level skills and processes, so that vocabulary is seen as just one of the numerous elements that contribute to the learner's overall performance in the second language. However there seems to be a growing recognition of the importance of vocabulary and the need for more systematic vocabulary development for second language learners, many of whom are severely hampered in reading comprehension and other skills by a simple lack of word knowledge. Since the standard types of integrative tests do not provide a direct assessment of this knowledge in a form that is useful for diagnostic purposes, there is a need to develop tests to determine whether specific learners have achieved a mastery of vocabulary that is sufficient for their needs and, if they have not, what can be done pedagogically to help them.

Interests in vocabulary testing can have both a practical and a more theoretical focus. On the practical side, at the English Language Institute in Wellington we have traditionally placed great emphasis on the acquisition of vocabulary in our English proficiency course for foreign students from Asia and elsewhere who are preparing to study in New Zealand universities. This emphasis derives in part from the results of studies by Barnard (1961) in India and Quinn (1968) in Indonesia, which both provided evidence of the low level of English vocabulary knowledge among university students in Asia, even after extensive study of English at the secondary level. Quinn found, for example, that the average university entrant in his sample had a vocabulary of 1,000 words after six years of study, which represented a learning rate of little more than one word for each class hour of English instruction. Such limited vocabularies were clearly inadequate to meet the demands of English-medium university studies. The Institute has thus given a high priority to intensive vocabulary learning in its proficiency course and has developed a variety of teaching resources for this purpose, including in particular the commercially published workbooks by Barnard (1971-75), who pioneered the work in this area. In this context, there is a particular need for diagnostic testing to asseses the vocabulary knowledge of specific learners in order to assist in making placement decisions and in designing effective programmes of vocabulary development for the various groups on the course. On a more theoretical level, we are investigating the effectiveness of various types of vocabulary test as tools in ongoing research studies on vocabulary size, the nature of vocabulary knowledge and the role of vocabulary in reading comprehension.

Some Methodological Issues

The basic question in a diagnosis of a learner's vocabulary knowledge is simply: how many words does the learner know? The question is easy to frame but rather more difficult to answer. Since comparatively little work has been done in this area with second language learners, we need to turn to the literature on the vocabularies of native speakers in order to clarify the issues involved.

There has been a great deal of research on vocabulary size, extending back to the end of the last century, and learned speculation on the subject goes back much further. The research has been beset by methodological problems, which are discussed in detail elsewhere (see, e.g. Lorge & Chall, 1963; Anderson & Freebody, 1981). In summary, the three main issues are as follows:

i What is a word?
ii How should a sample of words be selected?
iii What is the criterion for knowing a word?

Let us now consider each of these in turn, as they relate to assessing the vocabulary knowledge of learners studying English for academic purposes.

i *What is a word?*

The first problem is simply to define what a word is. For instance, are *depend, depends, depended* and *depending* to be classified as one word or four? And how about *dependent, dependant, dependence* and *dependency?* That is, one has to decide whether a 'word' is an individual word form or a word family (or lemma) consisting of a base form together with the inflected and derived forms that share the same meaning. Including all such forms as separate words will clearly increase the estimate of vocabulary size, whereas a more conservative approach results in a substantially lower figure. The latter approach seems more realistic, even though it requires a careful definition of criteria for grouping words into families and even then involves some difficult problems of classification (see Nagy & Anderson, 1984, for a useful discussion of this issue). For practical purposes, then, we assume that word forms can be classified into lemmas, which can be represented in a vocabulary test by a base word. Thus, we take it that in most cases, if one knows the base word, little if any additional learning is required in order to understand its various inflectional and derived forms.

ii *How should a sample of words be selected?*

Since we cannot usually test all of the words that a learner may know, it is necessary to find some basis for selecting a representative sample of words to be used in making the estimate of vocabulary size. In studies of native speakers, dictionaries have been most commonly used for this purpose but the result is that estimates vary widely depending on the size of the particular dictionary chosen and the method of sampling that was followed. An alternative approach involves sampling words progressively from the higher to lower levels of a word frequency count. This has not proved very successful with native speakers, because of the limited coverage of the existing frequency counts and the fact that native speakers know many words that do not find their way into such counts. However, this approach is more appropriate with second language learners, especially those in EFL countries with little or no exposure to municative needs are also typically more limited. For many groups of learners, especially those in EFL countries wtih little or no exposure to the language outside the classroom, the General Service List (West, 1953) represents a fairly complete sampling frame of the words they are likely to know, even after several years of study. And in fact a number of ESL vocabulary studies (e.g. Barnard, 1961; Quinn, 1968; Harlech-Jones, 1983) have used the list for this purpose.

Beyond the minimum vocabulary of the General Service List, it is necessary to take account of the needs and interests of specific groups of learners in planning for vocabulary teaching and testing. Our particular concern here is with the vocabulary of English for academic study at the tertiary level. The task is to identify and teach the set of words (often referred to as 'subtechnical' vocabulary) that occur frequently in academic study at the tertiary level. The task is to identify and teach the set of words (often referred to as 'subtechnical' vocabulary) that occur frequently in academic discourse across various disciplines. Knwoledge of the meanings of these words is normally assumed by lecturers and authors in a particular academic field and among other things this vocabulary has a crucial role in defining the technical terms of each field of study.

A number of specialized word lists for academic English have been produced. Typically these are based on a count of words occurring in university textbooks and other academic writing material, taking into account the range of disciplines in which the words are found as well as the number of occurrences. The list is compiled by excluding both high frequency general words (such as those in the General Service List) and low frequency, narrow range words which consist largely of technical terminology. The most comprehensive work along these lines is that of Barnard, who has not only prepared two 1,000-word lists (in Nation, 1986) but also written a series of widely used workbooks (Barnard, 1971-75) to help students to learn the words. Other similar, though shorter lists were compiled by Campion and Elley (1971) and Praninskas (1972). Two more scholars, Lynn (1973) and Ghadessy (1979) adopted a different approach, by scanning student copies of textbooks to identify and count words that were frequently annotated with a mother-tongue translation or some other explanation. These words turned out to be very much the same ones that were included in the other lists. As Lynn (1973:26) noted specifically, it was the general academic words, rather than technical terms, that appeared to be the most difficult for the students.

Xue and Nation (1984) combined the lists of Campion and Elley, Praninskas, Lynn and Ghadessy into a single University Word List, which shares much in common with the Barnard lists but has the advantage of being derived from a broader range of frequency counts. The list is accompanied by sublists which classify the words according to frequency and semantic criteria and also include common derivatives of the base forms.

For our purposes the academic word lists — together with the General Service List — form an inventory of high frequency words that commonly occur in academic English and account for a high proportion of the words in any particular academic text. These are the words that require individual attention from teachers and learners in an EAP proficiency course. The lists also constitute a satisfactory sampling frame for diagnostic testing aimed at evaluating the adequacy of the learner's vocabulary knowledge for undertaking academic study.

iii *What is the criterion for knowing a word?*

Once a sample of words has been selected, it is necessary to determine whether each word is known or not by means of some kind of test. In studies of vocabulary size, the criterion for knowing the word has been quite liberal, since the researcher has had to survey a large number of words in the time available for testing. Thus the most commonly used test formats have been the following:

- checklists (or yes/no tests), in which the learners are presented with a list of words and simply asked to tick the ones that they know
- multiple choice items of various kinds
- matching of words with their definitions.

All of these formats can be criticized as inadequate indicators of whether the word is really known. The checklist does not require the learners to provide any independent evidence that they know the words they have ticked. The other two formats, multiple choice and matching, do require the learners to associate each word with a suitable definition or synonym, but this is only one aspect of vocabulary knowledge. We have to recognize that words can have several meanings and, conversely, a person's knowledge of a word may be partial rather than complete. Writers such as Cronbach (1942) and Richards (1976) have identified numerous aspects of knowing a word, such as its various meanings, its appropriate use, its relative frequency, its syntactic properties, its connections and its links with other words in semantic networks. From this perspective, a single multiple choice or matching item is scarcely an adequate basis for determining whether someone knows a word and, if so, how well it is known.

However, it is useful here to distinguish between breadth and depth of vocabulary knowledge. In setting out to estimate the size of a learner's vocabulary, we are focusing on breadth of knowledge: how many of the words in a large sample are "known", in some sense? For this purpose, a simple — albeit crude — measure is necessary in order to cover all the words in the sample within a reasonable period of time. But for other purposes, particularly achievement testing, we need to concentrate more on depth of knowledge: how well are smaller sets of key vocabulary items known? The problem is that we currently lack procedures for measuring the depth of vocabulary knowledge of second language learners. This is an area in which research is only just beginning (see Read, 1987) and is beyond the scope of this article.

These, then, are the issues that need to be resolved in assessing the vocabulary knowledge of second language learners. In the rest of this article, we will first look at a particular test that was designed for this purpose using a matching format, and then go on to discuss the possibility of using the checklist procedure as an alternative format.

A Matching Test of Vocabulary Levels

A first attempt to undertake diagnostic testing of vocabulary knowledge along the lines outlined above is represented by the Vocabulary Level Test (Nation, 1983). This instrument was designed to assess knowledge of both general and academic vocabulary; therefore it includes samples of words at five frequency levels: 2,000 words, 3,000 words, 5,000 words, the university word level (above 5,000 words) and 10,000 words. Words were selected on the basis of the frequency data in Thorndike and Lorge (1944), with cross-checking against the General Several List (for the 2,000-word level) and Kucera and Francis (1967). The one exception was the university word level, for which the specialized count of Campion and Elley (1971) was used. (This list excluded the first 5,000 words of Thorndike and Lorge). The test employs word-definition matching format although, in a reversal of the standard practice, the testees are required to match the words to the definitions. That is, the definitions are the test items rather than the words. At each of the five levels, there are 36 words and 18 definitions, in groups of six and three respectively, as in the example below:

1 apply
2 elect
3 jump ____ choose by voting
4 manufacture ____ become like water
5 melt ____ make
6 threaten

This slightly unconventional format was developed with the aim of having an efficient testing procedure that involved as little reading as possible and minimized the chances of guessing correctly. It was considered that, although there were only 18 words for each level, in fact 36 words would be tested because the testees' natural test-taking strategy would be to check each word against the definitions given in order to make the correct matches. This was only partly confirmed by observation of individual testees as they took the test during the tryout phase. The testees did adopt that strategy but only in sections of the test that they found difficult; with easy items they focused directly on the correct words and largely ignored the distractors.

All the words in each group are the same part of speech, in order to avoid giving any clue as to meaning based on form. On the other hand, apart from the correct matches, care was taken not to group together words and definitions that were related in meaning. The test is designed as a broad measure of word knowledge and it was not intended to require the testees to differentiate between semantically related words or to show an awareness of shades of meaning.

The test has proved to be a very useful tool for diagnostic purposes. We have basic statistical data available from an administration of the test during our three-month English Language Institute English Proficiency Course (see Table 1). The test was given at the beginning of the course, to assist with placement and course planning decisions, and again at the end, in order to look at the stability of the instrument and the possibility that it would reflect the effects of instruction. For both administrations, the reliability coefficients were very satisfactory (0.94 and 0.91 respectively) and there was a clear pattern of declining scores across frequency levels from highest to lowest. However the means for the 5,000-word and university levels were very close at the beginning of the course and in fact their order was reversed in the second administration, for reasons that will be discussed in a moment.

In order to provide more systematic evidence of the validity of the division by levels, a Guttman Scalogram analysis (Hatch & Farhady, 1982) was undertaken on the two sets of scores. A score of 16 was taken as the criterion for mastery of the vocabulary at a particular level. The scaling statistics are given in Table 1. They show that in both cases the scores were highly scalable. That is to say, a testee who achieved the criterion score at a lower frequency level — say, the 5,000-word level — could normally be assumed to have mastered the vocabulary of higher frequency levels — 2,000 and 3,000 words — as well.

What is not so satisfactory from a theoretical standpoint is that there are two different scales here, because the 5000-word and university-word levels reverse their order from one administration to the other. There are various possible explanations for this. First of all, the university level is based on the specialized frequency count of Campion and Elley, whereas the other four levels are all derived from the more general Thorndike and Lorge count. This places the university level somewhat outside the sequence formed by the other levels.

Table 1. Results of the Vocabulary Level Test
(N = 81)

1st Administration (Beginning of Course)

Level	2000	3000	5000	University	10000	Total
No. of items	18	18	18	18	18	89
Mean	16.4	15.7	12.3	11.6	6.7	62.8
S.D.	2.3	3.3	4.3	4.7	3.5	15.3

Guttman Scaling:

Order of Levels	*Statistics*
2000	$C_{rep} = 0.93$
3000	$MM_{rep} = 0.37$
University	Scalability = 0.90
10000	

2nd Administration (End of Course)

Level	2000	3000	5000	University	10000	Total
No. of items	18	18	18	18	18	90
Mean	17.0	16.6	13.9	14.1	8.8	70.3
S.D.	1.1	2.3	3.6	3.8	3.6	11.7

Guttman Scaling:

Order of Levels	*Statistics*
2000	$C_{rep} = 0.92$
3000	$MM_{rep} = 0.48$
University	Scalability = 0.84
5000	
10000	

Secondly, the students taking the proficiency course are quite heterogeneous and the overall results mask some significant differences among subgroups in the population. For instance, one group consists of teachers of English from EFL countries in Asia and the South Pacific preparing for a Diploma course in TESL during the following academic year. These teachers tend to score higher at the 5-000-word level than the university level, reflecting their familiarity with general English, including literary works, and their relative lack of familiarity with academic or technical registers. This was particularly evident at the beginning of the course but was less noticeable at the end, presumably because of their exposure during the course to academic writing and their study of the University Word List.

On the other hand, another identifiable subgroup comprises a small number of Latin American students who are native speakers of Spanish or Portuguese. Unlike most of the English teachers, they are university graduates coming to New Zealand for postgraduate studies in engineering or agriculture. The students almost all had substantially higher scores at the university-word level than the 5000-word level. One way to explain this is in terms of their academic background, even though it was not in the medium of English. Another factor is that a high proportion of the words at the university level are derived from Latin and are therefore likely to have cognate forms in Spanish and Portuguese, with the result that Latin American students would have a certain familiarity with them without having learned them as English words.

A third reason for the shift in the order of levels from the first to the second administration is that a great deal of attention is paid to academic vocabulary during the proficiency course. Almost all of the groups work through two of the workbooks in the Advanced English Vocabulary series (Barnard, 1971-75) and the University Word List is also used as the basis for vocabulary learning activities. Thus, if the test is sensitive to the effects of instruction during the course, one might expect a relatively greater improvement in scores at the university word level than at the 5000 word level. There is some evidence from the pretest and posttest means that this was the case.

An Alternative Measure: The Checklist

Although the Vocabulary Levels Test has proved to be a useful diagnostic tool, we are aware of at least three possible shortcomings.

(a) It tests a very small sample of words at each level, even if we accept that 36 words are tested rather than just 18.

(b) The matching format requires the testees to match the words with dictionary-type definitions, which are sometimes awkwardly expressed as the result of being written within a controlled vocabulary. Learners may not make sense of words in quite the analytic fashion that a lexicographer does.

(c) While the format was modified to reduce the role of memory and test-taking strategy, there is still a question of the influence of the format on testee performance.

Thus, as an alternative format, we can consider the checklist (also called the yes/no method), which simply involves presenting learners with a list of words and asking them to check (tick) each word that they "know". The exact nature of the task depends — more so than with most other tests — on the testees' understanding of what they are being asked to do, and therefore both the purpose of the test and the criterion to be used in judging whether a word is known need to be carefully explained. As with any type of self-evaluation, it is not suitable for grading or assessment purposes, but it has definite appeal as an instrument in vocabulary research, especially since it is an economical way of surveying knowledge of a large number of words.

A review of the literature on the checklist method reveals that it is one of the oldest approaches to testing the vocabulary of native speakers: Melka Teichroew (1982:7) traces it back as far as 1890. Early studies investigated the validity of the procedure by correlating a checklist test with other types of test such as multiple choice or matching. These studies involved native-speaking school children and the findings were variable. For example, Sims (1929) found that his checklist did not correlate well with three other tests and concluded that it was not measuring knowledge of word meaning but simply familiarity with the words from having frequently encountered them in reading and school work. On the other hand, Tilley (1936) obtained a high correlation between a checklist and a standardized multiple choice test in his investigation of the relative difficulty of words for students at three different grade levels. The relationship was somewhat stronger for older and for more intelligent children.

One obvious problem in a checklist test is overrating — the tendency of at least some students to tick words that they do not actually know — and more recent studies have sought to control for this. As part of their project to develop an academic vocabulary list based on a word frequency count of university textbooks, Campion and Elley (1971) asked senior high school students to rate each word according to whether they could attribute a meaning to it if they encountered it in their reading. The percentage of positive responses was taken as an index of the familiarity of the word for university-bound students. The ratings correlated reasonably well (at 0.77) with the results of a word-definition matching test.

The innovative feature in Campion and Elley's study was their method of controlling for overrating. The subjects of this study were divided into groups, which each rated a different subset of the words in the list. However each sublist included a number of "anchor" words, which were thus rated by all of the subjects. The mean ratings of the anchor words were calculated and these were used in a norm-referenced fashion to evaluate the performance of the various groups. When a group was found to have rated the anchor words significantly differently from the overall means, the ratings of the words on its sublist were adjusted as appropriate.

Another approach to this problem has been adopted by Anderson and Freebody (1983). They prepared a vocabulary checklist containing a high proportion (about 40 per cent) of "nonwords", which were created either by changing letters in real words (e.g. *porfame* from *perfume*) or by forming novel base-and-affix combinations (e.g. *observement*). The ticking of these nonwords was taken as evidence of a tendency to overrate one's knowledge of the real words, and a simple correction formula was applied (similar to a correction for guessing) to adjust the scores accordingly. The corrected scores were found to correlate much more highly with the criterion — the results of an interview procedure — than did scores on a multiple choice test of the words. In a subsequent study on learning words from context, Nagy, Herman and Anderson (1985) used a similar checklist test as a measure of the subjects' prior knowledge of the target words. In this case complete nonwords such as *felinder* and *werpet* were included in the checklist, in addition to the other two types, and it was only this third category of nonwords that was used in making the corrections of subjects' scores.

Up until now there appears to have been little use made of the checklist approach in studies of the vocabulary of second language learners, but recently Meara and Jones (1987) used a checklist containing nonsense words for an English vocabulary test designed as a possible placement measure for adult ESL learners enrolling in Eurocentres in Britain. They went one step further and programmed the test for administration on a microcomputer. The computer selects items in descending order of frequency from each thousand of the first 10,000 words of English, based on the Thorndike and Lorge (1944) list, with nonsense words being included at a rate of one to every two authentic words. The words are presented one at a time on the screen and the learner simply presses a key on the keyboard to indicate whether she or he knows the meaning of each word. Meanwhile the computer progressively estimates the size of the learner's vocabulary — making the appropriate correction for guessing, where necessary — and terminates the test when the upper limit of the learner's knowledge has been reached.

Since these researchers were primarily interested in the vocabulary test as a placement measure, they validated it by reference to the existing Eurocentre placement test (consisting of grammar, listening and reading subtests), rather than using another measure of vocabulary knowledge.

However, one analysis of their results showed that, in general, the learners knew progressively fewer of the words at each succeeding frequency level. The regularity of the pattern differed considerably, though, according to the L1 of the learners, from highly regular for the Japanese to somewhat anomalous in the case of Romance language speakers, especially speakers of French. (This finding is interesting in view of the similarly distinctive performance of the Spanish speakers on the ELI Vocabulary Levels Test, as noted above.) Clearly, as the authors point out, further research is needed to establish the reliability and validity of the test as a measure of vocabulary knowledge and to account for the variation in results according to the learner's L1.

There are practical limitations on the widespread use of this particular test, since it is administered individually by computer, but a pen-and-paper version based on the same principles should not be difficult to construct and would be a useful alternative to the Vocabulary Levels Test.

A checklist test, then, has much to recommend it as a broad measure of vocabulary knowledge, especially if it incorporates a correction procedure for overrating. The simplicity of the test is a significant advantage. As Anderson and Freebody note, "it strips away irrelevant task demands that may make it difficult for young readers and poor readers to show what they know" (1983:235). It does not require the kind of testwiseness that influences performance in multiple choice or matching tests. A related attraction is that a much larger number of words can be assessed by the checklist in a given period of time, as compared to other types of vocabulary test.

Conclusion

In this article, we have seen how it is possible to draw a stratified sample of words from a general frequency list or from a more specialized inventory such as the University Word List and then use the matching or checklist format to estimate how many words in the total list the learner knows. This is a valuable procedure for placement purposes and in vocabulary research. It should be emphasized again that we are concerned here with the breadth of a learner's knowledge of vocabulary and so the tests that are used for this purpose do not address the issue of the depth of knowledge: does the learner really know particular words and, if so, how well? There are in fact complementary approaches to the study of word knowledge, and we need more investigation of both with second language learners in order to advance our understanding of the way in which vocabulary knowledge is acquired and exploited.

Note

[1] This is a reworked version of a paper entitled "Some Issues in the Testing of Vocabulary Knowledge", which was presented at LT + 25: A Language Testing Symposium in Honor of John B. Carroll and Robert Lado, at Quiryat Anavim, Israel, 11-13 May 1986.

References

Anderson, R.C. and Freebody, P. 1981. Vocabulary knowledge. In Guthrie, J.T., editor, Comprehension and teaching: research reviews. Newark, Delaware: International Reading Association

________ 1983. Reading comprehension and the assessment and acquisition of word knowledge. In Huston, B., editor, Advances in reading/language research. Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press.

Barnard, H. 1961. A test of P.U.C. students' vocabulary in Chotanagpur. Bulletin of the Central Institute of English 1:90-100.

________ 1971-75. Advanced English vocabulary. Workbooks 1-3. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

Campion, M.E. and Elley, W.B. 1971. An academic vocabulary list. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Cronbach, L.J. 1942. An analysis of techniques for diagnostic vocabulary testing. Journal of Educational Research 36, 206-217.

Ghadessy, M. 1979. Frequency counts, word lists, and materials preparation: a new approach. English Teaching Forum 17, 24-27.

Harlech-Jones, B. 1983. ESL proficiency and a word frequency count. English Language Teaching Journal 37, 62-70.

Hatch, E. and Farhady, H. 1982. Research design and statistics for applied linguistics. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.

Kucera, H. and Francis, W.M. 1967. A computational analysis of present day American English. Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press.

Lorge, I. and Chall, J. 1963. Estimating the size of vocabularies of children and adults: an analysis of methodological issues. Journal of Experimental Education 32, 147-57.

Lynn, R.W. 1973. Preparing word lists: a suggested method. RELC Journal 4, 25-32.

Meara, P. and Jones, G. 1987. Tests of vocabulary size in English as a foreign language. Polyglot 8:1, 1-40.

Melka Teichroew, F.J. 1982. Receptive versus productive vocabulary: a survey. Interlanguage Studies Bulletin 6, 5-33.

Nagy, W.E. and Anderson, R.C. 1984. The number of words in printed school English. Reading Research Quarterly 19, 304–330.

______ , Herman, P.A. and Anderson, R.C. 1985. Learning words from context. Reading Research Quarterly 20, 233–53.

Naton, I.S.P. 1983. Testing and teaching vocabulary. Guidelines 5, 12–25.

________ 1986. Vocabulary lists: words, affixes and stems. Revised edition. Wellington, New Zealand: English Language Institute, Victoria University.

Praninskas, J 1972. American university word list. London: Longman.

Quinn, G. 1968. The English vocabulary of some Indonesian university entrants. Salatiga, Indonesia: IKIP Kristen Satya Watjana.

Read, J. 1987. Towards a deeper assessment of vocabulary knowledge. Paper presented at the 8th World Congress of Applied Linguistics, Sydney, Australia, 16–21 August.

Richards, J.C. 1976. The role of vocabulary teaching. TESOL Quarterly 10, 77–89.

Sims, V.M. 1929. The reliability and validity of four types of vocabulary tests. Journal of Educational Research 20, 91–6.

Thorndike, E.L. and Lorge, I. 1944. The teacher's word book of 30,000 words. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Tilley, H.C. 1936. A technique for determining the relative difficulty of word meanings among elementary school children. Journal of Experimental Education 5, 61–4.

West, M. 1953. A general service list of English words. London: Longmans, Green.

Xue, Guo-yi and Nation, P. 1984. A university word list. Langauge Learning and Communication 3, 215–29.

The C-Test in English: left-hand deletions

Christopher Cleary
The British Council
Alger, Algeria

Abstract

The topic of this article is the C-Test — a relatively new addition to the existing battery of techniques, cloze in particular, which claim to measure general language proficiency. Recent trials of th C-Test in Oman on subjects at lower levels of attainment have produced encouraging results on all counts except discrimination. This paper reports an attempt to address the problem of poor discrimination by means of an experimental C-Test variant in which grammatically unmarked items were deleted to the left rather than to the customary right. The findings showed that the discrimination of the C-Test could indeed be enhanced by left-hand deletions, but for a negative rather than a positive reason. It is concluded that the C-Test, and possibly other testing techniques which have proved effective at intermediate level and above, may be less appropriate when applied to lower levels, and that caution should be exercised in their use.

Background

In recent years the University of Duisburg has developed a reduced-redundancy testing format known as the C-Test. The major publications are Raatz and Klein-Braley (1982), Klein-Braley and Raatz (1984), and Klein-Braley (1985). The C-Test is an adaptation of cloze requiring word completion, and it is intended by its authors to supersede cloze as a measure of general proficiency.

The C-Test resembles cloze in that its preparation requires the systematic mutilation of text; but the construction procedure is rather different, as laid down by the authors in their 'rule of two' (Raatz and Klein-Braley, 1982:123): Beginning at the second sentence, delete the second half of every second word, until the required number of deletions is obtained. A C-Test should contain at least 100 items, spread over four or five short, thematically distinct texts.

The authors of the C-Test present compelling evidence of its superiority to cloze on a variety of parameters; but, as yet, no systematic critiques of the C-Test have appeared in the literature, and so these claims remain unchallenged. Although, like cloze, the C-Test appears to lend itself primarily to testing reading and writing (see Lado, 1986), it was assumed for the purpose of this study that it could also tap a general ability underlying all language skills.

The C-Test was provisionally adopted at the beginning of 1986 as part of the SOAF English Achievement Test. This is a lower intermediate examination, taken after three 250-hour courses <1> given in SOAF language schools.

Although designed as a test of mastery, the examination was increasingly being used as a basis for predictive decisions. It was becoming, to use Skehan's term, a 'hybrid' (Skehan, 1986:190) <2>. There was evidently a need to stiffen the examination by introducing into it a format which tested general ability on the assumption that this might have predictive power. The C-Test appeared to lend itself to our requirements for two reasons. Firstly, it could not be 'taught to' as many other components of the examination could, and it therefore provided more reliable norm-referenced information about candidates. Secondly, as a cloze substitute it permitted a much higher ratio than its rival of test items to the crucial factor of text length, so bringing it below the fatigue threshold of our students.

On the whole, the results of our trials have been encouraging. The C-Test normally achieves coefficients of $r = .8$ or more in reliability analyses, in rank-order correlations with the predictions of class teachers, and in product-moment correlations with the rest of the examination (cf. Cleary 1986). However, one intractable problem has been relatively poor discrimination.

While the large number of items in a C-Test necessarily enhances its reliability, E.1-3 ('split-third') item analyses seldom yield discrimination indices <3> higher than .3, and it is simply not practical to revise a C-Test so as to modify or eliminate items which have performed poorly — a process which, incidentally, is rather less difficult in standard cloze procedure.

It may be that the low discrimination arises from factors unconnected with the C-Test format. Two possible factors suggest themselves: the homogeneity of our students, and the nature of the texts we are constrained to use. SOAF students are all in their late teens or early twenties. They share the same professional (i.e., military), educational, cultural and language background, and they have all followed, or are following, the same course of core English. Therefore, errors tend to be common to the group rather than idiosyncratic. Moreover, construct validity (not to mention user acceptability) requires that the vocabulary and grammar of the texts be controlled so that they fall within the scope of the taught material. This means that our C-Tests are as much tests of general achievement as of general proficiency, a fact which tends to be reflected in negative skewing of distribution curves.

The experiment

A means of boosting the discriminating power of the C-Test was suggested in a remark in Cohen, *et al.* (1984:221) about the possibility of deleting the first half of words which did not carry derivational or inflectional morphemes at the end. Conjecturally, the removal of the first half of some words in an English C-Test would lower its facility, and this might in turn increase its overall discrimination. It was therefore decided to study the effect on performance in a SOAF C-Test of left-hand deletions in words which were not grammatically marked.

The sample numbered fifty-seven subjects who had recently passed the SOAF Achievement Test and who comprised a single intake at a client trade-training institute. All subjects conformed to the description given above. The test consisted of a single text. This contravened the requirement mentioned above, that a C-Test should comprise four or five thematically distinct passages (Klein-Braley and Raatz, 1984:136), presumably to minimize the possible effect on performance of varied specialist knowledge among subjects <4>. However, it was felt that the homogeneity of our subjects and the conceptual and linguistic simplicity of the text were an adequate insurance against such an eventuality.

The text was written so as to sample the course of study that the subjects had followed at SOAF language schools. The attempt to incorporate personal description, narrative and biography, and informal written communication, resulted in a passage that was undoubtedly artificial and not altogether coherent above paragraph level. None the less, it provided a fairly broad sample of language skills at lower intermediate level. Besides, it was the kind of material the students had become familiar with, and which might therefore be expected to yield reliable data.

In preparing the text it was necessary to solve certain minor technical problems. Firstly, there was the question of where the cut should be made in words containing an odd number of letters. As vocabulary had been controlled it was decided to offer, in the case of odd numbers, one letter fewer than half the number required for completion. Secondly, the single-letter words 'a' and 'I' could only be tested by a completely blank space. It was thought that this might be confusing for our subjects, and so 'a' and 'I' were not tested, but were included in the binary count on a discretionary basis. Thirdly, with regard to the presentation of blank spaces, it was decided to follow our current practice and have them systematically reflect the length of the deletion.

The text was 219 words long and yielded 103 items. The average number of words per sentence was 9.4, and the type-token ratio was .64. Informal pre-trialling permitted some minor editing.

Two versions of the text were prepared (see Appendices I and II). In the Standad version (S), all 103 deletions were on the right hand (RH). In the Variant version (V), 63 items — all grammatically unmarked — were deleted on the left hand (LH).

The test was administered under examination conditions, S and V papers were handed out alternately (except to three latecomers who were all, through an oversight, given V). Thus 27 S papers and 30 V papers provided the data.

The format of the test was familiar to most subjects. None the less, they were given 15 minutes' English and Arabic instruction with examples.

Scoring was done by tallying correct items. We are customarily lenient towards spelling errors, influenced by Oller, who reports (1979:281) nil correlations between spelling and the ability to proceses discourse. While we insist on the correct spelling of closed-system items and grammatical suffixes, for content items we accept any intelligible attempt at the correct word <5>.

Results and discussion

Comparative statistics for the S and V versions are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

	STANDARD	VARIANT
m (no. items)	103	103
n (no. testees)	27	30
X	84.8	73.4
s.d.	9.1	16.3
range	34	52
r [KR20]	.83	.93
r [E.1-31]	.21	.34
r [P-M] w/AT	.59	.72

Of the two versions, S proved predictably the easier. On all counts S compared poorly with V, having a smaller standard deviation, a lower reliability, a much lower discrimination index, and a correlation with the Achievement Test that was merely modest.

To the null hypothesis that there was no difference between S and V, two statistical tests were applied: the standard error of the difference between the two means and a Mann-Whitney rank order analysis yielded probabilities of $p = < .001$ and $p = < .005$ respectively. These probabilities seem to be conclusive evidence that S and V, despite having the same text and the same words subjected to mutilation, are two distinct tests. Because of the homogeneity of the subjects and the administrative procedure desribed above, the alternative inference, namely that S subjects and V subjects represented samples of distinct populations, is not tenable.

The most encouraging of the V results was the mean index of discrimination, which broke the .3 barrier.

Table 2 gives correlations which are indicative of the relative performance of subjects on LH and RH deletions.

Table 2. Subjects' performance in V and S

V (63 LH)	.85 (n = 30)
S (63 RH)	.66 (n = 27)

In V, subjects performed similarly on the 40 RH-deleted items and the 63 LH-deleted items. Hence the strong correlation of .85. In S, subjects' performance on the corresponding two groups of items — 40 RH and 63 RH — correlated only moderately at .66. There appears, then, to be a much stronger association between grammatically unmarked LH deletions and grammatically marked RH deletions.

Turning to relative item performance: The data was considerd as four subtests, and the KR21 reliabilities for each subtest and the correlations for the two pairs produced some striking figures, shown in Table 3.

It appears that if we consider the 63 grammatically unmarked RH-deleted items in S as a separate test, then it was almost completely unreliable and correlated only weakly with the same set of items LH-deleted in V. As for the 40 grammatically marked RH-deleted set in S, and the iden-

Table 3. Item performance in S and V

	r [KR21]	r [P-M]
S (40 RH)	.90	.87
V (40 RH)	.91	
S (63 RH)	.19	.46
V (63 LH)	.80	

tical set in V, their reliabilities were comparably high and their correlation strong, as might have been expected.

Error analysis and discussion

Errors were analysed into the categories shown in Tables 4A and 4B.

Table 4A

	BLANK	INFLECTIONAL	RANDOM	TOTAL
S (n = 27)	6 (2.3)	193 (74.2)	61 (23.5)	260
V (n = 30)	28 (8.6)	203 (63.3)	95 (29.1)	326
Combined	34 (5.8)	396 (67.6)	156 (26.6)	586

Percentages shown in parentheses

Table 4A shows the breakdown of errors for the 40 RH-deleted items common to S and V. The majority were inflectional; that is, subjects had deduced or guessed the correct base form but had failed to supply the correct inflectional morpheme. The remaining errors were apparently random, with a small proportion of blanks.

Table 4B shows the breakdown of errors for the 63 items L

Table 4B

	BLANK	REASONED	RANDOM	TOTAL
S (n = 27)	9 (3.9)	43 (18.8)	177 (77.3)	229
V (n = 30)	168 (29.7)	80 (14.2)	317 (56.1)	565

Percentages shown in parentheses

deleted in V compared with their RH-deleted counterparts in S. Here, a different profile emerges. Inflectional errors were, of course, nil, because the items were grammatically unmarked. There was a dramatic increase in the number of items left blank, but this was restricted to the V version. Among the remaining errors a proportion can be described as 'reasoned' rather than random; that is, they indicate that some subjects had taken context into account.

Whereas the blanks in V and S showed a large discrepancy, the reasoned errors in the two versions were roughly in proportion. This suggests that the LH deletions had strongly discouraged random guesswork, without at the same time encouraging discourse processing to the extent that might have been hoped. In short, it would seem that the greater discriminating power of V was due to a negative rather than a positive factor.

As to why the LH-deleted items should have proved more difficult for our subjects, this is a matter for conjecture, though current research suggests some interesting leads. Considered from the point of view of word storage, it may be that the beginnings of words stored in memory are more accessible to recall than the endings. This argument seems to be supported by the findings of Meara and Ingle (1986). They subjected 40 FL learners to a word recall test. An analysis of the high proportion of phonetic errors revealed that they were not random, but tended to occur in subsequent parts of the target words, while initial consonants remained stable (see also Marslen-Wilson and Tyler, 1980).

A second line of research takes account of directionality in L1 reading. A study by Randall and Meara (forthcoming) compared the word-scanning strategies of L1 left-to-right readers with a group of Arab subjects whose L1 is read from right to left. They found that the strategies of the two groups for scanning words were radically opposed. While the left-to-right readers applied different strategies to words and shapes, the right-to-left readers applied a single shape-scanning strategy to both words and shapes. It is inferred that the inappropriate transference of this strategy from L1 to L2 reading accounted for the difficulties that the subjects experienced.

It is possible, therefore, that a combination of frustrated recall and faulty scanning resulted in the difficulty our subjects had in reconstituting LH-deleted items. We should not ignore, however, the factor of weak spelling among subjects from a relatively unsophisticated educational background who are, moreover, by no means fully competent in the formal aspects of their L1. On the assumption that a word becomes harder to spell as it increases in length, it can be argued that the endings of longer words offer fewer clues than the beginnings. An example is item 60, 'officer'. Arabic lacks our graphemic distinction between *c* and *s*, and a transliteration of 'officer' into Arabic would employ the grapheme cues, phonetically /s/. (Predictably, 'offiser' (sic) is a common error in our students' writing.) The LH version of item 60 was at the bottom of the facility range (see Appendix III), in spite of the fact that the subjects were military personnel.

Conclusion

The conclusion to which this evidence seems to be pointing is that the C-Test, though it may be effective among foreign learners at intermediate level and above, becomes unstable when applied to learners at a lower level of attainment. Whatever the causes of this instability, the result is a loss of validity. In other words, the C-Test cannot fully test what it is supposed to, namely, the ability to process discourse for general proficiency, call it what you will, because lower level learners simply do not have enough of it <6>. In these circumstances the C-Test becomes just another measure of acquired grammar.

We have noted a similar effect in another test of general language ability, unguided writing. Clearly (1987) reports a comparison of two methods for scoring lower intermediate writing: one, an elaborate and time-consuming technique which involves independent rating by two markers using a number of criteria, followed by discussion and compromise; the other, a coarse tally of errors by one marker. Against all expectations, the error-tally method proved to be marginally the more valid of the two.

This effect may be widespread, and caution is recommended in the use of 'well-tried' testing methods with lower level students. With the C-Test in particular, we feel that if it is to be retained as part of the SOAF testing battery, then a judicious left-hand deletion of grammatically unmarked items is required in order to compensate for its instability or inappropriacy to local conditions.

Notes

1. This may seem an inordinate amount of time for attaining a level somewhat below that of, say, the Cambridge Preliminary English Test. But we are in an FL rather than an SL situation; students come from a relatively unsophisticated background in which general education is still at a low level; and, where students are not consecutively coursed, much attrition occurs in the gaps.

2. Skehan is not against hybrid tests as such, but against covertness of purpose in tests. A related point is made in Cleary (1986b) commenting on the lack of purity of the SOAF Achievement Test as follows: 'This ambiguity [the use of an achievement test to measure general proficiency] is not necessarily pernicious: indeed, one could argue that an achievement test which does not incorporate some measure of general proficiency discriminates against those students who have sought more from a course than a list of specified structures or the ability to respond automatically to a limited array of situations'.
3. A discrimination index is the mean discrimination of all items in a test.
4. Another reason for having four or five separate texts is to provide 'macro-items' for the application of the Cronbach 'alpha' reliability measure, which is more appropriate to cloze-type tests, where clusters of items may be interdependent, than are the usual Kuder-Richardson reliability formulas, which were designed for discrete-point tests. However, for various reasons, it was not possible to do the 'alpha' analysis in the present study, and the K-R formulas 20 and 21 were used instead. It should be stressed that for practical purposes the absolute values of the correlations are less significant than the relative differences among them.
5. We are thinking of modifying our policy towards spelling for two reasons. Firstly, many of our class teachers feel that if a test is controlled for vocabulary so as to conform to a taught syllabus, then mis-spellings should be penalised. Secondly, a recent SOAF study on another integrative test, dictation, found a positive correlation of $r = .55$ between dictation performance and spelling ability (see Cleary, 1986c). Arguably, spelling should be emphasised as a criterion of evaluation at lower levels of FL attainment. This anticipates the conclusion of the present paper.
6. A revised version of V was given to 60 subjects at a slightly lower level than those in the present study. Performance on the whole test was compared with performance on eight items whose solutions were judged to be heavily dependent on an awareness of contextual determinants. The two sets of scores correlated $r = .82$, showing a strong relationship; but while the mean for the whole test was 63% with a moderate standard deviation of 18, the corresponding figures for the eight context-dependent items were 48% and 27%, indicating that the subgroup was much more difficult and discriminating than the test as a whole.

References

Clearly, C. 1986a. The C-Test at lower intermediate level: an appraisal. Unpublished SOAF report.

________ 1986b. Pragmatic dictation: the effect of a double exposure. Unpublished SOAF report; and forthcoming: *System*.

________ 1986c. Should spelling count in dictation? *Modern English Teacher* 14/2:19–20.

________ 1987. Testing lower intermediate writing: a comparison of two scoring methods. Unpublished SOAF report; and forthcoming: *The British Journal of Language Teaching*.

Cohen, A.D., M. Segal and R. Weiss Bar-Siman-Tov. 1984. The C-Test in Hebrew. *Language Testing* 1/2:221–225.

Colhane, T., C. Klein-Braley and D.K. Stevenson (eds). 1982. *Practice and Problems in Language Testing*. Colchester: University of Essex.

Klein-Braley, C. 1985. A cloze-up on the C-Test: a study in the construct validation of authentic tests. *Language Testing* 2/1:76–104.

Klein-Braley, C. and U. Raatz. 1984. A survey of research on the C-Test. *Language Testing* 1/2:130–146.

Lado, R. 1986. Analysis of native speaker performance on a cloze test. *Language Testing* 3/2:130–146.

Marslen-Wilson, W.D. and L.K. Tyler. 1980. The temporal structure of spoken language understanding. *Cognition* 8/1:1–71.

Meara, P. and S. Ingle. 1986. The formal representation of words in an L2 speaker's lexicon. *Second Language Research* 2/2:160–71.

Oller, J.W.Jnr, 1979. *Language Tests at School: a Pragmatic Approach*. London: Longman.

Raatz, W. and C. Klein-Braley. 1982. The C-Test; a modification of the cloze procedure. In Colhane, T., C. Klein-Breley, and D.K. Stevenson (eds). 1982, pp. 113–138.

Randall, M. and P. Meara. How Arabs read Roman letters. Forthcoming: *Reading in a Foreign Language*.

Skehan, P. 1986. The role of foreign language aptitude in a model of school learning. *Language Testing* 3/2:188–221.

Appendix I: Standard Version (S)

Saif bin Ali is an Omani. He i____ tall a____ thin. H____ hair i____ long. H__ wears gla__. He h__ a moustache, b__ he do__ not ha__ a be__. In h__ spare ti__ he li__ playing ten__ and watc__ films.

Sa__ lives i__ Seeb. Se__ is a to__ on t__ coast o__ Oman, thi__ kilometres fr______ the cap______.

Saif w__ born i__ 1969. Wh__ he w__ ten h__ went t__ Abu Dh__ and li__ with h__ uncle un__ 1982. Th__ he retu__ to Om__ and joi__ the Ar__. He wor__ very ha__ and bec__ a Na__ Areef la__ year. H__ hopes t__ become a__ Areef ne______ year.

Th__ months a__, Saif h__ his ann__ leave a__ he we__ to s__ his bro__ Hamood, w__ is do__ an off__ training cou__ in Eng__. Saif sta__ there f__ three we__ and vis__ many pla__. He d__ not li__ the Eng__ weather, bec__ it w____ so co____.

While Sa__ was sta__ in Lon__ he wr__ a letter t__ his fam__ at ho__:
"Dear fat______ and mot______,
I a__ staying i__ a ho__ with Ham__ for a f__ days.
I__ is ve__ interesting he__. I he__ never se__ so ma__ big buil__. There a__ many sh__: I'm go__ to b__ a l__ of thi__ to br__ back t__ Omar. See
See y______ soon!"

Appendix II: Variant Version (V)

Saif bin Ali is an Omani. He i__ tall __d thin. H__ hair __s long. H__ wears gla__. He h__ a moustache, __t he do__ not ha__ a __rd. In h__. spare __me he li__ playing __nis and watc__ films.

__if lives __n Seeb. __eb is a __wn on __e coast __f Oman, __rty kilometers ______om the ______tal.

Saif w__ born __n 1968. __en he __s ten __e went __o Abu __bi and li__ with h__ uncle __il 1982. __en he retu__ to __an and joi__ the __my. He wor__ very __rd and bec__ a __ib Areef __st year. H__ hopes __o become __n Areef ______xt year.

__ee months __o, Saif h__ his __ual leave __d he we__ to __e his __her Hamood, __o is do__ an __cer training __rse in __and. Saif sta__ there __r three we__ and vis__ many pla__. He __d not __ke the Eng__ weather, __use it w______ so ______ld.

While Sa__ was sta__ in __don he wr__ a letter __o his __ily at ________me:
"Dear ________her and ________her,
I a__ staying i__ a __el with __odd for a __w days.
__t is __ry interesting __re. I ha__ never se__ so __ny big buil__.
There a__ many sh__; I'm go__ to __y a __t of thi__ to __ng
back t__ Oman.
See ____u soon!"

Appendix III

Item analysis data for RH and LH-deletions showing percentage facility (%) and discrimination index ('disc') for each item.

ITEM	RH		LH		ITEM	RH		LH	
	%	disc	%	disc		%	disc	%	disc
1	100	.00			53	22	.44	23	.20
2	100	.00	93	.20	54	93	.22	90	.30
3	89	.21			55	93	.00		
4	100	.00	97	.10	56	78	.22	47	.60
5	100	.00			57	96	.11	43	.70
6	75	.42			58	26	.67	37	.70
7	93	.17			59	77	.32		
8	81	.56	77	.40	60	78	.11	27	.40
9	91	.11			61	70	.33	27	.40
10	74	.05			62	100	.00	40	1.00
11	100	.00	93	.20	63	56	.42		
12	100	.00			64	100	.00	70	.70
13	100	.00	100	.00	65	74	.42		
14	53	.47			66	67	.26		
15	100	.00	97	.00	67	46	.74		
16	67	.21			68	33	.56	80	.10
17	100	.00	77	60	69	93	.00	87	.20
18	100	.00	100	.00	70	42	.16		
19	100	.00	100	.00	71	93	.22	47	.70
20	96	.11	87	.30	72	89	.26		
21	100	.73	97	.10	73	93	.22	73	.50
22	100	.00	97	.00	74	89	.21		
23	85	.44	93	.20	75	49	.26		
24	93	.11	97	.10	76	100	.00	53	.70
25	85	.33	67	.50	77	51	.58		
26	100	.00			77	100	.00	83	.20
27	100	.00	100	.00	79	89	.11	77	.60
28	100	.00	67	.30	80	85	.00	43	.40
29	93	.11	60	.60	81	100	.00	60	.80
30	100	.00	77	.30	82	100	.00	53	.70
31	100	.00	100	.00	83	95	.05		
32	89	.00	63	.40	84	100	.00		
33	30	.58			85	89	.22	40	.90
34	100	.00			86	100	.00	50	.70
35	56	.56	37	.60	87	63	.22	67	.50
36	93	.22	40	.50	88	78	.33	83	.50
37	86	.16			89	100	.00	73	.50
38	100	.00	73	.60	90	81	.22	50	.60
39	91	.00			91	91	.11		
40	93	.22	100	.00	92	65	.68		
41	46	.53			93	70	.22	57	.40
42	78	.22	83	.20	94	14	.21		
43	60	.53			95	77	.32		
44	93	.22	87	.40	96	54	.58		
45	96	.11	57	40	97	100	.00		
46	100	.00			98	48	.67	53	.70
47	96	.11	83	.30	99	93	.22	73	.20

Appendix III

Item analysis data for RH and LH-deletions showing percentage facility (%) and discrimination index ('disc') for each item *(continued).*

ITEM	RH		LH		ITEM	RH		LH	
	%	disc	%	disc		%	disc	%	disc
48	100	.00	97	.10	100	42	.74		
49	85	.33	93	.20	101	59	.89	17	.40
50	67	.44	83	.40	102	100	.00		
51	59	.44	67	.80	103	96	.11	80	.40
52	47	.79							

In Search of Appropriateness in EF(S)L Teaching Materials*

Makhan L Tickoo
RELC Singapore

Abstract

Appropriateness is now thought to be a principal characteristic as much of good textual materials as it is of good classroom discourse. This sociolinguistic concept however raises several issues of interpretation and translation especially when it is applied to materials for use in EFL/ESL situations. In this paper I attempt to explore a few of these issues with a view to understanding some possible implications for course construction and classroom use.

I. The Concept: Although the idea of appropriacy or appropriateness has received wide attention in the last decide (e.g. Widdowson 1978, Johnson 1982), the basic belief appears to have come from Dell Hymes' work in the early 1970s on 'communicative competence' (e.g. Hymes 1971). It is therefore best understood as part of his thinking on what constitutes such competence.

Hymes makes a distinction between linguistic competence (Chomsky 1965) and communicative competence. He sees the former as being based on two kinds of judgment — of grammaticality and of acceptability — and finds it deficient in that it fails to provide for two others. In his own words "If an adequate theory of language users and language use is to be developed, it seems that judgments must be recognised to be in fact not of two kinds but of four". He then provides for such four-tiered judgment by raising four fundamental questions:

"1. Whether (and to what degree) something is formally *possible:*
2. Whether (and to what degree) something is *feasible*;
3. Whether (and to what degree) something is *appropriate* (adequate, happy, successful) in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated;
4. Whether (and to what degree) something is in fact done, actually *performed*, and what its doing entails."

II. For applied linguists and for 'middlemen' working in the field of language teaching materials and methodologies the main message of the Hymesian thesis has been its emphasis on appropriateness (3 above).

---

*In revising this paper for publication I received much helpful advice from my colleagues — Dr Lim Kiat Boey, Mr Melchor Tatlonghari and Mr John Honeyfield. The interpretations and emphases, however, are all my own.

Judgments on good and bad, usable and unusable materials/utterances are therefore very often largely based on an understanding and application of this criterion. As a result second/foreign language teachers have also become aware of the fact that the good and not so good in language use, much like in some other types of social behaviour, is determined by factors such as the speaker's/listener's role and status, the situation in which the speech event takes place, the purpose that it serves and the medium (written/spoken) being made use of for doing so.

III. It would not be right to say that appropriateness of use is an entirely new concept in language teaching. The late Harold Palmer (1877-1949) argued for it when he wrote, for example, that "A man who is courtly on the football-field is as much an outsider as is the man who calls "Well done, George!" in the House of Lords when His Majesty delivers the King's speech". (Palmer 1932, 1969) And that was more than fifty years ago. What is new however is on the one hand the depth of understanding given to it by the (socio)-linguist (e.g. Firth 1957, Halliday 1974) and, on the other, the impact it has had on the design and use of teaching/learning materials. Both general- and specific-purpose materials of today are not only judged in terms of correctness and readability but also and more often for their authenticity and appropriateness. Equally, the best way to promote a course is to label it 'real' English, French or Spanish.

IV. For Hymes appropriate is "adequate, happy and successful." He also uses terms like "suitable" and "tactful". So what gives an act of speech (Searle 1969) appropriateness is its success in making the necessary impact on the interlocutor — the listener or, in the case of a piece of writing, the reader. But who decides what is appropriate? Or, put differently, what makes one act of speech 'happy', 'successful', 'adequate' and 'tactful' and another none of these? The answer becomes difficult because such judgments have to be made using the above terms which, in every case, are 'loaded'. And this makes the concept capable of different interpretations and differing judgments. This is especially so in the case of world languages like English which operate across highly dissimilar cultures and incomparably different contexts of language use. Some aspects of the problems that confront the makers and users of such EF(S)L materials can best be illustrated by reference to actual experiences, my own and those of other ES(F)L practitioners, in Asian classrooms. A few of these form the basis of the discussion that follows.

V. i. Communicative Strategies and Appropriateness

To perform successfully in social interaction every user makes use of communicative strategies. These strategies are linguistic including, for example, appropriate patterns of rhythm and intonation or turns of phrase; they are also non-linguistic including body and facial movements. In both cases they often differ between different individuals who natively speak the same language and not unexpectedly they differ much more so across cultures. Speakers (or writers) differ on how they convince, cajole or compromise much as they differ on how they dress or serve food on different occasions.

For textbook writers and classroom teachers a basic question is this: 'given that strategies vary across speech communities and fellowships, are there preferred ways of interaction which can/should become models for language use?' For a linguistic scientist whose main task is to describe rather than to judge between good and bad, this need not become a problem at all. Not so for teachers and trainers. A teacher must set standards and, to do so, s/he finds prescription an essential instrument. And this is where the first problem arises in making judgments on appropriateness.

The following is part of a dialogue that took place between a Chinese police constable and his expatriate officer, a native speaker of English. The place is Hong Kong and the constable is trying to get a day off because his mother is being admitted to (the) hospital.

Chinese Police Constable (CPC): Sir?
Expatriate Officer (EO): Yes, what is it?
CPC: My mother is not very well sir.
EO: So?
CPC: She has to go into hospital sir.
EO: Well, get on with it. What do you want?
CPC: On Thursday sir.
EO: Bloody hell man, what do you want?
CPC: Nothing sir. (Source: Kirkpatrick 1985)

Now obviously there is here a failure in communication: the CPC has not only not succeeded in getting what he wanted, he has also had a bad, perhaps humiliating, experience. In all probability he must also have annoyed his officer, something that many subordinates live to regret. But why did this happen and how can it be improved? It is here that the maker of ES(F)L materials and the teacher of this langauge must come in and it is their attitudes to and views on appropriateness that greatly shape and influence the learners' language use.

One type of judgment is as simple as it is clear: teach him/her "to get to the point and stick with it". (Kirkpatrick, ibid) In this view what went wrong in the dialogue above was that the CPC failed to use "the information sequencing strategies of English" and in their place used those that he had learnt in his mother tongue, in this case (a dialect of) Chinese. The result was obvious: the CPC got what he deserved.

But there can be other judgments on this case. It can be argued, for example, that the EO failed to appreciate the characteristically Oriental way of addressing one's superior, that he was impatient and, if nothng more, that he could at least have shown a degree of "accommodation' (Sibayan 1985). That he was being, in some ways, both insensitive and unnecessarily rude to a fellow human being, may also be part of such a judgment.

The question that it raises for the materials writer/teacher is that of the different meanings of appropriateness. If it is true that 'appropriacy' in language use varies with users and uses and with roles and purposes, then perhaps it is only a partial truth to say that there are sequencing strategies of English which apply across the board regardless of who uses them, where, when and why. If, for instance, both the officer and the constable in the abovementioned encounter had been Chinese, Malay or Indian, and that is something which is now highly common in those Asian countries where English as a second language serves as the vehicle of socio-cultural exchanges and encounters, the constable's way of approaching the objective would not have received the treatment it did. In fact, it might have produced the desired result and, what is equally important, might have qualified as not just successful but also highly polite.

At this stage it may also be helpful to make a distinction between language use for social survival as opposed to language in and for learning. Although definitive statements are not justified on the basis of single instances, there seems to be much less need for taking into account the ethnic styles and sensitivities where English is being used for, say, academic/scientific report writing or factual description than there is for acts of speech or of writing that primarily serve the varied needs of social survival or interaction. Some indirect support for such a view also comes from recent work on E(A)SP materials (e.g. Swales on scholarly introductions 1986) which shows, for example, that the information structuring and ordering that is involved in the performance of such acts inside academic discourse often poses a challenge to native and non-native users alike.[1] The tentative inference therefore might be that in producing materials for social survival and interaction, judgments on appropriateness may have to take into account the differences between the behavioural systems and world views of different social/ethnic groups. There is perhaps some need to redefine the concept of appropriateness after taking into account the new roles any world language but especially English has assumed in many parts of Asia and Africa.

V. ii. Imported Materials and Appropriateness

My second example looks at the same phenomenon using a slightly different context, viz. that of basing the teaching of English (or any other second language) on 'authentic' materials that reflect the day-to-day situations in the native-speaker's world. Once again this is not a radical departure from what was known and, in a limited way, done even at the turn of the century. Here, for example, is what Henry Sweet (1845–1912) wrote in 1899 on what he would look for in producing materials to teach one or another modern European language: "The subject of the texts ought to be in harmony with the language they are intended to teach, both as regards place and time: an English reading-book for French learners ought to deal with scenes of modern English life rather than with Lacedemonians." (Sweet 1899) What has changed however since Sweet expressed that view is the range of functions that English is being made to perform in the 1980s as opposed to those that belonged to it 50 or 100 years ago. And this makes the problems of appropriateness a much more central concern for ES(F)L materials writing today.

To illustrate one of the problems that arises in the use of such authentic materials I shall once again make use of a dialogue that I have taken from a reputed ESL course that avowedly attempts to teach the 'rules of use' (Widdowson 1983) and not just of usage. The book as a whole is built around the events and experiences in the lives of "a lot of characters" all of whom "live in London". The dialogue takes place between two young people (Stephen and Maggie) at their first meeting.

Stephen: Come in, come into the sitting room.

Maggie: Thank you.

Stephen: Would you like to sit down? I'm afraid the room is very untidy.

Maggie: No, it isn't.

Stephen: Now, coffee. With milk and sugar?

Maggie: Just sugar please. I like black coffee.

Stephen: Yes, I prefer black coffee, too. Look would you make the coffee. I want to wash and shave.

Maggie: Yes, all right.

Stephen: That's the kitchen. Would you make me strong coffee please. I like strong coffee.

Maggie: Yes, so do I.

> Stephen: There's some cake in the cupboard. Would you like a piece?
>
> Maggie: No, thanks. Coffee's fine.
>
> Stephen: Would you like to hear my new record?
>
> Maggie: Yes, I'd love to. Who is it?
>
> Stephen: It's Betty Blue. She's American. She's a new American singer.
>
> Maggie: Is she good?
>
> Stephen: Good? She's fantastic! Just listen. Right! I'm going to the bathroom. I'm sorry I'm not dressed.
>
> Maggie: Don't worry. It is Saturday.
>
> (Abbs et al. Strategies 1975).

Over the last three years I have used this dialogue as an example of authentic communicative materials with several groups of E(F)SL teachers from Southeast Asia. On all such occasions it produced mixed reactions — praise for its success in illustrating language items like "would you + verb" or "I like/want + Noun" but doubt, even disbelief, about the claimed genuineness of the give and take that forms part this first meeting between two total strangers. Apart from the fact that in their cultures one does not, for example, ask a 'guest' to make coffee, strong or weak, it was also felt that statements like 'I'm not dressed' used at a first meeting between a boy and a girl ought not to serve as a model of appropriate behaviour for young people learning how to use this language for acceptable communicative uses in different parts of Asia. There was doubt too about the communicative value of some expressions like 'Now coffee. With milk or sugar?' or 'Good? ... Right!' whose meaning comes through only when one is able to make a full use of the rhythmic and intonational features of L1 English.

Examples such as these obviously raise issues both for the sociolinguist and for the writer or teacher of language-teaching materials.[2] For the former there is some need to reconsider the concept of appropriateness and the parameters that should enter its definition and interpretation. In many cases what is 'tactful', 'happy' or even 'acceptable' for the native speaker need not (perhaps cannot) always be so for the non-native user in his/her situations of use. For the teacher and materials writer it raises questions of choice — not only in respect of which themes to select but also what aspects to foreground or even how to do so. One man's authentic may, on occasion, turn out to be another's anathema. For both materials writers and EFL teachers such experiences appear also to point to the need to understand and work towards what Henry Widdowson calls the 'authenticity of response'. Having argued that authenticity has to do with appropriate response, Widdowson goes on to say that it may not be "meaningful to talk about authentic language as such" and makes a case for the methodological mediation that can authenticate the materials (Widdowson 1979). Although he argues for 'authenticating' in the context of E(A)SP materials, the need for it appears to be even greater in contexts where the reader/listener comes to the act of reading/listening with a different world-view and a different system of values. Usable materials must prove their genuineness in actual contexts of use.

V. iii. Appropriate Usage and Native-Speaker Intuition

A third aspect of linguistic/sociolinguistic appropriateness is somewhat different but once again it appears to raise questions of judgment and interpretation and of who should be depended on for decisions on what is or is not acceptable, suitable or 'happy'.

An important aspect of successful language use is the choice of the appropriate word, phrase or expression. This is also an area where an educated native speaker of the language has, at least traditionally, been able to provide reliable guidance especially in areas of use where most grammars fail to provide adequate or full guidance. I can illustrate this once again by using a personal experience as a learner of English.

In my first week as a student at a British university the overseas students' advisor asked me to see my academic supervisor for guidance on a problem that I needed help with. She said "If that is your main problem, I should see your academic supervisor early." I understood it to mean that she had undertaken to see my supervisor on my behalf and so did nothing more about the problem. But when I saw her again a week later she asked me if I had met my supervisor. When I explained why I had not, she understood and reworded her advice. I learnt much later that in informal uses of English "I should + verb" stands for "You should + verb" especially where the purpose is to give advice.

Here then was a situation in which an educated native speaker should have been able to extend my repertoire of the uses to which 'should' is put in current English. That she did not attempt to do so could, with the help of hindsight, be related to the fact that she was not a teacher of English. Not every native speaker is able to provide rule-governed explanations for even everyday uses of English. I clearly recall another occasion when I asked a neighbour of ours, an educated native speaker of English, the difference between 'How are you?' and 'How do you do?'. She saw none although she never failed to use each appropriately. Not every native speaker is obviously capable of providing guidance on even those parts of the language where clear rules exist and are generally observed.

But how dependable is the advice given by an educated native speaker who is also a teacher, a textbook writer or a trainer of teachers? In most situations the answer ought to be 'very' if not also 'absolutely' (dependable). In practice, however, one experiences problems especially in what may be called the fuzzy edges of language use. As Sir Randolph Quirk (Quirk 1970) warns us "A person may have strong beliefs about what form he habitually uses; and he may have strong views on the forms that ought to be used. These may be in harmony or he may confess that he believes them to be in conflict. But we must all realise that *our beliefs about our own usage by no means necessarily correspond to the actual facts of our usage* — as frank observers are liable to remind us from time to time." (underlining mine)

When such strong beliefs on what is or is not normal in one's language use are made the basis of do's and dont's in ES(F)L classrooms, they are likely to cause uncertainty and confusion especially if they do not correspond with attested facts of current usage. But when such beliefs in addition lead to prescriptive rules on what is right or wrong, 'sociolinguistically' sanctioned or disallowed, and are then made part of 'authentic' instructional materials to serve as models for wide use, they must result in much more than uncertainty about what is or is not 'acceptable' or 'appropriate' language use. The following two examples from a recent paper on grammar materials (Pavlik 1987) should serve to illustrate parts of the problem.

In providing guidance on "which forms of the structure need to be taught", the writer says:

a. "Another aspect to this problem which must be taken into account is that some structures are restricted to certain forms. For example, 'ought to' is most commonly used in positive statements, only sometimes used in negative statements, and *almost never* (underlining mine) used in questions."

b. "Students often make errors when using 'used to' in the negative and question forms (i.e. *Did he used to study? *I didn't used to swim.)"

Now let us compare these guidelines with what is available in a few recent authoritative works on modern English usage.

a. On the usage of 'ought to' A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (Quirk et al 1985) says the following:

> "Ought to ... has the uncontracted negative ought not to and the contracted negative oughtn't to. It normally has the to-infinitive

> (although occasionally in familiar style the bare infinitive occurs in nonassertive contexts)".

And here is what is found in the COBUILD (1987) dictionary:

> "You use *ought* to say that you think that an action or someone's behaviour is morally right. If you say 'ought not' you think it is morally wrong EG. They ought to be free, oughtn't they? People in a university ought'nt to get away with it.... Ought he to be forced out of the Presidency? ...Oughtn't we to phone the police? We ought to order, oughtn't we?"

In neither case is there the slightest suggestion about any of the three forms being less acceptable not to say taboo.

As to the use of 'did/didn't use to', these too are part of attested current usage. The Usage note on *Used to* in, for example, the Longman Dictionary Of Contemporary English (1987 edition) reads: "*Used to* has various negative forms. Some people think that 'He *used not to* is better than He *didn't used/use to*', but all are possible. He *never used to* expresses the same idea. The best question form is probably '*Did/Didn't he use/used to*?' but '*Used/Usedn't he to*? *Used he not to*?' also exist."

Far from being unacceptable or even infrequent, the two forms 'Did he used to + verb' and 'Didn't he used to + verb' are rated to be probably "the best question form" in current British usage.

Doubts of a similar nature arise too in assessing the value of some other usage notes on "sociolinguistic restrictions" in the same article. It says, for example, that 'had better' "may be used between peers, but only when the speaker is trying to *warn of dire consequences*" thus making normal exchanges like the following between two friends in their teens sociolinguistically unacceptable:

Mary: Why don't you stay on for supper? It is really special today.
June: I'm sorry but I'd better go. We expect a guest at home.

The point to emphasize is that judgments on appropriate usage especially where they bring in questions of sociolinguistic acceptability and appropriateness may often require much more than native speaker intuition. Even ordinarily, as Sinclair warns us "The problem about all kinds of introspection is that it does not give evidence about usage.... Actual usage plays a very minor role in one's consciousness of language and one would be recording largely ideas about language rather than facts of it." (Sinclair 1985). Where judgments require both linguistic and social sanction, the role of the final authority becomes even more challenging. The fuzzy edges of sociolinguistic appropriateness are apparently fuzzier than of those that determine the choice of words or those others that help decisions on grammaticality.

VI. The examples studied above are obviously not representative of all aspects of social and sociolinguistic appropriateness. Questions of style belong to it equally, so too do those of discourse strategies. What I have attempted to understand in this paper is therefore only a small part of the many complex issues that arise in the translation and use of the concept of appropriateness to some types of second/foreign language materials and their teaching. Its insufficiencies notwithstanding the evidence presented above appears to warrant the drawing up of a few tentative conclusions as far as EF(S)L materials are concerned. The main ones are:

a. That since behavioural patterns are often socially conditioned, what is 'tactful', 'successful' and 'happy' in one context of situation may not be so in another. Decisions on what to use where may therefore have to take into account factors that belong to the local situations inside each national system rather than being made globally on the basis of some fixed and firm ideas on authenticity or appropriateness. This is particularly true in the case of those materials that are meant to contribute to the skills and abilities needed for social survival.

b. That for ES(F)L materials, being authentic in the accepted sense of the term should be considered as only a part of what is needed to make them usable. What Widdowson, in a slightly different context of ESP calls 'authentication' must therefore be considered an important step in the adaptation of such materials. Imported materials must always be subjected to field try-outs as a preliminary to their adoption to serve the specific needs of the user society.

c. That individual judgments including those of educated native speakers on the pragmatics of words, phrases and syntactic patterns must be treated with caution and not be allowed to determine appropriate usage.

d. Finally, that the sociolinguistic concept of appropriateness as interpreted in recent literature on the subject and applied in recent books and materials must be thoroughly reexamined to make it serve the enhanced and expanding roles of English or other world languages especially in contexts where it/they serve(s) the intranational needs of second/foreign language users.

Notes

1. It seems appropriate in this context to relate what was said here to the view recently expressed by Henry Widdowson in his discussion of 'language spread in modes of use'. I am in general in agreement with his view that "learning English as a means of conceptualisation and

communication is bound to involve the initiation into those conventions of thought and its conveyance which define standard practice." (Widdowson 1987) Where I find it necessary to add to it is in areas where the social norms of one social group are different from (at times in conflict with) those of another or where judgments on such norms are difficult to make. A good example of the latter may be that of styles of formality. A brief review of the guidance offered by two widely used ES(F)L dictionaries showed, for example, that in many cases even these authoritative sources on words and their uses fail to agree on what is or is not 'formal', 'colloquial', 'slang', 'old-fashioned' etc. (Tickoo 1988) Individual native-speaker judgments are often much less reliable and, in general, sociolinguistic judgments appear to be more like the 'laws' of social sciences than of any exact science. They often fail us when we need them most.

2. My experience in the use of such 'authentic' materials often reminded me of an experience that the great literary critic — I A Richards — had in one of the English literature classes he taught in China in the early years of this century. At the end of one such course where Richards had used Thomas Hardy's Tess of the D'urbervilles as his text, he asked for the students' reactions to the fate that Tess had suffered. What he expected was expressions of sympathy towards the unfortuante heroine not just for the tragic predicament she suffered between her brutal seducer and her husband but for the way she was tried, condemned and executed in a world that was patently harsh and merciless. What he got greatly surprised him because far from feeling sympathetic towards her, some of his students felt that Tess had deserved what she got; having violated the basic ethics of a good family life, how could she have escaped the consequences of such unfilial and clearly unacceptable behaviour? What apparently must have been uppermost in their minds was not so much the fact that Tess was a victim of cruel chance and ironical fate nor that she had suffered at the hands of unthinking men whom she trusted but that she brought the harshest punishment on to herself by her misguided self-indulgence.

References

Abbs B et al. 1975 Strategies: Integrated English Language Materials, Longman.

Chomsky N 1965. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax Cambridge Mass., MIT Press.

Firth, J R 1957. 'Modes of Meaning' in Papers in Linguistics 1935-1954, Oxford University Press.

Halliday M A K 1975. Learning How to mean, Edward Arnold.

Hymes D 1971. On Communicative Competence, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania.

Johnson K 1982. Communicative Syllabus Design and Methodology, Pergamon.

Kirkpatrick T A 1985. The Role of Communicative Language Teaching in Secondary Schools in Communicative Language Teaching RELC Anthology Series 14 Singapore.

Palmer H E & Redman H V 1932. This Language Learning Business George G Harrap (Oxford University Press 1969).

Palmer R (ed) 1968. Selected Papers of J R Firth, Bloomington Indiana, Indiana University Press.

Pavlik C 1987. Grammar by Design: Writing Grammar Presentations in RELC Guidelines Vol. 9, No. 2, December, Singapore.

Quirk R 1970. Linguistics, Usage and the Use in The Listener. London August 13.

Quirk R et al. 1985. A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language Longman.

Searle J 1969. Speech Acts, Cambridge University Press.

Sibayan B P 1985. Teaching for Communicative Competence in RELC Anthology 14, ibid.

Sinclair J (Gen. Editor) 1987 Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary, Collins.

Sinclair J 1985. Lexicographic Evidence in Ilson R Dictionaries, Lexicography and Language Learning, Pergamon.

Summers D (Editorial Director) Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English 1987 Edition.

Swales J 1986. Developing Materials for Writing Scholarly Introductions in English for Specifiable Purposes RELC Occasional Papers No. 42.

Sweet Henry 1899. A Practical Study of Languages. J.M. Dent (Oxford University Press 1964).

Tickoo M L 1988. Dictionaries, Pragmatics and ESL Teachers/Users in Journal of English and Foreign Languages CIEFL Hyderabad, India Vol 1, No. 2.

Widdowson H 1978. Teaching Language as Communication, Oxford University Press.

Widdowson H 1979. Explorations in Applied Linguistics, Oxford sity Press.

Widdowson H 1983. Learning Purpose and Language Use, Oxford University Press.

Widdowson H 1987. Language Spread in Modes of Use in GURT '87 (Language Spread and Language Policy edited by Lowenberg P H), Georgetown University.

A Study of Four Attitudes and Reading Comprehension of Primary Six Students in Singapore

Mohsen Ghadessy
National University of Singapore
Singapore

Abstract

Scores of 645 Chinese and Malay students from the Normal Stream* of six Primary Schools in Singapore in relation to pupils' attitude toward (1) teachers, (2) learning processes, (3) language arts and (4) mathematics and their (5) reading comprehension are compared and contrasted to find answers to the following questions:

1. What are the correlations between the five variables for the two student groups?
2. Are there significant differences between the same variable across groups?
3. Would "clustering" of Malay students in some schools affect their performance scores?

The obtained statistics indicate that, except in one case, there is a positive correlation between all the variables for the two groups. There is a significant difference between three of the attitudes across groups with the Chinese doing better in the reading and comprehension test. Clustering does not seem to affect the reading ability of the Malays. It is concluded that for the Malays the home environment is a much more important factor than the school environment in their attempt to master the English language.

Introduction and Background

The affective side of human experience has been the subject of research in many recent studies related to the teaching and learning of a foreign/second language. However, as Oller (1979:105) observes:

> Personality, attitudes, emotions, feelings and motivations, ...are subjective things and even our own experience tells us that they are changeable as the wind. The question here is whether or not they can be measured. Further, what is the relationship between existing

---

*"Streaming" is an essential part of primary and secondary education in Singapore. Primary school students are at the age of 9, after completing Primary Three, streamed into Normal Bilingual Course, Extended Course and Monolingual Course. The first group, some of whom were used for the present research, take English (First Language), one other official Language (Second Language, i.e. Chinese, Malay or Tamil) and other subjects.

measures aimed at affective variables and measures aimed at language skill or other educational constructs?

Shaw and Wright (1967:15) suggest that "attitude measurement consists of the assessment of an individual's responses to a set of situations. The set of situations is usually a set of statements (items) about the attitude object, to which the individual responds with a set of specific categories, e.g. agree and disagree.... The...number derived from his scores represents his position on the latent attitude variable."

A discussion of all the attitude tests based on the suggestion by Shaw and Wright and the strengths and weaknesses of each is beyond the scope of this paper. Interested readers can see Oller (Ibid:103–148), Krashen (1981:19–39), and Stern (1983:375–379) for a detailed discussion. However, we would like to concentrate on the relationship between four attitudes and the relationship between each of these attitudes and the reading ability of a number of students in several primary schools in Singapore.

Reading and comprehension is a part of the third component of language aptitude, i.e. "inductive ability" as explained by Carroll (1973); the other two components being "phonetic coding ability" and "grammatical sensitivity". Krashen (Ibid:19), surveying recent research on attitude and aptitude, refers to "a strange finding", i.e. "both language aptitude (as measured by standard tests) and attitude (affective variables) appear to be related to second language achievement, but are not related to each other."

Now in a country like Singapore that accommodates people of several ethnic origins, it will be of interest to compare and contrast the attitudes of students belonging to different ethnic groups and to see whether the attitudes have any relationship to these students' "academic performance". This research is especially motivated by some recent statements regarding the differences between the performance of the Chinese and Malay students particularly in Singapore primary schools.

The research set out to find the answers to a number of questions related to five variables, i.e. scores on attitudes toward (1) teachers, (2) learning, (3) language arts and (4) mathematics and (5) reading and comprehension for two groups of students, i.e. Chinese and Malays. The questions are as follows:

1. What are the correlations between the five variables for the two student groups?

2. Are there significant differences between scores for the same variable across groups?
3. Would "clustering" of Malay students in some schools affect their performance scores?

The following sections deal with the tests administered, results obtained and a discussion of the findings.

The Test for Attitudes

The Arlin-Hills Attitude Surveys for Elementary Schools (1976) was used for the present research. This battery of tests includes 4 separate instruments each measuring a different attitude. They are:

1. Attitude toward teachers
2. Attitude toward learning processes
3. Attitude toward language arts
4. Attitude toward mathematics

Each test comprises 15 statements to which students show their degree of agreement or disagreement by choosing one of the four possible answers. The following are four examples related to each of the above tests.

1. My teachers try new and interesting ways of teaching.
   NO SOMETIMES USUALLY YES
2. Too much of what I learn comes from the textbook.
   NO SOMETIMES USUALLY YES
3. It is fun to practice writing outside of school.
   NO SOMETIMES USUALLY YES
4. Arithmetic is too hard.
   NO SOMETIMES USUALLY YES

As can be seen from the above examples, this battery of tests is suitable for primary-school students in almost every part of the world. The statements are clear and very general in nature and the results can easily be obtained and tabulated. Because of the above features, this writer considered the tests appropriate for the Singapore context.

Students are asked to fill in the circles in front of each question, depending on how they feel about the statements. Each question is scored on a 0–3 basis. All questions should be answered and a questionnaire with more than two answers omitted should not be scored. If a student has omitted only one or two questions, a score of 2 for omitted questions is given.

All statements considered positive by the authors are scored from 3 for agreement to 0 for disagreement. All statements considered negative are scored from 0 for agreement to 3 for disagreement. Of the four examples above, 1 and 3 are positive and 2 and 4 are negative. The scores for all 15 questions are added to obtain the total score. Total scores range from 0 (lowest, most negative attitude) to 45 (highest attitude). The questions for each attitude are accompanied by a number of cartoons to make the answering session more enjoyable.

For the present research a number of changes were made in the above tests. These included:

a. rephrasing a few of the statements to make them more comprehensible for Singapore students. This was done after a few primary-school teachers in Singapore looked at the questions and made some recommendations. There were no tryouts before the administration of the final questionnaire.
b. putting all the statements (60 in total) on the same questionnaire and printing the answers on a separate sheet. This was done to make the scoring by the computer easier.
c. Only 6 of the cartoons were used for the revised test; one at the beginning with the test instructions, one at the end to thank students for their time and effort, and one each at the beginning of the relevant questions for the 4 attitudes. (see Appendix 1 for a copy of the full test).

The Test for Reading Comprehension

Three reading passages from graded readers by Science Research Associates with a total of 20 multiple choice answers were used along with the attitude tests. A score of 2 was given to each correct answer. The total scores for reading comprehension range from 0 (lowest) to 40 (highest). (See section 2 of the test in Appendix 1 for the reading test).

The Test Population

The four attitude tests and the reading comprehension test were administered to 645 Primary Six students (12 year olds) in the Normal Stream of 6 Singapore primary schools. The questionnaires and the answer sheets were given to the school principals to be distributed among Primary Six teachers along with a number of guidelines as follows:

"Dear Colleague,

In order to administer this questionnaire uniformly in a number of primary schools in Singapore, you are asked to observe the following instructions:

1. Tell the students that this is not a test and their answers will not be seen by their teachers. The answers will go into a computer for analysis at a later date. Students should not put their names on the questionnaire or the answer sheet.
2. Students should not write anything on the questionnaire. All the answers should be marked on the answer sheet.
3. Section one of the answer sheet should be used fo the first 60 questions on attitude. Section two should be used for the 20 questions on reading and comprehension.
4. All the questions should be answered in one session which may take between 30-45 minutes. Students who have not answered all the questions after 45 minutes should be asked to stop writing. The teacher can then collect their paper.
5. Make sure students write on the answer sheet the name of their school, the second language they are taking at school, and if they know any additional language(s).
6. After the administration of the tests, collect all questionnaires and answer sheets separately and return them to the principal's office."

Students' answers were subsequently punched onto computer cards which were used to feed the data into the N.U.S. Computer System. Although there were a few Tamil students among the test population, only the answers of Chinese and Malay students were considered in the first 4 schools which had an almost equal number of Chinese and Malays in the Primary Six classes. In the other two schools, only the answers of Malay students were analysed for reasons which will be discussed below. The number and percentage of Chinese and Malay students in the 6 primary schools were as follows.

Table 1

	School	Chinese		Malay		Total
		No.	%	No.	%	
1.	Telok Kurau	74	43.5	96	56.5	170
2.	Yung An	67	50.5	66	49.5	133
3.	Jubilee	89	53	79	47	168
4.	Permaisura	72	64.3	40	35.7	112
5.	Bukit Merah			29	15	29
6.	Clementi Town			33	19	33
	Total	302		343		645

Test Results

Using the SPSS computer program, statistics were obtained for the following variables:

A15 = Mean and SD for attitude toward teachers (questions 1-15 on the answer sheet)

A30 = Mean and SD for attitude toward learning (questions 16-30 on the answer sheet)

A45 = Mean and SD for attitude toward language (questions 31-45 on the answer sheet)

A60 = Mean and SD for attitude toward mathematics (questions 46-60 on the answer sheet)

R20 = Mean and SD for reading and comprehension (questions 1-20 on page 2 of the answer sheet)

The results for Chinese students coming from the first 4 schools above are as follows:

Table 2

Variable	cases	Mean	SD
A15	302	21.41	5.4
A30	302	17.12	5.94
A45	302	20.30	4.64
A60	302	19.91	6.09
R20	302	31.22	7.31

The results for Malay students coming from the same 4 schools are as follows:

Table 3

A15	281	21.96	4.88
A30	281	18.37	5.51
A45	281	22.06	4.66
A60	281	18.45	6.28
R20	281	27.55	8.14

Pearson intercorrelations between the five variables were then computed for the two groups. The results for the Chinese are as follows:

Table 4

	A15	A30	A45	A60	R20
A15		0.38 p = 0.00	0.19 p = 0.00	0.10 p = 0.03	0.03 p = 0.29
A30			0.20 p = 0.00	0.24 p = 0.00	0.07 p = 0.09
A45				0.12 p = 0.01	0.19 p = 0.00
A60					−0.02 p = 0.32

The results for the Malays are as follows:

Table 5

	A15	A30	A45	A60	R20
A15		0.34 p = 0.00	0.21 p = 0.00	0.17 p = 0.00	0.14 p = 0.00
A30			0.27 p = 0.00	0.17 p = 0.00	0.14 p = 0.01
A45				0.15 p = 0.00	0.13 p = 0.01
R20					0.14 p = 0.00

Discussion

The means for the 4 attitudes in tables 2 and 3 show that the majority of students do not have a particularly positive or negative attitude toward the tested topics. However, if we reorder the means from the lowest to the highest, we can say that the Chinese have a more positive attitude toward teachers (m = 21.41) than toward learning (m = 17.12) with attitudes toward language (m = 20.30) and mathematics (m = 19.91) falling in between. As with Malays, they have a more positive attitude toward language (m = 22.06) than toward learning (m = 18.37) with attitudes toward teachers (m = 21.96) and mathematics (m = 18.45) falling in between.

As we will discuss the differences between the Chinese (A15, A30, etc.) and Malays (A15, A30, etc.) in a later section, we will continue here with the statistics in Tables 4 and 5. Except in one case, there is a positive (some very low) correlation between the five variables in Table 4 which relates to Chinese students. The highest correlation is between attitude toward teachers (A15) and attitude toward learning (A30), i.e. 0.38. Then come the correlations between (A30) and mathematics (A60), i.e. 0.24 and (A30) and language (A45), i.e. 0.20. There does not seem to be any correlation between (A30) and (R20), i.e. 0.07. However, (R20) correlates positively with (A45), i.e. 0.19.

We get a different picture with Malays in relation to the correlations between the five variables. All the correlations are positive (some very low), ranging between 0.34 for (A15) and (A30) to 0.13 for (A45) and (R20).

Excluding the correlations between (R20) and the four attitudes, the correlations obtained by Arlin-Hills in their survey of 13,806 students in the USA are much higher in every case. However, their sample of students comprised pupils from grades 1-12. The following are the correlations given by them.

	Learning	Language	Mathematics
Teacher	0.63	0.49	0.47
Learning		0.45	0.43
Language			0.53

(Arlin-Hills, P5)

As in the case of Chinese and Malay students the highest correlation is between Teacher and Learning, i.e. 0.63. We will discuss the differences between the Arlin-Hill results and the findings of the present study in more detail in the conclusion section. For now we can look at the more interesting differences based on a comparative study of the attitudes and reading comprehension of the two groups.

Cross Comparison of the Five Variables

In this section we compare each attitude of Chinese students with the same attitude shown by the Malays together with a comparison of the reading and comprehension. The SPSS ANOVA was applied to the two sets of statistics in each case. The following are the results; the discussion will come later.

Table 6

Chinese	Malays	F
A15	With A15	1.63
A30	With A30	6.91*
A45	With A45	20.88*
A60	With A60	8.07*
R20	With R20	32.81*

*Significant at the 0.01 level

Discussion

The differences in 4 of the above comparisons are significant. This means that the Chinese attitude toward the teachers is the same as the Malays attitude, i.e. A15 with A15. However, the Malays have a more positive attitude toward learning processes, i.e. A30 with A30. The Malays also have a more positive attitude toward language arts, i.e. A45 with A45. The Chinese have a more positive attitude toward mathematics, i.e. A60 with A60. As with reading ability, the Chinese are definitely more proficient as the high value of F indicates. Comparing the correlation between language and reading for the two groups, we can see that the Chinese students with more positive attitude toward language were better readers than the Malays who also had a positive attitude toward language. The following table provides the statistics.

Table 7

	A45 Mean	R20 Mean	Corr.	P
Chinese	20.30	31.22	0.19	0.00
Malays	22.06	27.55	0.13	0.01

The Question of "Clustering"

The last set of statistics obtained relate to some recent statements made in the Singapore press regarding the "clustering" of Malay students in some primary schools.

> ... Dr Ahmad Mattar, ... urged Malay parents not to "bunch up" their children in the same few schools, as this would affect their ability to master the English language. Education Ministry statistics show a correlation between the clustering of Malay students and their performance in the Primary School Leaving Examination. Such a cor-

> relation is not and can never be the conclusive proof that clustering is the only or even the leading factor.
>
> (The Straits Times, Dec. 30, 1986)

One possible interpretation of the above quote is that (a) clustering is one of the factors affecting the performance of Malay students and consequently (b) the Malays from schools with a lower proportion of Malay pupils are doing better in their English studies i.e., There is "... a correlation between the clustering of Malay students and their performance...." To see whether this was true or not, two additional groups of Malay students (a total of 62) from two schools with a much higher proportion of Chinese students were also given the same attitude and reading comprehension tests given to the other four schools in this study. The number and percentage of Chinese and Malays were as follows:

Table 8

	Chinese	(%)	Malays	(%)	Total
Bukit Merah	158	85	29	15	187
Clementi Town	136	81	33	19	169

The results obtained from these Malay students were then compared with the results from the Malays in the other four schools. The following statistics are relevant for our discussion below. The mean and SD of the 62 Malay students are as follows:

Table 9

Variable	Cases	Mean	SD
A15	62	21.67	5.04
A30	62	19.66	5.02
A45	62	22.11	4.14
A60	62	18.25	7.01
R20	62	29.58	7.22

Using the ANOVA test for the two groups of Malays, we get the following statistics:

Table 10

Malays from schools 1-4		Malays from schools 5 + 6	F
A15	With	A15	0.16
A30	With	A30	2.85
A45	With	A45	0.00
A60	With	A60	0.04
R20	With	R20	3.25

Discussion

The above statistics show that there is no significant difference at the 0.01 level between the performance of the two Malay groups in the five tests. The two groups have the same attitudes toward teachers, learning processes, language arts and mathematics and are equal in reading ability. This indicates that there are other important factors, i.e. the quality of teaching and the home environment that influence Malay students performance in their studies.

Conclusion

As Arlin and Hills indicate in their introduction to the manual for the present tests, "Assessment of student attitudes is an exceedingly complex task". To the extent the validity and reliability of these tests are accepted, we can say that the present statistics for the Singapore students give us some indication of these students feelings toward the four topics in the survey.

The obtained results in our study are different from what Arlin and Hills found out for a number of reasons. Among these we can mention the total number of students (13,806) and the samples (Primary level Grades K-3; Elementary Level Grades 4-6; and High School Level Grades 7-12) which came from 50 schools through a southern state of the USA.

Although Arlin and Hills do not mention this, the majority of their students were probably monolinguals whereas all the students in our study are bi- or trilinguals. This will affect the answers to the questions on language arts where the monolinguals would think only about English whereas the Singaporeans would think about English as well as their Second language (mother tongue).

Finally, as they suggest, "Caution should be exercised when making comparisons, and whenever possible a school's own criteria and local norms should be employed. When interpreting these local norms it is critical to realize that they are **local**." (original emphasis)

Coming back to the findings for Singapore students, there is definitely a difference between the Chinese and Malays in relation to the attitudes toward learning processes, language arts, mathematics and the reading and comprehension ability. The most important statistics here relate to one of the correlations between two variables for the two groups, i.e. that the Chinese with a more positive attitude toward language were better readers than the Malays who also showed a positive attitude toward language arts. We also provided statistics that indicate "clustering" may not be as detrimental to the Malays' studies as is presently assumed.

The last point is emphasized in a leader in The Straits Times (June 10, 1987) entitled "Not by numbers alone".

> Children whose parents actively encourage them to mix with other races and speak English are far more likely to do so than those whose parents are content with their mixing only with other Malays.*

We end with a quote from another recent article from The Straits Times, (June 7, 1987).

> Parental support and encouragement, consistency and diligence were cited as the keys to success by four Mendaki Award winners at the Istana last night.... Dr Noorhakim... added, (that) his greatest motivation came from his father, a clerk, and his housewife mother, because "**they had given me all the emotional, psychological and material support I needed to succeed**".
>
> (emphasis added)

There is much food for thought and further research in the above quote from Dr Noorhakim.

Appendix I

Dear Student,

There are two parts in this questionnaire. In the first part you answer a number of questions about your feelings toward your teachers, how you learn in school, language and finally mathematics. In the second part you read three passages and answer the questions following each passage. You need not put your name on this questionnaire as this is not a test. Your teacher will not see this. Your answers will go straight into the computer.

We thank you for your time and effort.

Have fun!

---

*The leader referred to starts with the following sentence:

> Acting in response to a request by Muslim MPs, the Ministry of Education has sent out instructions to schools to limit their enrollment of Malay children to no more than 25 per cent of their Primary 1 intake.

ATTITUDE TOWARD TEACHERS

SECTION ONE: Questions 1-60 for attutides.
We would like to know how you feel about your teachers. Circle the appropriate answer on the answer sheet. Questions 1-15.

1. My teachers try new and interesting ways of teaching.
2. Some of my teachers act as if they are bored with teaching.
3. My teachers are fair.
4. My teachers praise students a lot.
5. My teachers boss students around.
6. My teachers talk down to students.
7. I feel safe around my teachers.
8. My teachers care about my feelings.
9. My teachers make some students look stupid.
10. I like and admire my teachers.
11. My teachers enjoy laughing and joking with us.
12. My teachers are friendly to students.
13. My teachers trust me.
14. My teachers point out my mistakes more than my good work.
15. My teachers do a good job of helping students learn.

ATTITUDE TOWARD LEARNING

We would like to know how you feel about how your learn at school. Circle the appropriate answer on the answer sheet. Questions 16-30.

16. We get enough time to help each other in class.
17. I spend more time sitting at my desk than I ought to.
18. We spend more of our class periods with everybody working on the same thing at the same time than we ought to.
19. We get enough chances to choose our own activities in class.
20. We have to get permission from teachers to do anything around here.

21. We have enough chances to go outside the classroom and outside the school to learn things.

22. We have enough chances to help the Teacher plan what we are going to do.

23. Teachers do too much of the talking in class.

24. We have enough chances to move around in the classroom.

25. I have enough chances to study together with my friends in this school.

26. Too much of what I learn comes from the textbook.

27. We have too much homework in this school.

28. I get enough chances to work with others in small groups.

29. I have enough chances to work on special things that interest me.

30. I have enough chances to work at my own speed.

ATTITUDE TOWARD LANGUAGE

We would like to know how you feel about language arts. Circle the appropriate answer on the answer sheet. Questions 31-45.

31. Working with words is fun.

32. I like to read even when the teacher doesn't make me.

33. Reading is boring.

34. Reading is easy.

35. It is fun to practise writing outside of school.

36. I like to avoid reading whenever I can.

37. Writing is a waste of time.

38. Reading is fun.

39. Reading is my favourite subject.

40. It is too easy to make mistakes in spelling.

41. Reading is hard.

42. Reading helps you outside of school.

43. I like spelling.

44. You learn good things by reading.

45. Reading is a waste of time.

ATTITUDE TOWARD MATHEMATICS

We would like to know how you feel about mathematics. Circle the appropriate answer on the answer sheet. Questions 46–60.

46. Mathematics is too hard.
47. Working with numbers is fun.
48. I like mathematics.
49. Mathematics is boring.
50. I like to do mathematics even when the teacher doesn't make me.
51. I like to avoid mathematics whenever I can.
52. It's fun to work out answers to mathematics problems.
53. Hard problems make you freeze up.
54. Mathematics is a waste of time.
55. Mathematics is good because it makes you think.
56. Mathematics is an easy subject.
57. Mathematics takes too long.
58. Mathematics is my favourite subject.
59. It is fun to do mathematics outside the classroom.
60. It's too easy to make mistakes in mathematics.

SECTION TWO: Questions 1–20 for reading passages.

Read the following passages carefully and then choose the correct answer to each question by circling one of the given choices on the answer sheet.

Passage 1: Do not write anything on this page.

In ancient Chinese legends the yellow dragon was respected and worshipped as a god. It was believed to be the source of every blessing. The emperor's throne was known as the dragon's throne.

The Chinese dragon had the body and tail of a crocodile. Its head was that of a horse, but two horns took the place of ears. Just below its horns was a strange lump that was a kind of bellows used by the dragon to puff up clouds to sail on.

But there were bad dragons, too. Black dragons were the source of evil. When black and yellow clouds covered the sky, it was a sign that the good dragons and the evil dragons were fighting each other.

1. This story tells about the legendary dragons of
   a) Japan
   b) China
   c) Korea
   d) Russia

2. The yellow dragon was the source of
   a) floods
   b) death
   c) evil
   d) blessings

3) This dragon had the
   a) body of a crocodile
   b) tail of a horse
   c) head of a cow
   d) tail of a cow

4. Its ears were two
   a) lumps
   b) bellows
   c) horns
   d) puffs

5. The dragon puffed its bellows so that it could
   a) walk on mountains
   b) sails on clouds
   c) fight evil dragons
   d) blow people away

6. In the legends, yellow and black clouds in the sky meant that
   a) two crocodiles were fighting
   b) a dragon was being worshipped
   c) the good and bad dragons were fighting
   d) rain was near

Passage 2: Do not write anything on this page.

Insects have many methods of living through a cold winter. One unusual method is that used by honey-bees.

When cold weather comes, the bees form a cluster within the hive. Those in the middle of this mass start to dance. Dancing makes the bees warm. Their heat raises the temperature within the whole cluster. The bees on the outside serve as a shell to hold in the heat. The temperature in the centre may be seventy five degrees higher than in the air outside the cluster.

Throughout the winter, the bees keep changing places within the cluster so that each takes a turn at the centre and on the outside. In this way, all the bees stay warm for months.

7. In the cold weather, honey-bees form a cluster
   a) on a leaf
   b) under a stone
   c) in their hive
   d) on a branch

8. The bees in the middle of the cluster
   a) dance
   b) fight
   c) stay still
   d) sting each other

9. The bees in the middle of the cluster
   - a) lower the temperature of the cluster
   - b) try to get out of the middle
   - c) raise the temperature of the cluster
   - d) try to stay in the middle

10. Heat stays within the cluster because the bees on the outside
    - a) dance
    - b) serve as a shell
    - c) raise the temperature
    - d) Both B and C

11. At times the bees on the outside of the cluster will
    - a) sting those in the centre
    - b) change places with those in the centre
    - c) fly away to another hive
    - d) Both and A and B

12. The cluster helps the bees to keep warm for
    - a) a few days
    - b) more than a year
    - c) seventy-five degrees
    - d) several months

Passage 3: Do not write anything on this page.

When smoke combines with fog, it forms deadly smog. Though the word was coined only about fifty years ago, smog itself has long been known as a threat to health.

In the late 1500s, because of a wood-shortage, coal became a common fuel in England. Burning coal releases poisonous gases, particularly sulphur dioxide. Early records of the deadly effects of the gas-laden damp air are few. But in 1872 a London smog was reported to have killed several thousand people. They died mainly of lung infections resulting from the polluted air.

Today smog is a greater enemy than ever. Each year there are more deaths from smog in industrial cities. Pollution is greater too: car exhausts expel more poisons than any factory chimney. Though many cities require plants to burn smokeless fuels, attempts to control smog have no great success. Scientists are experimenting with ways of dispersing the polluted air already above cities. But the battle for clean air has not yet been won.

13. The word "smog" was introduced
    - a) in 1872
    - b) in 1950
    - c) about fifty years ago
    - d) about fifteen years ago

14. The harmful nature of smog was known
    - a) only when the word was introduced
    - b) only after 1872
    - c) when wood was used as fuel
    - d) when coal replaced wood as fuel

15. Coal replaced wood as fuel in England because
    a) coal produced more heat
    b) coal was less expensive
    c) wood became scarce
    d) wood takes more space to store

16. The gas that is named as a product of burning coal is
    a) sulphur dioxide
    b) carbon dioxide
    c) sulphur trioxide
    d) carbon monoxide

17. A death-*toll* from smog was recorded in 1872 for
    a) Paris
    b) San Francisco
    c) Liverpool
    d) London

18. *Deaths traceable* to smog are usually caused by
    a) lung infections
    b) throat infections
    c) sinus infections
    d) strain on the heart

19. The account mentions as an added source of pollution in modern cities
    a) coal-burning factories
    b) skyscrapers' chimneys
    c) car-exhaust fumes
    d) fumes from diesel engines

20. The account mentions a possible method of combating smog by
    a) requiring the use of electric power
    b) prohibiting private cars in cities
    c) dispersing polluted air
    d) filtering polluted air

Note:

I am grateful to The Ministry of Education for their permission to administer the tests in this study and to the National University of Singapore for providing the necessary financial assistance to carry out the present research. I am also indebted to Dr Jonathan Webster of the Department of English Lang and Lit, NUS for his help with the use of the University Computer System.

Mohsen Ghadessy

Answer Sheet

Name of your school ……………………………………………………………………

Second Language Studied at school ………………………………………………………

Additional language/languages known……………………………………………………

Section One: Questions 1-60. Please put a circle round the answer you have chosen.

Attitude Toward Teachers

Questions	Answers			
1.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
2.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
3.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
4.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
5.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
6.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
7.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
8.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
9.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
10.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
11.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
12.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
13.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
14.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
15.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes

Attitude Toward Languages

Questions	Answers			
31.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
32.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
33.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
34.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
35.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
36.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
37.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
38.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
39.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
40.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
41.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
42.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
43.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
44.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
45.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes

Attitude Toward Learning

Questions	Answers			
16.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
17.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
18.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
19.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
20.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
21.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
22.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
23.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
24.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
25.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
26.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
27.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
28.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
29.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
30.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes

Attitude Toward Mathematics

Questions	Answers			
46.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
47.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
48.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
49.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
50.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
51.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
52.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
53.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
54.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
55.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
56.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
57.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
58.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
59.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes
60.	No	Sometimes	Usually	Yes

Answer Sheet

Section Two: Questions 1–20 for Reading Passages. Please put a circile round the answer you have chosen.

Passage One

Questions	Answers			
1.	a.	b.	c.	d.
2.	a.	b.	c.	d.
3.	a.	b.	c.	d.
4.	a.	b.	c.	d.
5.	a.	b.	c.	d.
6.	a.	b.	c.	d.

Passage Two

Questions	Anaswers			
7.	a.	b.	c.	d.
8.	a.	b.	c.	d.
9.	a.	b.	c.	d.
10.	a.	b.	c.	d.
11.	a.	b.	c.	d.
12.	a.	b.	c.	d.

Passage Three

Questions	Answers			
13.	a.	b.	c.	d.
14.	a.	b.	c.	d.
15.	a.	b.	c.	d.
16.	a.	b.	c.	d.
17.	a.	b.	c.	d.
17.	a.	b.	c.	d.
18.	a.	b.	c.	d.
19.	a.	b.	c.	d.
20.	a.	b.	c.	d.

A comparative study of the effect of two pre-reading formats on L2 reading comprehension

Ian Tudor
Université Libre de Bruxelles
Brussels
Belgium

Abstract

The article reports on a study of the effect of two pre-reading formats, a text summary and a set of pre-questions, on the text comprehension of a population of L2 learners at three proficiency levels. Two main points were investigated — the overall facilitative potential of the two treatments and the possible interaction of L2 proficiency with pre-reading treatment. Both treatments produced comprehension facilitation with lower proficiency groups but not with the more advanced group. Levels of facilitation were similar for the two treatments, though the summary showed a consistent but limited lead over the pre-questions. No significant level-treatment interaction emerged. The results are discussed in relation to the use of pre-reading in L2 comprehension development.

Introduction

There is a growing body of research in L2 (second language) reading comprehension which indicates that the text-relevant background knowledge or schemata which L2 readers bring with them to the processing of texts in this language has a significant effect on their ability to process and derive information from this material (Carrell, 1983a; Carrell and Eisterhold, 1983). It has been observed that familiarity with the cultural background (Aron, 1986; Barnitz, 1986; Carrell, 1987; Johnson, 1981), content (Alderson and Urquhart, 1985; Koh, 1985; Nunan, 1985) or rhetorical structure (Carrell, 1984a, 1984b) of textual material can facilitate processing and comprehension of this material by L2 learners. The comprehension of L2 learners may also be improved by explicit pre-instruction in the cultural background (Floyd and Carrell, 1987; Johnson, 1982) or rhetorical organisation (Carrell, 1985) of texts. Assessing whether learners possess and are able to make active use of the relevant schemata is thus an integral feature of L2 reading instruction. This means that L2 reading instructors may need to act as facilitators for the acquisition of the relevant cultural or rhetorical schemata if these are not held by learners, or, if they are, to ensure that the learners make active use of them in their text processing (cf. Floyd and Carrell, op. cit.: 101–105). One of the main means of attaining this goal is through the use of appropriately designed preparatory or pre-reading activities.

Only a limited number of studies have examined the effect of externally induced schemata in the form of pre-reading activities on L2 reading comprehension. Hudson (1982) examined the effect of different forms of pre-reading activity on the text comprehension of ESL learners at three proficiency levels. In his study, externally induced schemata did appear to have a potentially facilitative effect on subjects' text comprehension, but this effect was more marked at lower than higher proficiency levels. Hudson concluded that externally induced schemata activation via appropriate pre-reading activities can, in part, override language proficiency deficiencies in L2 comprehension, though both the relative effectiveness of different pre-reading formats and the scope for facilitation in absolute terms is related to the L2 proficiency of the learners concerned. Tudor (1986, 1988), using advance organisers with learners of French as an L2, observed a facilitative potential for this form of pre-reading but found that level of facilitation was linked to L2 proficiency of the subjects, the relative difficulty of the text and certain aspects of text structure such as density of cohesive markers, mean T-Unit length and range of vocabulary items. The level of assistance subjects derived from the pre-reading appeared to depend on the difficulty of the target text in relative (i.e. in relation to their level of L2 proficiency) or absolute terms. The present article fits into this line of research, examining the effect of two forms of pre-reading on the reading comprehension of a group of L2 learners.

Pre-Reading and Schemata Activation

Despite the relatively limited number of experimental studies mentioned above which examined the effect of pre-reading activities on L2 reading comprehension, a substantial number of ELT (English Language Teaching) reading textbooks which have appeared over the last decade contain some form of pre-reading. Examples of coursebooks which make a systematic use of pre-reading activities are *Advanced Reading Skills* (Barr, Clegg and Wallace, 1981), *Authentic English for Reading 2* (Abbs, Cook and Underwood, 1981) and *Discovering Discourse* (Widdowson, ed., 1979). The term *pre-reading* is used here in a wide sense, referring to any text-related activity in which learners are engaged prior to the main text reading. This may vary from prediction activities based on the text title or a selective sampling of textual information (subheadings, illustrations, or a skim read, for instance) to a complex and relatively self-contained conceptual activity related to the thematic or rhetorical development of the target text (cf. *Authentic English for Reading 2*, 8.2, and *Discovering Discourse* pp. 63–64 for instances of the latter type of pre-reading activity). The basic idea underlying most pre-reading formats, however, is that readers will process a text more meaningfully if they are conceptually prepared for the content and/or structure of this text by having activated the relevant aspects of their background knowledge.

While this type of preparation is useful in any reading situation, it is particularly important for L2 learners who, due to their imperfect command of the language system are at a clear disadvantage in processing textual material in this language. As a number of studies have observed, limited language competence can have a deleterious effect not only in quantitative but also in qualitative terms on L2 learners' mode of text processing (Carrell, 1983c; Clarke, 1980; Cziko, 1978, 1980; Perkins, 1983). Enhancing the "top down" or conceptually-driven aspect of L2 learners' text processing via appropriate preparatory work may thus serve to compensate for weaknesses in their "bottom-up" or text-driven processing skills resulting from imperfect command of the language system.

At the price of a certain oversimplificaiton, pre-reading activities may be categorised along two main axes. The first relates to the type of schemata which are activated. The distinction here is between *content* and *formal* schemata (cf. Carrell, 1987, op. cit.), the former relating to the subject matter of the target text and the latter to its rhetorical organisation. The second axis, between what may be referred to as *constrained* and *open* pre-reading activities, relates to whether the pre-reading primarily provides information (in the form of a summary or overview, a set of relevant illustrations, etc) or elicits a personal contribution from the reader (in the form of a prediction of text content, personal reactions to a topic, etc). In practice, these two forms may clearly merge — pre-reading both providing information and eliciting a response. The distinction nonetheless serves to identify the ends of a continuum along which most pre-reading activities may be placed.

This article reports on an experiment which examines the effect of two forms of content-schemata oriented pre-reading on the text comprehension of L2 learners at three proficiency levels. While the two forms of pre-reading have a lot in common in structural terms (cf. Materials, below), they differ in the nature of the learner response they require. One provides information in the form of a text summary; the other elicits a personal response from subjects by means of personal address questions. In terms of the distinction established in the last paragraph, then, one is *constrained* and the other is *open*. It was predicted that both would facilitate text processing. In addition to this, of particular interest was whether there would be differential facilitation between the two forms of pre-reading related to L2 proficiency level of the subjects. On the basis of

Hudson's (op. cit) results, it could be expected that lower L2 proficiency subjects would derive more benefit from the constrained form, while more advanced subjects would benefit more from the open form.

Method

Subjects

The subject population (N = 212) was composed of Belgian students in the second (N = 123) and third (N = 89) years of degree courses in Business Administration and Economics at the Université Libre, Brussels. All subjects were following compulsory English courses which constituted a total of 90 hours of instruction for each year. Subjects had studied English for an average of 4 years at secondary school, but had received no English course during their first year at the university. Admission to third year English courses was dependent upon success in examinations at the end of the second year course. This meant that third year subjects had received one extra year's English instruction and were on average one year older than second year subjects. Subsequent to test completion, the second year subject population was split up into upper and lower proficiency groups on the basis of a multiple choice entry test taken by all subjects. This produces three subject levels: second year lower (henceforth, Low) second year upper (henceforth, Middle) and third year (henceforth, High). Exact Word scores obtained by the control group on the two cloze tests used (cf. Materials, below) showed a significant difference ($p < .05$) in the predicted direction between these three subject levels. The three subject levels correspond roughly to lower-intermediate, intermediate and upper-intermediate levels respectively.

Materials

Two texts were used in the experimentation. Both were adapted from Cotton (1980) to be of a similar level of linguistic complexity, and to be roughly equivalent in terms of topic familiarity (cf. Table 1 for details). In addition, the texts were constructed to exhibit a similar rhetorical structure. Both had an introductory paragraph, three subsequent paragraphs each of which deals with a separate sub-topic, and finally a concluding paragraph (cf. Appendix I). The texts thus manifest a relatively transparent, listing type of discourse structure. Both texts deal with business-related topics — the Japanese management system (JAPAN) and bribery in business (BRIBERY). No difference was predicted in subjects' performance on the two texts. Two texts were used primarily to guard against unforeseen idiosyncratic effects relating to one text and to provide a wider data base.

Table 1 Text profile: JAPAN and BRIBERY

	No of Words	Paragraphs	Average Sentence length	Fog Index	Mean T-Unit Length	Exact Word Score* Control Group	Subject Assessment +			
							Difficulty		Familiarity	
							x	sd	x	sd
JAPAN	431	5	17	15.3	17.2	37.80%	5.4	1.5	4.7	1.9
BRIBERY	463	5	19	14.7	16.5	38.10%	6.4	1.4	5.7	1.7

+ Control group subjects were asked to rate text difficulty and topic familiarity on a scale from 1 (very easy; very familiar) to 10 (very difficult; completely unfamiliar).

* Three subject levels combined.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Two forms of pre-reading were employed. One, *Summary*, provides a summary/overview of the content of the main sub-topics in each text. The other, *Pre-questions*, elicits a response from subjects on the basis of a set of questions, each relating to one of the sub-topics of the text. Both types of pre-reading have a similar format (cf. Appendix II), each containing a one sentence lead-in and three numbered parts, each corresponding to one of the three main sub-topics of the text. The two forms of pre-reading differ, however, in the nature of the assistance they offer: *Summary*, a constrained form of pre-reading, provides information, while *Pre-questions*, an open form, elicits a response, and thus allows subjects more freedom in terms of their schemata activation. The pre-reading materials were written in French, subjects' L1 (first language), to avoid comprehension problems.

Experimental Design

The two texts were clozed using the random deletion method (every 7th word), which produced 55 cloze items for JAPAN and 59 for BRIBERY. In order to make the test less dependent on subjects' active knowledge of English, they were allowed to provide responses either in English or in French. The cloze tests were scored on criteria of semantic acceptability, synonyms of the deleted word in either French or English being accepted.

Each subject received a stapled test booklet containing all the test materials. These consisted of an instruction sheet, the two cloze passages each preceded, in the case of the two experimental groups, by the relevant pre-reading materials on a separate sheet, and a questionnaire which asked either for subjects' assessment of text difficulty and topic familiarity (control group, cf. Table 1, note) or for an assessment of the usefulness of the pre-reading received (experimental groups) on a scale from 1 (not useful at all) to 10 (very useful). Subjects were randomly assigned to one of the three experimental conditons — the *Summary* group, which received the two summary forms of pre-reading; the *Pre-questions* group, which received the two sets of pre-questions, and the control group, which received only the cloze passages. No filler materials were added for control group subjects. All subjects received the same time allocation (50 minutes for both passages), no additional time being allocated to experimental subjects for the processing of the pre-reading materials. The sequencing of the two passages was randomised to avoid an order effect. Testing was carried out during normal class time.

Data analysis

An analysis of variance was applied to the combined results of the two texts to determine the effect of treatment and level-treatment interaction. Subsequently, a comparison for differences in mean scores on the three treatments was carried out.

Results and Discussion

With respect to the two main lines of investigation, namely the facilitative effect of the two forms of pre-reading used and the interaction between subject level and treatment, the results of the ANOVA in Table 2 point to a significant effect of treatment, which is shown in more detail for differences in means in Table 3.

Level-treatment interaction, however, fails to reach significance. Descriptive statistics of means per level and treatment for each text are provided in Table 4, these being represented graphically in Figures 1 and 2. These results point to a facilitative potential for both *Summary* and *Pre-questions*, though this seems to operate only with the lower L2 proficiency groups, and not with the more advanced group. Furthermore, there is no evidence of a differential effect of the two pre-reading formats in relation to L2 proficiency of the subjects, *Summary* yielding

Table 2 Analysis of variance: JAPAN and BRIBERY

Source of variation	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Level	9230.91	2	4615.46	35.90*
Treatment	1371.40	2	685.70	5.33*
Interaction	1056.86	4	264.22	2.06
Error	26098.61	203	128.56	
Total	37757.79	211		

*$p < .05$

Table 3 Comparisons for differences among means: JAPAN and BRIBERY

Treatments	t ratio
Control vs. Summary	3.13*
Control vs. Pre-questions	2.38*
Summary vs. Pre-questions	0.54

*$p < .05$

Table 4 Mean scores (and s.d.) per level and treatment

	JAPAN (55 items)				BRIBERY (59 items)	
	Summary	Pre-questions	Control	Summary	Pre-questions	Control
Low (N = 55)	31.3 (7.4)	30.6 (7.1)	25.8 (8.7)	28.2 (6.3)	27.0 (5.1)	23.1 (5.7)
Middle (N = 68)	37.0 (5.2)	34.9 (8.5)	31.9 (7.3)	33.8 (3.7)	32.4 (6.6)	29.3 (5.7)
High (N = 89)	37.6 (6.5)	37.0 (7.3)	37.2 (5.5)	33.3 (5.9)	34.5 (4.9)	34.4 (4.2)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

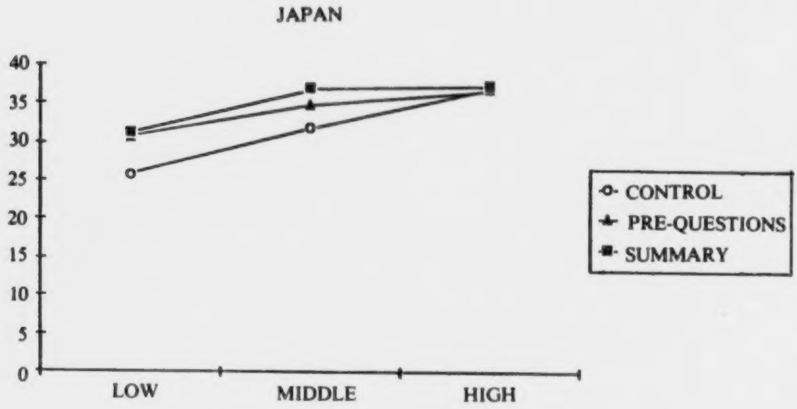


Figure 1 Result configuration by level: JAPAN

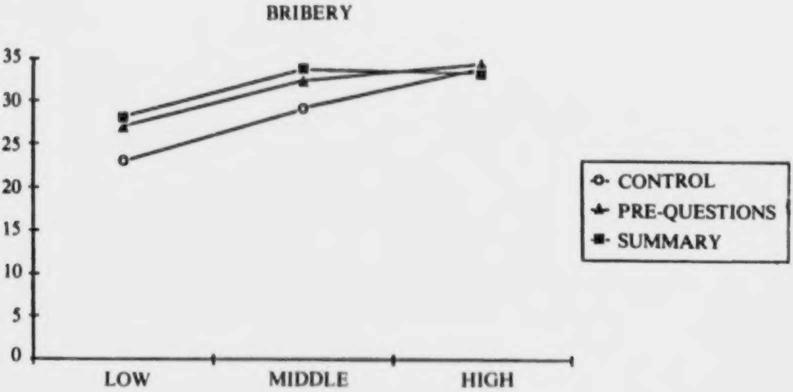


Figure 2 Result configuration by level: BRIBERY

slightly higher levels of comprehension facilitation than *Pre-questions* with both low and middle groups on both texts — even if the differences are not particularly marked.

The lack of treatment effect with the highest proficiency group echoes findings of studies by Hudson and Tudor cited earlier. The advanced group in Hudson's study derived overall less assistance from the pre-reading formats provided and, then, benefited most from the format which allowed them greatest scope for spontaneous schemata activation, i.e. an *open* format. Tudor (1986, op. cit.) observed a falling off of facilitation in a given pre-reading/text interaction with advanced over intermediate learners, and in another study (1988, op. cit) found that the general facilitative potential of the pre-reading format used was more limited with advanced than with intermediate learners. In the present study, two possible interpretations exist for the lack of experimental effect observed in the highest proficiency group. On the one hand, it could be that they had attained a level of L2 proficiency at which they could spontaneously activate the appropriate schemata from the cues present in the target texts. In other words, they had passed through Clarke's (op. cit) "language competence ceiling" and thus, in strategic terms, no longer required the conceptual support offered by the pre-reading. The fact that the High group subjects were a year older than those in the other two groups, with more experience of study at tertiary level and presumably more intellectual maturity (even if those are factors independent of language proficiency per se), may support this interpretation. Alternatively, it could simply be that the texts were more accessible to them linguistically than to the lower proficiency groups and that thus the pre-reading material was superfluous with the specific texts involved. In other words, there was no punctual need for conceptual support even if with other, more demanding material such a need could still arise.

It is unclear what status should be accorded to subjects' assessment of the usefulneses of the pre-reading materials they received. It is noticeable in Table 5, however, that the ratings accorded by subjects in the High group do not differ radically from those of the lower proficiency groups (which do correspond to the results obtained at least as regards the relative usefulness of *Summary* against *Pre-questions*). This may mean that the High group's assessments simply do not correspond to any real facilitative assistance, or it could indicate that, with the High group, the pre-reading did provide an added degree of text perspective, but one which did not feed through to improved performance on the cloze tests. Given the nature of the data, however, this must remain speculation, even if it does raise the question of the nature of the assistance which pre-reading offers in text processing.

Comparing the results of the two pre-reading formats, *Summary* clearly emerges as having a more powerful effect (insofar as this is accurately measured by performance on the cloze procedure, of course) than *Pre-questions* — this point being supported on both texts by subjects' usefulness assessments given in Table 5. It is thus the more constraining format, i.e. that which provides information more directly, which yielded the greatest degree of comprehension enhancement. Admittedly, however, both formats have a great deal in common in terms of both content and structure, which is reflected in the generally similar levels of facilitation observed for the two. It may well be that these similarities were more powerful than the differences in response required by the two formats. Low and Middle subjects do, nonetheless, appear to have found it easier to assimilate and relate the information provision format of *Summary* to the target material than the more personal-response oriented cues of *Pre-question*[illegible]

Table 5 Subject usefulness assessment of pre-reading treatments: Means (and s.d.)

	JAPAN		BRIBERY	
	Summary	Pre-questions	Summary	Pre-questions
Low	6.7 (2.6)	4.8 (2.1)	5.5 (3.1)	4.8 (2.0)
Middle	6.5 (2.2)	4.8 (1.7)	5.3 (2.0)	5.1 (2.1)
High	5.7 (1.9)	4.2 (2.0)	5.8 (1.9)	4.1 (2.1)

Both formats were constructed primarily in content terms, in that they were geared to activate subjects' background knowledge and expectations relating to the content rather than the formal characteristics of the target texts. However, given that the structure of both formats relates closely to the structure of the target texts (cf. Mateirals, above), and that this is highlighted by the numbering of the three component parts of each block of pre-reading material, it may be that they also served to provide assistance with the processing of the target texts in structural terms. The facilitative effects observed may thus reflect a combination of both content and formal assistance, even if both formats were geared primarily to the former.

Conclusion

This study provides a degree of experimental support for the contention that it is possible to enhance the text comprehension of L2 learners by means of externally provided pre-reading activities, which may in turn be seen as offering some support to the currently widespread use of pre-reading in L2 reading materials. Beyond this, the results would seem to indicate that the facilitative potential of pre-reading is greater with lower L2 proficiency learners. This would seem much like saying that pre-reading is most helpful with learners who need most help — which is not wholly illogical. Furthermore in the present study at least, it would appear that a more constrained, information-provision oriented form of pre-reading is slightly more powerful than one geared to personal-response elicitation. Naturally, these conclusions emerge from a single study, and it would be unwise to overlook the limitations of the experimentation undertaken — a single subject population working with only two texts; the use of the cloze procedure, i.e. a reading-related activity but one which cannot be equated with normal reading behaviour, and a possible overlap of content and formal assistance modes in the pre-reading formats employed.

Further experimentation is clearly required in the whole area of pre-reading, though a number of specific points of interest emerge from the present study. Firstly, the L2 proficiency factor could be investigated further to assess more accurately how proficiency level interacts with need of and response to pre-reading. Secondly, and in relation to the first point, different forms of pre-reading could be studied, in particular other open, learner-response oriented formats which might allow greater scope for their use by more advanced learners. Thirdly, experimentation with a wider ranger of texts is clearly important, in particular, employing more complex textual material with a less transparent discourse structure than that used in the present study. Finally, and possibly in conjunction with the last point, further work could usefully be conducted into the relative effectiveness of context vs. formally oriented pre-reading.

The research survey which opened this article highlighted the role of background knowledge in L2 comprehension, and, as a consequence, the importance of knowledge activation via the use of appropriate pre-reading activities. Research in the areas of L1 content learning and reading development has shown that the effective use of pre-reading strategies calls for attention to a wide range of factors, from the level of cognitive development and favoured learning strategies of the target learners (Snow and Lohman, 1984) to the structure of the learning material and the place the target information has in it (Wilhite, 1984). The situation is unlikely to be any simpler in L2 reading, but with the added variable of language proficiency. In order to apply the insights deriving from recent schema-based research in L2 reading to teaching methodology, substantial further research is called for. The present article does little more than scratch the surface, but the writer hopes it may provide a few useful guidelines for research in the area.

References

Abbs, B., Cook, V. and Underwood, M. 1981. Authentic English for Reading, Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alderson, J.C. and Urquhart, A. 1985. This test is unfair: I'm not an economist. In Second Language Performance Testing (eds) P. Hautmann, R. Leblanc and M. Bingham Weche. Ottawa, Ontario: University of Ontario Press, pp. 25-43.

Aron, H. 1986. The influence of background knowledge on memory for reading passages by native and non-native readers. TESOL Quarterly 20:136-140.

Barnitz, J.C. 1986. Toward understanding the effects of cross-cultural schemata and discourse structure on second language reading comprehension. Journal of Reading Behavior 18:95-116.

Barr, P., Clegg, J. and Wallace, C. 1981. Advanced Reading Skills. Harlow: Longman.

Carrell, P.L. 1983a. Background knowledge in second language comprehension. Language Learning and Communication 2:25-33.

Carrell, P.L. 1983b. Some issues in studying the role of schemata, or background knowledge, in second language comprehension. Reading in a Foreign Language 1:81-92.

Carrell, P.L. 1983c. Three components of background knowledge in reading comprehension. Language Learning 33:183-207.

Carrell, P.L. 1984a. Evidence of a formal schema in second language comprehension. Language Learning 34:87-112.

Carrell, P.L. 1984b. The effects of rhetorical organisation on ESL readers. TESOL Quarterly 18:441-469.

Carrell, P.L. 1985. Facilitating ESL reading by teaching text structure. TESOL Quarterly 21:727-752.

Carrell, P.L. 1987. Content and formal schemata in ESL reading. TESOL Quarterly 21:471-481.

Carrell, P.L. and Eisterhold, J.C. 1983. Schema theory and ESL reading pedagogy. TESOL Quarterly 17:553-573.

Clarke, M.A. 1980. The short circuit hypothesis of ESL reading — or when language competence interfaces with reading performance. Modern Language Journal 64:203-209,

Cotton, D. 1980. International Business Topics. London: Bell and Hyman.

Cziko, G.A. 1978. Differences in first- and second-language reading: The use of syntactic, semantic and discourse constraints. Canadian Modern Language Review 34:473-489.

Cziko, G.A. 1980. Language competence and reading strategies: A comparison of first- and second-language errors. Language Learning 30:101-116.

Floyd, P. and Carrell, P.L. 1987. Effects on ESL reading of teaching cultural content schemata. Language Learning 37:89-108.

Hudson, T. 1982. The effects of induced schemata on the "short circuit" in L2 reading: Non-decoding factors in L2 reading performance. Language Learning 32:1-31.

Johnson, P. 1981. Effects on reading comprehension of language complexity and cultural background of a text. TESOL Quarterly 15:169-181.

Johnson, P. 1982. Effects on reading comprehension of building background knowledge. TESOL Quarterly 16:503-516.

Koh, M.Y. 1985. The role of prior knowledge in reading comprehension. Reading in a Foreign Language 3:375-380.

Nunan, D. 1985. Content familiarity and the perception of textual relationships in second language reading. RELC Journal 16:43-51.

Perkins, K. 1983. Semantic constructivity in ESL reading comprehension. TESOL Quarterly 17:19-27.

Snow, R.E., and Lohman, D.F. 1984. Toward a theory of cognitive aptitude for learning from instruction. Journal of Educational Psychology 76:347-376.

Tudor, I. 1986. Advance organisers as adjuncts to L2 reading comprehension. Journal of Research in Reading 9:103-115.

Tudor, I. 1988. Pre-reading and the use of advance organisers in L2 reading instruction. ITL Review of Applied Linguistics 81 (forthcoming).

Widdowson, H.G. (ed.) 1979. Discovering Discourse. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilhite, S.C. 1984. Hierarchical importance of pre-passage questions: Effects on cued recall. Journal of Reading Behavior 16:41-59.

Appendix I: Testing Materials

JAPAN

The spectacular economic success of Japan has led the Western business community to study the way in which Japanese companies are run. This examination has revealed a number of characteristic elements which seem to create special attitudes and relationships within Japanese companies.

In most large companies, a policy of lifetime employment is practised. This means that when people leave school or university to join an enterprise, they can expect to remain with that organisation until they retire. In effect, the employee gets job security for life and can only be fired for serious misconduct. One result of this practise is that the Japanese worker identifies with his company and feels intense loyalty to it. By working hard for the company, be believes he is safeguarding his own future. The job security guaranteed by this system influences the way employees approach their work. They tend to think in terms of what they can achieve throughout their career as a whole, and not only in the short-term. It also creates a different attitude in discussions between unions and management.

Promotion by seniority is another characteristic feature of Japanese companies. This policy means, firstly, that the more senior and responsible positions generally go to long-serving employees. For this reason, a young managing director is scarcely conceivable in Japan. Also, salary levels are geared to length of service rather than to the responsibility of the job. The longer a person has been in a company, the higher his salary and status will probably be. Therefore, if two employees have joined a company at the same time, then ten years later they will earn similar salaries even though their responsibilities in the company may be different.

Finally, Japanese firms adopt a consensus method of arriving at descisions, referred to as "ringi seido" or consultation system. The essence of this approach is that many employees at different management levels participate in the process of making decisions. A second feature of this system is that decisions evolve first from lower level management. They are not handed down from the top as in Western companies. This method is sometimes called bottom-up decision making. Because a proposal needs to be examined by several different people, this system can prolong the time taken to make decisions. However, it gives a sense of security to those involved and thus reduces the stress any one individual must bear.

Whether Japanese success is actually the result of these factors is difficult to say. It is clear, however, that they do not seem to have impaired the dynamism of Japanese business.

Adapted from Cotton 1980 pp. 22-24.

Appendix II Pre-Reading Materials

JAPAN

Summary

Les firmes japonaises sont basées sur trois principes de gestion:

1. L'emploi à vie. Ceci garantit aux salariés la sècurité de l'emploi à vie et fournit en contrepartie à la firme une main d'oeuvre qui s'identifie profondément aux intérêts et au bien-être de la firme.
2. L'avancement par ancienneté. Ceci récompense les salariés pour la durée de leur service plus que pour le niveau de responsabilité qu'ils exercent, ce qui encourage la fidélité à l'entreprise et la plannification à long terme.

3. La prise de décisions par consensus. Ceci permet aux gestionnaires de rang inférieur de faire des propositions et de partager la responsabilité pour la prise de décisions entre plusieurs personnes.

Pre-questions

Avant de lire le texte suivant, réfléchissez à ces questions.

1. Eprouveriez-vous davantage de fidélité et travailleriez-vous davantage pour une firme qui vous offrirait la sécurité de l'emploi á vie?
2. Voudriez-vous recevoir des augmentations de salaire en fonction du nombre des années de service dans une entreprise sans tenir compte du niveau de responsabilité lié à votre poste? Quel serait l'effet d'un tel système sur votre attitude à l'égard de l'entreprise?
3. Voudriez-vous travailler dans un système où plusieurs personnes partagent le stress et la responsabilité des prises de décisions?

A Study of the Concept of ESL Proficiency in Selected Malaysian Contexts and Its Implications for Assessment*

Audrey Ambrose-Yeoh
The Language Centre
University of Malaya
Kuala Lumpur

Abstract

The article looks at the ESL situation in Malaysia in the 1980s. The medium of instruction at tertiary level is Bahasa Malaysia and English is taught as a language for special purposes. The article focuses on a group of a hundred and fourteen final and pre-final year students of professional courses in the University of Malaya during the 1987/88 session. A questionnaire was administered to them and the results were analysed. The results indicate what the students think of their own English language proficiency and to what extent they use English in social and academic situations. The article goes on to discuss some of the implications of their views for the assessment of language proficiency in the Malaysian tertiary context.

1. Background and Status of English

The 1980s represent an important phase in the history of language planning and development in Malaysia. By this time the gradual process of changing the medium of instruction from English to Bahasa Malaysia reached tertiary level. This process began in 1970 when all subjects in the first year of school were taught in Bahasa Malaysia in what was until then known as National Type English Primary schools. By 1983, all first year courses at local universities were conducted in Bahasa Malaysia.

The adoption and implementation of Bahasa Malaysia as the medium of instruction in the education system did not mean that there was no place for English. It has been retained as a second language of the country and taught as a compulsory subject throughout the Malaysian school system. In the Education Policy, English is gazetted as the second most important language in the education system of the country. The official objectives as stated in the English language Syllabus for upper secondary Malaysian schools read as follows:

> The programme seeks to enable those who participate in the education system to utilise the English Language in a meaningful and relevant way

---

*This paper is a revised version of a paper presented at a staff seminar in October at RELC, Singapore.

> both in the pursuit of further knowledge and experiences and in the everyday context of need to communicate.[1]

With the time allocated to the subject, such a target soon became unrealistic. Besides, the need for such a target was questioned. Asmah Hj. Omar in a response to H.V. George's article "Asian ELT: The Relevance and Irrelevance of Sociolinguistics" states clearly that attention should not be focussed on acquiring communicative competence in English.

> This particular competence is needed in the national language. Day-to-day interaction between Malaysians of various ethnic groups is and will be conducted in the national language of Malaysia. Teaching the students how to express themselves in English in the buying of stamps or in getting a taxi to the railway station will be a futile exercise because they will surely find it easier to do such things in Bahasa Malaysia and be better understood by their respondents.[2]

Asmah referred to this as part of the rationale for the University of Malaya's Reading Comprehension Project better known as UMESPP.

1.1 The selected contexts that this paper is concerned with are the tertiary institutions, in particular, the University of Malaya. The report of the Board of Studies on the Department of Language, University of Malaya (September 1971) states the terms of reference for the teaching of English at the University:

> In the case of the English Language the primary purpose is to enable students to achieve sufficient skill in comprehension of the language so that it may be used as a tool to gain access to texts and articles written in English. There is, thus, an urgent need to provide first year students from non-English medium schools with facilities to gain proficiency in the comprehension of the language.[3]

This situation existed in the 1970s when the courses at the University were still being offered in English and where many secondary schools still used English as a medium of instruction. With a different situation in the 1980s the rationale for reading still remains, particularly in view of the fact that the translation of key textbooks and reference books cannot take place quickly enough to meet the needs of both students and lecturers. There are further problems concerning the special vocabulary and terminology needed to put across the facts and concepts. Lecturers are faced with the challenge of becoming proficient in a new scientific language. The implementation of a reading programme in English has its problems. Both teachers of English and the students of the various disciplines have had to make adjustments. The language teacher who does not have a background in the discipline of the students has to come to terms with the fact that not everything in the text can be explained. The students have to realise that the language teacher does not have the answer to all the problems in the text. This situation sometimes leads to frustration on the part of the language teacher where selection of texts is concerned and on the part of the student who may find the concepts in the text too simple. Both the language teacher and the students will have to refer to the lecturers of the discipline concerned.

2. Results of a survey

It has been ten years since the special reading programme was implemented in the University of Malaya. A modest survey was carried out to get an insight into what a certain section of students think of their English language proficiency and their use of the English language.

2.1 One hundred and fourteen final and pre-final year students participated in the survey. They were from the four professional courses: medicine, law, business and engineering. Sixty-one respondents were boys and fifty-three girls. Their average age was twenty-three years, they had all studied English in schools and in the univeristy for about thirteen years.

The majority of the students came from homes where Malay or Mandarin/one of the Chinese dialects is spoken. In the Medical and Law faculties, 77% and 53% respectively came from Malay-speaking homes and in the faculties of Business and Engineering samples, 55% and 89% came from Chinese dialect or Mandarin-speaking homes. Those who speak English at home made up only 8% of the total sample. The table below shows the medium of instruction of the students in their primary school and the language which the students assess as their best known language.

Primary School Medium of Instruction		Best Known Language
BAHASA MALAYSIA	56%	45%
ENGLISH	6%	19%
MANDARIN	35%	30%
TAMIL	3%	6%

The effect of Bahasa Malaysia being used as the medium of instruction at secondary and pre-University level has certainly contributed to the fact that 45% of the students have ranked Bahasa Malaysia (BM) as their best known language. English, officially recognised as the second most important language in the country, is ranked third behind Mandarin. The fact that Mandarin is a medium of instruction in some National Type (Chinese) Primary schools could account for this. On the whole, the multilingual nature of the Malaysian situation is reflected in the results of this small survey. Malay students ranked BM as their best known language and English as the second best. Many of the Chinese students ranked BM as their best known language, Mandarin as their second best and English as their third best.

The survey then went on to get the students to asseses their proficiency in English. The table below shows how the students gauged their overall proficiency.

Level of Proficiency	% of students
Very Good	0
Good	12
Average	61
Below Average	23
Very Weak	3

The students were asked to rank the skills they thought they were best at. Seventy-two per cent thought they were best at reading and forty-two per cent felt they were weakest at speaking. The complete results are shown in the table below.

Skill	Ranking			
	1	2	3	4
READING	72	19	5	4
WRITING	0	32	31	37
SPEAKING	10	20	28	42
LISTENING	18	29	36	17

The fact that a large number of students ranked reading as their best skill could possibly reflect the success of the English language programme that concentrates on developing reading skills. It would be in line with the policy on the teaching of English in Malaysian tertiary institutions: as a tool for the purpose of research especially in areas where material is not available in Bahasa Malaysia.

An attempt was made to get the students to assess their proficiency in greater detail. Four levels of increasing difficulty were outlined for each skill. In each case a 'Yes' or 'No' response was required. The table below shows the response to the different levels in reading.

It would seem that this small percentage of students from the four professional courses do not have significant problems where reading is concerned.

READING (IN ENGLISH)

a) Can you read and understand public notices, short instructions, descriptions of places, persons or things?

Yes — 99%

b) Can you read and understand news items, business and personal letters, articles of general interest in magazines?

Yes — 92%

c) Can you read and understand short stories and novels, editorials, general reports and basic texts related to your profession/areas of specialisation?

Yes — 96%

d) Can you read and understand specialised journal articles, reference books, plays and poems and other texts relevant to your academic and professional needs?

Yes — 74%

2.2 A further analysis of the results of the survey revealed that the group of students who responded had clear ideas of what their English language needs are. Seventy-nine per cent ranked speaking as the most important need for social and personal communication. As for professional and academic work, a surprisingly high percentage (55%) still ranked speaking as their most important need. Given a choice, the students would like to spend:

39% of their class time on improving their speaking skills
25% of their class time on improving their writing skills
20% of their class time on improving their listening skills

All this seems to point to the fact that these students were sufficiently confident of their reading ability and since they were about to graduate they recognised the importance of speaking and listening skills for their social and professional needs.

3. Use of English and the Type of English Used

On the whole, taking the groups from all four faculties together, the pattern of English language use is as follows:

72.8%	said they speak English many times daily to fellow students
57.7%	said they speak English many times daily to their friends
51.8%	said they speak English many times daily to English teachers
50.0%	said they speak English many times daily to lecturers of other subjects
40.0%	never speak any English to family members

The intra-national use of English was reflected by the fact that 55% considered speaking English to other Malaysians in specific social and business situations as most important, while only 12% considered it important to speak to foreigners. These students speak English most often to friends and course-mates as well as lecturers. When asked about the type of English that is spoken in Malaysia, 72% recognised it to be Malaysian English.

Irene Wong (1984) has this to say about English as it is spoken today —

> ... new standards of acceptability in the use of English are now increasingly becoming evident which in the past would have been considered abberrant as far as educated native-speaker English was concerned. These new norms are beginning to form the currently accepted model of educated speech within the country.[4]

She describes the new attitude towards English in Malaysia today as

> ... tolerance and maybe indifference in the use of the language — the former on the part of those more proficient in the language and the latter on the part of those less proficient.[5]

Wong also mentions the fact that this colloquial variety of the language is characterised by certain features such as code-mixing and other grammatical deviations. She attributes this to the fact that Malaysians are

> ... proud of their linguistic pluralism and multi-lingual heritage and find that code-switching and code-mixing allow them to give expression to this.[6]

3.1 Howard Nicholas (1985) presents an interesting view on the reason behind variation between second language learners. He notes the importance of socio-psychological factors in the study of such variation.

He says,

> Increasingly, second language acquisition research is recognising that the learner also determines how new aspects of the target language should be integrated into the existing interlanguage system.[7]

Nicholas goes on to say that the variety of the interlanguage used depends on whether the interlanguage user

> ... believes it to be important that he be accepted by those people who would reject him if his language does not contain all the redundant elements.[8]

He refers to the research carried out among interlanguage users of German. Evidence from the research revealed a strong correlation between the features of the interlanguage variety used and certain socio-psychological factors. The stronger the sense of identification with the target-language speaking community, the more accurate the interlanguage variety used. Nicholas views 'correctness' as "a style of language use which is valued only by particular groups within the target language speaking communities."[9] Hence, he sees successful attempts to teach 'correctness' as being dependent on whether the learners themselves perceive the need to participate as equals in the activities of those groups which value 'correct' language.

3.2 In the selected contexts of professional courses at tertiary institutions in Malaysia, the motivation to speak 'correct' English is very strong. It would appear that with Bahasa Malaysia now firmly entrenched as the official language of the country and the medium of instruction at all levels of the education system, English is no longer viewed as a threat. As such, there are attempts to improve English language proficiency skills in particular contexts.

In the University of Malaya, over three million ringgit was spent on a project completed in 1985 called the University of Malaya Spoken English Project which in the words of the Vice-Chancellor is a

> ... major project in response to a national need to produce university graduates of good academic quality who are also articulate in English. Thus, they may perform effectively as lawyers, international business executives, diplomats, administrators and bankers.[10]

There are three books in the series: *Preparatory Oral Skills for Management, Oral Skills for Management* and *Oral Skills for Law*. At another level, the Malaysian Examination Council has announced the use of recorded responses for an oral English examination to be conducted at STPM level, the examination the students sit for in the second year of

Sixth Form.

4. Implications for assessment

In view of these developments, assessing the oral proficiency skills of language learners in selected Malaysian contexts becomes an important part of language testing. The terms direct, indirect and semi-direct are useful labels to classify the different tests that are used to test oral proficiency. The oral interview where the examinee is engaged in a "face-to-face communicative exchange with one or more human interlocutors"[11] is considered a direct test. The U.S. Foreign Service Institute Oral Interview is a well-known example. An indirect test would refer to the written cloze test or dictation piece which seeks to assess communicative performance indirectly. The semi-direct test "elicits speech by means of visual, recorded or printed stimuli."[12] There is such a component in the Cambridge First Certificate Examination.

4.1 All these categories of tests have been used with variations in selected Malaysian contexts. June Ngoh wrote an MA thesis on "An Investigation of Dictation as a Measure of Language Proficiency for Student Teachers in Malaysia". (NUS 1984). In her study, she defined language proficiency to mean essentially linguistic or grammatical proficiency and justifies this definition on the grounds that grammatical competence is an important component of communicative competence. Her research proved dictation to be a reliable method for measuring language proficiency in that it gave consistent results and there was a reliable scoring method forming the basis of the reliability of the test. In the University of Malaya, direct tests of oral proficiency are conducted in some faculties. Depending on the nature of the course, the direct test varies from an individual interview situation to a small group interaction in the presence of two examiners. Assigning marks or grades to the examinees based on their performance is a difficult task. Where there are two examinees, two different scores for the same response is common and the practice of getting the average of the two scores is merely convenient. Then there is the problem of taped responses when one examiner scores the same response differently from one day to the next. The use of proficiency rating scales with descriptions of different levels of proficiency offers some advantages in that they have high face validity and the criteria are made explicit. However there are weaknesses as well. Language proficiency descriptions are still impressionistic and relative in interpretation. Words such as "fluent" and "intelligible" mean different things to different people. Another problem is that the examinee's performance depends to a large extent on the type of technique used in the oral interview. The language sample obtained may not be a reflection of actual performance if necessary skills on the part of the interviewer are not exercised. Nevertheless as Brindley (1986) maintains, proficiency scales have a role to play in language proficiency assessment provided they are not regarded nor accepted "as a definitive 'scientific' measurement of any given individual's language behaviour". Brindley goes on to say that "we simply do not know enough about language to be that precise" (p. 22).

4.2 The way ahead in testing language proficiency seems to be towards some agreement among language testers as to the multi-dimensional nature of language proficiency. In practical terms this means that in order to obtain a valid assessment of language proficiency, learners' performance over a range of tasks would have to be sampled using a variety of instruments and procedures. In the assessment of oral proficiency, the tendency to regard the direct test of performance in the form of an oral interview as the best predictor of real-life language proficiency must give way to a more expanded view of testing. Stevenson (1981:18) describes those who hold this view as those who are "much more aware of the great complexity" of what it is that they are attempting to measure. An integral part of the expanded view is the idea that direct testing of oral performance through the one crucial interview mid-way and/or at the end of the course is necessary but not sufficient. Other direct methods such as self-assesment by learners of their own performance, peer evaluation, evaluation by the class teacher, external evaluation by non-teachers and on-going assessment through the use of graded objectives could be implemented. It would also be in line with the expanded view for indirect as well as semi-direct measures of communicative performance to be incorporated into the assessment procedures. There would, therefore, be a place for the essay, dictation devices and taped responses in the programme. There is certainly scope for the expanded view of testing in selected Malaysian contexts. Exploring ways of using indirect and semi-direct procedures for assessing proficiency as well as other forms of direct tests besides the oral interview would enable teachers and examiners to discover what types of tests would be most appropriate for different purposes.

Notes

[1] English Language Syllabus in Malaysian Schools, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1975, p.v.

[2] Asmah Haji Omar, Comments on H.V. George's article, "Asian ELT: The relevance and Irrelevance of Sociolinguistics", *RELC Journal*, Vol. 9 No. 1, June 1978, p. 14.

[3] Tan Soon Hock and Nesamalar Chitravelu, "Reading Comprehension: The University of Malaya approach", *RELC Journal*, Vol. 11 No. 1, p. 67.

[4] Wong, Irene, "The English language in Malaysia: a challenge for tertiary education", *Language for Third World Universities*, ed. J. Pride. 1984. p. 59.

[5] Ibid., p. 66.

[6] Ibid., p. 67.

[7] Nicholas, Howard, "Is 'Correct Usage' a relevant target for all second language learners? An overview of some aspects of second language acquisition research", 1985. p. 40.

[8] Ibid., p. 48.

[9] Ibis., p. 61.

[10] Ungku A. Aziz, Foreword to the series *Spoken English for Professionals,* University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, 1986. p. vii.

[11] Underhill, Nic, "The great reliability validity trade-off: problems in assessing the productive skills", *Language Testing*, ed. J.B. Heaton. 1982. p. 18.

[12] Ibid., p. 18.

References

Asmah, Hj. Omar. 1976. The Teaching of Bahasa Malaysia in the context of national language planning. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Brindley, G. 1986. The assessment of second language proficiency: Issues and approaches. Adelaide: National Curriculum Resource Centre.

George, H.V. 1978. Asian ELT: The relevance and irrelevance of sociolinguistics. RELC Journal 9:1. 1–18.

Ngoh, Chai Teck, June. 1984. An investigation of dictation as a measure of language proficiency for student teachers in Malaysia. Unpublished MA. dissertion. National University of Singapore.

Nicholas, Howard. 1985. Is 'correct usage' a relevant target for all second language learners? An overview of some aspects of second language acquisition research? In R.J. Mason (ed.) Self-Directed learning and self-access in Australia: From practice to theory. 36–65. Melbourne: Council of Adult Education.

Oller, J.W. Jr and V. Strieff. 1975. Dictation: A test of grammar-based expectancies. English Language Teaching. 3:25–36.

Rea, Pauline M. 1985. Language testing and the communicative language teaching curriculum. In Lee, Fok, Lord and Low (eds.) New Directions in language testing. 15–32. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Stevenson, D.K. 1981. Language testing and academic accountability. IRAL XIX. 1. 15-29.

Tan Soon Hock and Nesamalar Chitravelu. 1980. Reading Comprehension: The University of Malaya approach. RELC Journal 11:1. 67-75.

Vollmer, Helmut, J. 1981. Why are we interested in general language proficiency? In J. Charles Alderson and A. Hughes (eds.) Issues in language testing. 111. 152-71. London: British Council ELT documents.

Wong, Irene. 1984. The English language in Malaysia: A challenge for tertiary education. In J.B. Pride (ed.) Language for the third world universities. 53-69. New Delhi: Bahri Publications.

Current Research in Southeast Asia

Yolanda Beh
RELC

Nine reports on language-related research being conducted or about to be completed at the time of writing are presented in this section. Grateful acknowledgement is made to the researchers who kindly provided information on their projects. The purpose of maintaining this section is to enable researchers to exchange information and to reduce the possibility of duplicating research efforts, hence those involved in research are encouraged to complete a brief form obtainable from the following address:

Librarian and Head of Information Centre
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

Alternatively, researchers may send write-ups on their work (under the headings: title, description, name of principal researcher and other researchers if any, and the sponsoring or financing body) to the same address.

INDONESIA

Title:	**Indonesian Vocabulary in Secondary Textbooks**
Description:	Science and technology develop very rapidly resulting in new inventions which are supported by new terminology. By using language as the means of communication, thinkers try to use and develop different concepts. Thus the role of language becomes very important because language which cannot be understood by the community will result in miscommunication. Therefore, research in vocabulary used in textbooks is very important. This research project is aimed at gathering data on the Indonesian vocabulary used in secondary school textbooks which will contribute to information on the development of the Indonesian language.
Principal researcher:	Abdul Murad National Center for Language Development and Cultivation (NCLD)

Jalan Daksinapati Barat IV
Rawamangun, Jakarta 13220
Indonesia

Other researchers: Farid Hadi, Farida Dahlan
NCLD

Sponsoring or financing body: NCLD

Title **Grammar of Sumbawanese language**

Description: The objective of the research project is to construct a grammar of the Sumbawanese language. In constructing the grammar, the theory of structural approach is employed. In its widest sense, the structural approach, developed by Ferdinand de Saussure, is an approach to linguistics which stresses the importance of language as a system and which investigates the place that linguistic units such as sounds (hence phonology), words (hence morphology), and sentences (hence syntax) have within this system. In addition, the approach also recognizes the existence of two types of relationship in language, that is syntagmatic and paradigmatic. Syntagmatic relationship is the 'horizontal' relationship that linguistic units (e.g. words, clauses) have with other units because they may occur together in a linear sequence. Paradigmatic relationship, on the other hand, is the 'vertical' relationship between forms which might occupy the same particular place in a structure.

Principal researcher: Ketut Reoni
Balai Penelitian Bahasa, Denpasar
Jln Gatot Kaca
Gang II/18 Singaraja
Indonesia

Other researchers: I Made Denes, I Nengah Budiasa
Balai Penelitian Bahasa, Denpasar

I Ketut Seken
Lecturer
FKIP, Udayana University
Jln A Yani, 67 FKIP Singaraja
Indonesia

Sponsoring or financing body:	Department of Education and Culture Bali Province Indonesia

MALAYSIA

Title:	**An Analysis of Language Needs of Teacher Trainees at Institut Bahasa**
Description:	The objectives of this study are (1) to identify the language functions used by teachers of English in the classroom (2) to ascertain the frequency of language functions used by these teachers in the classroom (3) to ascertain the needs of teacher trainees for language for classroom management and (4) to make recommendations for the inclusion of certain language skills for classroom management in the syllabus. The techniques used to obtain data are the questionnaire technique and video-observation technique. The questionnaire mainly elicits from the trainees the degree of their preparedness in using language in handling pupils' behaviour. The video-observation technique involves videotaping of 36 lessons taught by a total of 12 teachers. The lessons are transcribed and acts of teacher behaviour and pupil behaviour are categorised according to a system similar to that of Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975).
Principal researcher:	Tunku Mohani binti Tunku Mohtar Lecturer, Faculty of Education University of Malaya Pantai Valley 59100 Kuala Lumpur Malaysia
Sponsoring or financing body:	SEAMEO RELC
Title:	**An Evaluation of the VE 1043 Course (Reading Skills) at Pusat Bahasa, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM)**
Description:	This study aims to evaluate the suitability and effectiveness of the VE 1043 materials, particularly the reading exercises, as well as the performance and the achievement of the students undertaking

the course. The subjects comprise students from all faculties in UKM as well as lecturers and language teachers who teach the course. Two sets of questionnaires will be distributed, one set to the lecturers and teachers (Questionnaire A) and the other to the students (Questionnaire B). Information obtained from Questionnaire A will pertain to teaching methodology and the use of the reading materials. Questionnaire B will obtain information on students' exposure to the English language as well as their attitudes toward the language. The use and effectiveness of the reading materials will also be revealed. At the end of the course the students will sit for a comprehension test consisting of reading materials of three levels of difficulty (easy, intermediate and difficult). The students' mid semester and final examination grades and grades from this comprehension test will be taken into account to evaluate the students' overall performance in this course. Suggestions for the improvement of the course will be made.

Principal researchers: Mohd Sallehhuddin Abdul Aziz
Bahiyah bt Abdul Hamid
Lecturers
Pusat Bahasa
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
43600 Bangi, Selangor
Malaysia

Other researchers: Yuen Chee Keong, Lin Luck Kee, Chin Swee Pin, Tang Siew Ming, Jamilah Hj Mustapha
Pusat Bahasa
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

Title: **A Comparative Study Using Videotape to Test the Listening Comprehension of Pre-university ESL Students**

Description: This is a comparative study using video to test the listening comprehension of two groups of students (the experimental and the control groups) learning English as a second language in pre-university classes in five selected schools in and around Kuala Lumpur. The purpose is to find out whether there is any difference in their test scores between those who watched and listened to the videotape and those who only listened to the audiotape. It is hoped that the results of this study will enable the researcher to determine which medium to use to compare two groups of students, one from the East Coast schools and the other from the West Coast schools of West Malaysia.

Principal researcher: Wan Chik Ibrahim
Lecturer and Dean
Language Centre
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
43600 Bangi, Selangor
Malaysia

Sponsoring or financing body: Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

Title: **Revision of Foreign Language Courses Offered at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia**

Description: There was a decrease in the number of students taking foreign language courses in the 1986/87 session, hence a questionnaire survey was conducted to find out why students selected a particular foreign language and their attitudes and motivation in studying it. The questionnaire also attempted to obtain feedback on course content and suggestions on how to pursue the course successfully. Based on the results of the survey, the foreign language courses currently being conducted will be revised.

Principal researcher: Hashim Hanapiah
Lecturer (Pensyarah Bahasa Arab)
Pusat Bahasa
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
43600 Bangi, Selangor
Malaysia

Other researchers: Thaiyibah Sulaiman, Tan Poh Choon, Muhammad Kurdi, Cheah Kiu Choon, Vanjuree, Lecturers, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Title: **Levels of Reading Proficiency in English Amongst Pre-University Students (Form 6)**

Description: The purpose of this project is to evaluate the reading proficiency of pre-university ESL students so that relevant reading materials can be prepared to meet the needs of these students at the university level in Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

A total of 12 schools was selected for the research. Three each of these schools were classified as urban, semi-urban, rural and residential.

A reading comprehension test was administered to more than 1000 students in these 12 schools. A questionnaire was also used to determine students' attitudes towards reading in the English language. Another questionnaire was designed for all English language teachers to receive feed-back on materials and methodologies used in ESL teaching at the school level.

Principal researcher:
Lim Ho Peng
Associate Professor
English Department, Language Centre
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
43600 Bangi, Selangor
Malaysia

Other researchers:
Dahnil Adnani, Abdul Aziz Idris, Yohani Hj Mohd Yusof, Zawiah Yahya, Koo Yew Lie, Shanta Venugopal, Lee Su Kim, Maznah Mohd Nordin, Wan Chik Ibrahim,
English Department, Language Centre
Universiti Kabangsaan Malaysia

PHILIPPINES

Title: **Realisations and Comprehension of Directives: A Test on the Communicative Competence of Freshman Engineering Students**

Description: This study is being conducted primarily to evaluate the communicative competence of freshman engineering students by eliciting realisations of directives based on the transactional activities on campus and in comprehending directives based on specific context.

Sources of data are language samples from an elicitation technique developed for the purpose and drawn from the respondents' written realisations on forms of directives used. Another source of data is the comprehension of directives based on situational paragraphs.

The study aims to show that there is a significant difference between male and female respondents in their realisations of directives. However, the male and female respondents will not differ significantly in their comprehension of directives.

Principal researcher: Lilia Rosa Hernal-Bailon
College Instructor
Department of Languages
College of Engineering and Architecture
Saint Louis University
Baguio City
Philippines

SINGAPORE

Title: **The Manufacturing Design Project Presentation: A Discourse Analysis with Pedagogical Objectives**

Description: This study analyses the Manufacturing Design Project oral presentations using Hasan's generic structure framework. Hasan's framework is used because its focus on the staging of semantic content in text will provide much needed information about the Body of the oral presentation for language teachers who should be familiar with the semantic content of the text in order to help students make better presentations. Language teachers have tended to skirt around the Body of the oral presentation because firstly, most books teaching oral presentation focus on the Introduction and Conclusion which are usually more formulaic in terms of language use, and gloss over the Body. Secondly, the content area had been considered to be within the purview of the technical teacher, not the language teacher.

The text analysis and consultation with two lecturers who teach the course have yielded the generic structure potential (GSP) of the text type, which offers all the choices for its organisational structure. The seven obligatory elements in the GSP have further been analysed for semantic attributes and lexico-grammatical realisations. These should provide the teacher with guidelines on the kinds of meaning that need to be conveyed in the presentations as well as some choices of possible language forms that can be used.

Thesis (M.A.) — National University of Singapore

Principal researcher:	Nelly Kwa Lecturer, English Language Department Singapore Polytechnic Dover Road Singapore 0513
Sponsoring or financing body:	Singapore Polytechnic

254

Crosscultural Understanding: Process and Approaches for Foreign Language, English as a Second Language and Bilingual Educators

Gail L. Nemetz Robinson
Pergamon Press, 1985

Reviewd by
Gail Schaefer Fu,
The Chinese University of Hong Kong

This book's dedication says more perhaps about the book itself than the author at first intended. It reads:

> To Robert Politzer, Wilga Rivers, George Spindler and Freda Evans, who influenced the development of these theories....
>
> To Naoko, Miki N., Kotomi, Miki T., Minae, Toshiko, Sachiko and Chisato, my first Japanese daughters who brought these theories to life.

The book does discuss theories and it does draw on the author's own personal experiences, but whether this particular blend of professional review and private experience is completely successful here is questionable. The book suffers slightly, as a result of this blend, from what might be called an identity crisis. Is it a review of current research and thinking in the field or is it a personal exploration of the author's own adjustments and readjustments to her own situation? Not that these two things are necessarily mutually exclusive but stylistically they might have been woven together more artfully in this volume.

The author says in her first chapter entitled "How can a person from one culture understand someone from another?" that since "the discussions are drawn from a variety of disciplines, the book may be viewed as a collection of theoretical essays on the topic of developing crosscultural understanding." This tends to make the book sound more ambitious than it actually is: what it really does is to present a fairly introductory overview of issues in the field of crosscultural understanding. And if only on that ground alone, it would seem to be a fairly useful volume for someone not already working specifically in that field.

The book is clearly written and is presented in an organized, readable format with a detailed table of contents which includes all chapter headings and subheadings in the book. These headings and subheadings help to organize the chapters themselves, each of which ends with a useful summary paragraph. The list of references seems fairly extensive for a book of this length (124 pages of text) and the index is brief but adequate though it is difficult to imagine just how one might actually put it to use.

In the first chapter just mentioned the author outlines her personal, philosophical and educational concerns and the interdisciplinary approach she takes in the book. The following chapters are generally titled with a question: e.g. "What is culture?" or "What are the effects of cultural experience on perception in general?" or "How are culture and cultural roles acquired?". In these chapters the author explores briefly the definitions of culture and the need to combine concepts of culture and learning; the relationship between culture, language and perception and how cultural experience affects perception. Following the model by which L2 acquisition has benefited from studies of L1 acquisiton, she looks at how second culture acquisition can learn from our knowledge about first culture acquistion. In Chapter 5 Robinson goes on to discuss how these cultural learnings influence the perception of other people and then, in Chapter 6, how the anthropological method of ethnography may be helpful in developing desirable positive impressions of people from other cultures. While the ideal may be developing positive impressions of other cultures from the beginning, she also discusses how we can modify negative perceptions once they have formed. In her final chapter she questions whether the multicultural person is a reality or a myth in the 20th century and decides for the latter. She concludes:

> To the extent that we perceive other people as similar to ourselves, to the extent that we feel comfortable with their behaviours, and they with ours, mutually positive interactions may take place. It is in the process of developing cultural versatility, i.e., becoming a little multicultural — that differences between people will be decreased.

Insofar as Robinson takes a realistic view of what is practically possible in the cultural pluralism of today's world, the reader can only agree with her.

However realistic the author's approach, I would maintain that the book does not live up to the promise on its cover to present a comprehensive study of culture learning and its applications to ESL, FL and Bilingual Education Programs. It may give a good introductory overview of relevant issues in the field and is certainly easily comprehended by a reader not specializing in anthropology, psychology or sociology but in my view it falls short of being comprehensive or providing in-depth analysis. It may point in the direction of but does not "pave the way" to new theory and practices in these areas. Furthermore it does not, in any detailed or relevant way, go into how these ideas should be applied to the programmes just mentioned.

In a sense I found the Appendix the most engaging part of the book as well as the most enlightening. In it Robinson describes and presents an ethnographic interview in which she asks the "grand tour" question of one key informant: "How does it *feel* to be a student from India at Stanford?" She explains somewhat insistently the difference between the question "how does it feel" and "what do you think" and describes how an ethnographic interviewer must listen intensively and allow the informant to impose his or her own categories on reality rather than having these imposed by the nature of the questions themselves. The author includes her "ethnographic encounters" with her informant Mira in the hopes that "others may learn a little more about their own culture and *feel* a little more about people from other cultures." What I personally learned from the Appendix was what an ethnographic interview actually is: it clarified points which had been raised briefly but seemed inadequately explained in Chapter 6.

The book is part of the Language Teaching Methodology Series produced by the Pergamon Institute of English in New York and I admit that the book did not meet my initial expectations. As a teacher of English to Chinese students and as a westerner who has lived in Asia and outside her own country for many years, I originally hoped that the book would help me do even better what I am already doing. However this turned out not to be the case as I found little in it which I felt I could bring to bear on my own classroom. Was it perhaps that my expectations were misled by the subtitle of the book — "Processes and Approaches for Foreign Language, English as a Second Language and Bilingual Educators" as well as by the fact that it is part of a methodology series? A reader may glean a few suggestions about how one could apply these theories to classroom practice but since the book is not intended as a practical handbook of teaching strategies it should not be taken up with this hope in mind. Furthermore, it is not clear to me (despite the explanation and the appendix about ethnographic interview) just how a practising language or bilingual educator could benefit from or use this interview approach in any practical way.

Throughout the book there are references to research reports and studies done in various cultures — the Dinka of the Sudan, the Hutterites of North America, the Temne of Sierra Leone. The author refers to time that she herself spent in Papua New Guinea and illustrations are given from Mexico, Japan, Australian Aborigines and Eskimoes. Somehow these fairly sketchy illustrations from this broad variety of cultures led me to wonder if the book can speak at depth to someone already immersed in another cultural situation. I found myself trying to extrapolate from illustrations given and discovered this to be a rather difficult task to accomplish. Is it that I myself am too aware of the baffling subtleties of the cultural contrasts which make up my own daily life to be able to relate effectively to an example which contrasts a business dinner in an upper middle class American home, Japanese home, and Mexican home? This is not to imply that I understand fully the crosscultural situation in which I find myself but rather to question whether the level of analysis in the book is sufficiently deep to engage fully someone who has already done serious thinking about a particular crosscultural situation.

The publishers describe the book as particularly useful as a text in crosscultural teaching strategies and culture teaching for ESL, bilingual and foreign language teacher training programs as well as useful in all language teaching methods courses. I would agree with the first — that the book could serve a useful function in teacher training with fairly unintiated groups and would provide an overview of the issues if not a particularly deep analysis of them. However, I am not so sure that it would be useful in methods courses except as a side reference or resource. It does not provide in my view sufficient concrete examples of precisely how these theories could be translated into effective language classroom practice.

What does the book do then? The significant point woven throughout the book is, as Robinson puts it, that "changing expectations to promote positive interaction among members of different cultures is a two-way process, requiring treatment for all parties involved." She refers critically to the many FL textbooks which introduce the target culture generally through differences rather than similarities and through short cultural notes which are rarely integrated into the instructional units. In her view descriptions of cultural events or culturally appropriate behaviours in particular situations are not sufficient to change an individual's attitudes and behaviour in regards to the target culture: "a collection of discrete, unrelated topics about the target culture as in a *pot-pourri* or smattering of experiences, without any intentional interrelationship among them" does not constitute effective crosscultural education. The book is worth reading for a new or renewed awareness of this fact alone.

Interactive Writing: An advanced Course in Writing Skills,

Edited by Anna Kwan-Terry with Catherine Cook and Peter H. Ragan, Prentice Hall, 1988 (Student's Book and Teacher's Book).

Reviewed by
N S Prabhu
National University of Singapore
Singapore

As indicated by its title, this set of materials for the teaching of writing in English concentrates on developing in students the higher-order skills of text construction: organisation of information content, awareness and achievement of coherence, self-criticism and revision, goal-orientation, and reader-friendliness. It is 'interactive' in that it perceives (and encourages students to perceive) writing as a process of interaction between the writer and the intended reader, on the one hand, and between the writer's intentions and the emerging text, on the other. It is also interactive in a more pedagogic sense, envisaging a classroom procedure in which the learner interacts continually with texts, with the teacher and, most importantly, with fellow-learners.

The materials are organised into five units, each unit consisting of 6 or 7 tasks of guided analysis or production of texts. The first two units are concerned with content-organisation and coherence, within a paragraph as well as in larger texts. The third unit focuses on reader-friendliness, in terms of adequacy of information, explicitness and distinctions between fact and opinion, assumption and assertion. The fourth unit concentrates on the writer's rhetorical purpose and the projection of a point of view, getting the learner to identify and attempt subjective and objective accounts as well as specific attitudes to the topic and the reader. The last unit deals with the text as a form of covert debate, in which the writer anticipates particular responses, objections or counter-arguments from the reader and develops the text accordingly. It will be clear from this that the book's main aim is to promote competence in academic writing (of an expository or argumentative nature, involving disciplined thinking and presentation), rather than expressive or entertaining writing, or the transactional writing of particular vocations.

The strength of the book lies in

its methodology, as reflected in the design of each unit as a sequence of tasks. The initial tasks in a sequence call for analytic reading of given texts, with attention focused on relevant text features. The texts provided for such examination include both competent writing, to act as a model, and deficient writing, to be critiqued, completed or repaired. Further tasks in the sequence involve the planning, drafting and revising of particular pieces of writing, using new information content (which is provided or suggested, often in a non-verbal form) but drawing on the awareness of text-features created by earlier tasks. The final tasks in the sequence call for relatively independent writing, with only a general topic or stimulus provided. While such grading of tasks, together with a firm linking of writing with reading, constitutes one pedagogic dimension, a more significant dimension is the procedure to be followed on each task, which shows a moving away from the concept of a classroom task as a performance by the learner for the teacher. The new procedure involves not only learners working on tasks cooperatively in small groups but, more radically, submitting the outcome of their effort to fellow-learners' comment, criticism and evaluation, rather than to the teacher's. The benefit expected from this is partly that learners will get feedback on their writing from more 'real' readers than the omniscient teacher, and partly also that, by critiquing fellow-learners' writing repeatedly, learners will develop a higher-level of awareness about writing as writer-reader interaction, together with a greater ability to review and revise their own writing. In the process, the teacher too is relieved of his burden as evaluator and left free "to assume a responsive, resource-oriented role in support of the students' growing independence" (p xiv). It is not difficult to see in this the influence of recent, 'process' approaches to the teaching of writing though, equally, one can see a concern for classroom feasibility and a consequent caution against discarding 'product' approaches.

A further feature of these materials is variety of different kinds — in the forms of writing practised (article, academic essay, report, review, letter), in the demands of different tasks (comparison, completion, schematic summarisation and improvement, in addition to the construction and revision of texts), and in the forms of stimuli provided for writing (verbal, graphic and statistical). One is also struck by the minimal use made of technical terms in talking about different features of texts. This last feature, however, seems to have been worked to a fault in the first two units, where paragraph structure and textual coherence are dealt with in relatively simplistic terms such as main and supporting points, central theme, the relatedness of paragraphs, effective introduction, and intermediate and final conclusions. Tertiary-level students might well be able to handle and benefit from a more sophisticated analysis of text-structure. One also notices that an occasional text or task is at a distinctly lower level of sophistication than the other (e.g. task 2 in unit 3).

Useful guidance for teachers both in understanding the rationale of the materials and in the classroom management of each task is provided in a Teacher's Book which accompanies the Student's Book. Neither the Teacher's Book nor the Student's Book is large, but they provide substance for a considerable volume of work by students — probably a hundred hours' writing effort. It might, however, have been useful to include, at the end of each unit, some additional, optional writing tasks, for the benefit of those who can use them.

These materials had their origin in a project of materials development undertaken by a team of staff at the English Language Proficiency Unit of the National University of Singapore. That accounts both for their focus on tertiary-level academic writing and for their pedagogic pragmatism in blending relatively recent and traditional ideas in the teaching of writing. Both characteristics make it likely that the book will prove to be useful wherever there is a need to help tertiary students to write more competently in English.

Principles of Course Design for Second Language Teaching

Janice Yalden
Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1987

Reviewed by
Michael J. Harrick
Saint Mary's University
Halifax
Canada

If one is to approach this small text from the point of view of an inexperienced or beginning teacher as the preface would allow, one would be in trouble without a good guide like a professor of language instruction to explain in depth the wealth of references that the text includes. Because a course design needs theory for direction, the author takes the reader through many past and current theories and issues to arrive at a communicative competency approach to course design.

Thus the beginner is first impressed by the listing of references for various language teaching approaches and the brief synopses of each. The beginner would be able to use the text as a bibliography to search out origins of various theories that seem personally suitable to his or her own approach.

However, a beginner would not be capable of designing a second language course or modifying an existing one without some prior experience. Thus, the reader of this book must bring something to it in the same sense of the "negotiation of meaning" found in Yalden's preferred definition of communicative competence as given by Savignon (p. 26).

"Negotiation of meaning" for this test requires prior experience with the concepts of generalized or variable second language proficiency, for instance. To negotiate is to bring to the bargaining table some matters for discussion which will be successful if the parties know each other's issues and language; otherwise, talks break down because one does not understand the other or does not want to. For the beginner, who may not know enough to understand, the survey of ideas for approaching second language teaching may prove incomprehensible without a helpful guide like a course or professor to help negotiate this text.

For the university professor who is teaching an introductory course in second language curriculum and syllabus design, the text presents a worthy model for analysis and application. The text leads from some theoretical questions about communicative competence to some problems of application. Then it presents frameworks for course design along with specific case studies to observe the framework heuristically applied to various objectives. Since effective teaching has to be planned, the end result is a useful lesson planning model for approaching communicative competence at different educational contexts and levels.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

1. ALEXANDER, L.G. 1988. Longman English grammar. London: Longman.
2. BONNER, Margaret. 1987. On your way: building basic skills in English. Teacher's manual 1. White Plains, N.Y.: Longman.
3. CLARK, John L. 1987. Curriculum renewal in school foreign language learning. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
4. DICKINSON, Leslie. 1987. Self-instruction in language learning. (New directions in language teaching) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
5. DOUGILL, John. 1987. Drama activities for language learning. London: Macmillan.
6. DUBIN, Fraida and Olshtain, Elite. 1987. Reading on purpose: building cognitive skills for intermediate learners. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Welsey.
7. ELSWORTH, Steve. 1988. Supplementary grammar exercises 1. (Opening strategies) Harlow, Essex: Longman.
8. GEDDES, Marion. 1988. About Britain. London: Macmillan.
9. GOWER, Roger. 1987. Speaking. Upper-intermediate. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
10. GRANT, Neville. 1987. Making the most of your textbook. (Longman keys to language teaching) London: Longman.
11. GREENHALGH, Kay, Pennington, Mark and Richardson, Vic. 1988. The Oxford/Arels preliminary handbook. Cassette tape. London: Edward Arnold.
12. HAINES, Simon F.E. 1984. Contemporary themes: for reading and discussion. Oxford: Pergamon.
13. HALL, Diane and Foley, Mark. 1988. Now you're talking. Walton-on-Thames, Surrey: Nelson.
14. HAMP-LYONS, Liz and Heasley, Ben. 1987. Study writing: a course in written English for academic and professional purposes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
15. HARMER, Jeremy and Surguine, Harold. 1987. Coast to coast. Student's book 1. — Student's book 2. — Workbook 1. — Harlow, Essex: Longman.
16. HEYER, Sandra. 1987. True stories in the news: a beginning reader. London: Longman.
17. HILL, Jennifer. 1986. Using literature in language teaching. London: Macmillan.
18. HOWE, Brian. 1987. Portfolio: case studies for business English. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
19. JANICKI, Karol. 1985. The foreigner's language: a sociolinguistic perspective. (Language teaching methodology series) Oxford: Pergamon.

20. JONES, Leo and Kimbrough, Victoria. 1987. Great ideas: listening and speaking activities for students of American English. Student's book. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
21. KENWORTHY, Joanne. 1987. Teaching English pronunciation. (Longman handbooks for language teachers) London: Longman.
22. KINGSBURY, Roy and Scott, Roger. 1987. Listen and speak. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
23. LAIRD, Elizabeth. 1987. Faces of the USA. London: Longman.
24. LINDOP, Christine and Fisher, Dominic. 1988. Discover Britain. 1988–89 edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
25. MOOR, Rosemary. 1987. Network English: skills for understanding. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
26. NUMRICH, Carol. 1987. Consider the issues: developing listening and critical thinking skills. New York: Longman.
27. RAMSEY, Gaynor. 1987. Images. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
28. REVELL, Jane. 1987. Impact. London: Macmillan.
29. SAVAGE K. Lynn. 1987. Building life skills: a communication workbook. Book 1. — Book 2. New York: Longman.
30. SWAN, Michael and Walter, Catherine. 1987–88. The Cambridge English Course. Student's book 3. — Practice book 3. — Test book 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
31. TAFNER, Meg and Williams, Tony. 1988. Intensive English: higher intermediate level. Teacher's book. London: Macmillan.
32. UNDERHILL, Nic. 1987. Testing spoken language: a handbook of oral testing techniques. (Cambridge handbooks for language teachers) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
33. UNDERWOOD, Mary. 1987. Effective class management. (Longman keys to language teaching) London: Longman.
34. WENDEN, Anita and Rubin, Joan. 1987. Learner strategies in language learning. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

New titles in the Longman Applied Linguistics and Language Study series

The Classroom and the Language Learner

Leo van Lier

In this book Leo van Lier looks at classroom research in the second or foreign language classroom. He examines the different settings within which EFL/ESL teaching and learning take place and then scrutinizes the aims, objectives and methods of classroom research. Also included is material which will help readers to embark on some direct research themselves.

Observation in the Language Classroom

Dick Allwright

Observation in the Language Classroom provides an account of classroom observation in a historical and educational perspective. Dick Allwright draws on extracts from classic studies in this field, provides a background to current research and identifies areas for future development.

Vocabulary and Language Teaching

Ronald Carter and Michael McCarthy

A book devoted to a much-neglected area of language study and teaching which is currently enjoying a revival of interest. All the material is put into perspective by carefully interlinked commentary and analysis.

For further details contact:
Longman ELT Sales Department,
Longman Group UK Ltd,
Burnt Mill, Harlow, Essex CM20 2JE.
Telephone: (0279) 26721

Longman

PROSPECT

THE JOURNAL OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Recent issues contain articles by Stephen Gaies, Leo van Lier, David Nunan,
Jack Richards and Ken Willing

Prospect is the national professional teaching journal of the Australian Adult Migrant Education Program (AMEP), which offers ESL and orientation tuition each year to over 100 000 adult immigrants to Australia from all over the world.

Prospect publishes articles, notes, reports and reviews on applied linguistics and teaching related to adult TESOL. It is published three times per year.

Prospect subscription rates can be obtained from Gerd Stabler,
National Curriculum Resource Centre, 5th floor, Renaissance Centre,
127 Rundle Mall, Adelaide, South Australia 5000.

Jill Burton, Editor

ARE THESE ON YOUR READING LIST?

ISSN 0289-7938
全国語学教育学会
JANUARY 1987
VOL. XI, NO. 1

THE Language Teacher

THE JAPAN
ASSOCIATION OF
LANGUAGE TEACHERS ¥350
JALT

JALT JOURNAL

Publications of ...

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

The Language Teacher – A monthly magazine with features, reviews, meeting announcements, employment opportunities, etc.

JALT Journal – A semi-annual journal featuring articles relevant to language teaching/learning in Japan and Asia

Overseas Membership (including subscriptions to both publications):
Sea Mail $30 U.S. Air Mail $40 U.S.

Send all remittances by bankers draft in yen, drawn on a Japanese bank, or dollars drawn on an American bank. The postal giro account may also be used by international subscribers.

JALT International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning – An annual event featuring over 250 lectures/workshops/demonstrations. Over 1000 participants yearly.

November 21-23, 1987 – Tokyo
October 8-10, 1988 – Kobe
November 3-5, 1989 – To be announced

Send requests for further information and remittances to:
JALT, c/o Kyoto English Center, Sumitomo Seimei Bldg., Shijo-Karasuma Nishi-iru, Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan. Tel.: (075) 221-2376

Domestic Membership Fees:
Regular Membership, ¥6,000; Joint, ¥10,000; Student, ¥4,000; Associate, ¥50,000
Postal Furikae (Giro) Account: Kyoto 15892, "JALT"

RELC

ANNOUNCEMENT

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

Language Teaching Methodology for the Nineties

10–14 April 1989

For more information, please contact:

CHAIRMAN,
SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE,
SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
30 ORANGE GROVE ROAD
SINGAPORE 1025

Subscription form

R E L C   J O U R N A L

A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and a subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is ten Singapore dollars (S$10.00) for subscribers within SEAMEO countries and US$10.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and sent it to

The Publications Officer
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
RELC Building
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at S$7.00*/US$7.00⁺ per copy.

For the complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications Officer.

I enclose S$10.00*/US$10.00⁺. Please send me the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for ....

Name: ....

Address: ....

....

....

* within SEAMEO countries
⁺ other countries

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Clarification:
The present members of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) are: Negara Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copy must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, e.g., the suffix-*s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text.

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221-222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14-16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, 221-254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC PUBLICATIONS

Monograph Series
An Introduction to Linguistics for the Language Teacher
Cultural Components of Reading
The Testing of Listening Comprehension
Problems of Learning English as a Second Language in Malaysia
Strategies for Communication between Teachers and Pupils in a Rural Malaysian School
Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in Multilingual Societies
An Historical Study of Language Planning

Anthology Series
(1) Reading: Insights and Approaches
(2) Teaching English for Science and Technology
(3) Curriculum Development and Syllabus Design for English Teaching
(4) Language Education in Multilingual Societies
(5) Papers on Southeast Asian Languages
(6) Applications of Linguistics to Language Teaching
(7) Bilingual Education
(8) Patterns of Bilingualism
(9) Language Testing
(10) Language Teaching Issues in Multilingual Environments in Southeast Asia
(11) Varieties of English in Southeast Asia
(12) Transfer and Translation in Language Learning and Teaching
(13) Trends in Language Syllabus Design
(14) Communicative Language Teaching
(15) Language Across the Curriculum
(16) Language in Learning

Occasional Papers Series
(2) Research Proposals for Studies in Language Learning
(3) Controlled and Guided Composition
(5) Group Activities for Language Learning
(6) A Handbook of Communication Activities for Young Learners
(7) Form and Function in Second Language Learning
(8) New Varieties of English: Issues and Approaches
(9) Papers on Variation in English
(10) Error Analysis and Error Correction in Language Teaching
(11) Studies in Second Language Acquisition
(12) Developing Awareness Skills for Interethnic Communication
(13) Treds in Language Teaching and Bilingual Education
(14) Approaches to Communicative Competence
(15) Contrastive Instructional Materials Development
(16) An Error Analysis of English Compositions by Thai Students
(18) Papers on Language Testing
(19) Measuring Affective Factors in Language Learning
(20) Studies in Classroom Interaction
(21) Ten Papers on Translation
(22) A Study of Hokkien-Mandarin Phonological Correspondences
(23) What Is Standard English
(24) Techniques and Approaches for Advanced ESL Students
(25) On Conversation
(26) Psycholinguistic Dimensions of Language Teaching and Bilingualism
(27) Papers on Team Teaching and Syllabus Design
(28) Papers on Translation: Aspects, Concepts, Implications
(29) Varieties of English and Their Implications for ELT in South-east Asia
(30) Concepts and Functions in Current Syllabuses
(31) Case Studies in Syllabus and Course Design
(32) Language, Identity and Socio-Economic Development
(33) Interlanguage of Learners of English as a Foreign Language
(34) On Composition
(35) Minidictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes
(36) A Quantitative approach to the Study of Sociolinguistic Situations in Multilingual Societies
(38) Studies on Sociocultural Factors Affecting Language Education
(39) Studies in Philippine English
(40) Language Attitudes
(41) Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning

Guidelines. A Periodical for Classroom Language Teachers
June 1979 No. 1 Communication Activities
Dec 1979 No. 2 Teaching Reading Skills
June 1980 No. 3 Vocabulary Teaching
Dec 1980 No. 4 Audio-Visual Aids in Language-Teaching
June 1981 No. 5 Language Games
Dec 1981 No. 6 Writing Activities
June 1982 Vol. 4 No. 1 Study Skills
Dec 1982 Vol. 4 No. 2 Group Activities
June 1983 Vol. 5 No. 1 Classroom Tests
Dec 1983 Vol. 5 No. 2 Drama Activities
1984-1986 A Periodical for classroom Language Teachers

RELC Newsletter. This publication is mailed quarterly to over 3,500 readers within and outside Southeast Asia. Each issue reports on the Centre's recent activities.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Printed by Fong & Sons Printers Pte. L

RELC JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

VOLUME 20 NUMBER 1 **JUNE 1989**

Articles

Patrick Allen, Birgit Harley and Merrill Swain **Analytic and Experiential Aspects of of Second Language Teaching** 1

Martha C Pennington **Teaching Pronounciation from the Top Down** 20

Jessica Williams **Language Acquisition, Language Contact and Nativized Varieties of English** 39

George Jacobs **Miscorrection in Peer Feedback in Writing Class** 68

Raymond Devenney **How ESL Teachers and Peers Evaluate and Respond to Student Writing** 77

Yolanda Beh **Current Research in Southeast Asia** 91

Book Review

David Nunan **Classroom Observation and Research: A Perspective on three New Publications** 97

Gloria R Poedjosoedarmo **Language, Learners and Computers** 103

Gordon Taylor **The Native Speaker is Dead** 109

273

PUBLISHED BY THE SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, SINGAPORE

Editorial Committee

Makhan Lal Tickoo, Editor
Eugenius Sadtono, *Review Editor*
Lim Kiat Boey
Sarinee Anivan
Yolanda Beh
Melchor Tatlonghari
John Honeyfield
Paroo Nihalani
Joseph Foley

NOTES FOR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Asia.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$12.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$12.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal*, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of the respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Region Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southeast Ministers of Education Organization.

(Notes for Subscribers continued on inside bac

RELC

© REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1989
ISSN 0033-6882

RELC JOURNAL

Volume 20

Number 1

JUNE 1989

RELC P362-89

275

Obituary

Dr Richard B Noss (1923–1989) began his career as an Instructor and later as a Linguist at Yale University, where he obtained his Ph.D in Linguistics in 1954. In 1966–67 he was Department Head of the Foreign Service Institute in Washington, D.C. From 1967 onwards he was a Ford Foundation Project Specialist in Southeast Asia and continued to be consulted by the Foundation even after he joined the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre (RELC) in 1978 as Specialist in Linguistics. Dick left RELC in 1984, after spending nearly 20 years in Southeast Asia.

Dick's years in this region were highly productive ones. He learned to speak and write Thai and Malay and could speak Khmer and Japanese. Among his published works are *Thai Reference Grammar, Cambodian Basic Course (with Im Proum), Higher Education and Development in Southeast Asia, English Nominalisation (with David Eskey), Papers on Variation in English, Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning and Teaching (ed. with T Llamzon) and Studies on Sociocultural Factors Affecting Language Education (ed.)*

Dick is remembered with respect and affection in the countries where he worked including Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore in this region. This was evident when visitors from any of these countries came to RELC during the annual Regional Seminars and at other times. They would call on him and bring tokens of remembrance. His colleagues at RELC are saddened by his demise. They looked up to him as a person who was willing to share his knowledge and wide experience and who inspired them with his pursuit of scholarship. His influence will continue to be felt in Southeast Asia through the many students he taught at RELC.

Dick is survived by his wife Elaine who many of us at RELC also knew as colleague and friend. Our sincerest sympathies go to her and to Dick's children.

Analytic and Experiental Aspects of Second Language Teaching

Patrick Allen
Birgit Harley
Merrill Swain
Modern Language Centre
The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

1. **Introduction**

The distinction between analytic and experiential approaches in the L2 classroom serves as a common theme drawing together a group of studies which formed part of the five-year Development of Bilingual Proficiency (DBP) project in the Modern Language Centre at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto.[1] In this paper we will discuss, first, a group of core French studies, i.e., the development and validation of the COLT observation scheme, and the employment of this instrument in a core French process-product study at the grade II level (Allen et al. 1987). Secondly, we will describe a French immersion observation study, which examined vocabulary instruction, *tu/vous* input, opportunities for student talk, and error treatment at the grade 3 and grade 6 levels (Swain and Carroll 1987), and a French immersion experimental study, which was designed to investigate the effect on proficiency of functionally focused materials at the grade 6 level (Harley 1987). Finally, we will consider the pedagogic implications for core French and immersion, and draw a number of conclusions for second language teaching.[2]

In an influential paper published in the late seventies. H.H. Stern distinguished between learning a language through use in the environment (i.e., functionally), or through processes of language study and practice (i.e., formally). As Stern (1978) pointed out, this aspect of language behaviour can be characterised as a psycholinguistic/pedagogic continuum, or 'P-scale'. There is nothing inherently good or bad about activities at either end of the scale, and in organised language teaching we often find an interplay between formal and functional approaches. In this paper the term 'experiential' is used to refer to activities at the functional end of Stern's P-scale, while 'analytic' refers to activities at the formal end. The experiential-analytic distinction is analogous (although not identical) to distinctions made by other investigators with regard to general pedagogic orientation. Barnes (1976), for example, discusses 'interpretive' versus 'transmission' teaching; Wells (1982) distinguishes between 'collaborative' and 'transmission' orientations; while Cummins (1984) uses the labels 'reciprocal interaction' and 'transmission' to refer to these two dimensions.

The relationship between experiential and analytic activities in the classroom has recently emerged as one of the key issues in second language pedagogy. According to some authorities (e.g., Krashen 1982) analytic or grammar-based activities are of minimal benefit, since conscious 'learning' cannot be converted into the central process of unconscious L2 'acquisition'. Others (e.g., McLaughlin, Rossman and McLeod 1983) have argued that guided or 'controlled' processes may precede, or accompany, the development of 'automatic' processes. If this is so, there is no reason to exclude grammar teaching from the L2 classroom, so long as it is appropriate to the communicative goals and the maturity level of the students. Although recent approaches to L2 instruction emphasise the need for a more meaningful and natural use of language, it is still not clear what are the precise differences in methodology and outcome which distinguish these from more traditional approaches. The first task, then, is to establish a conceptual distinction between analytic and experiential activities.

In a paper submitted to the DBP symposium, Stern suggested that the experiential approach is characterised by the following general features: activities are based on a substantial or motivated topic or theme; students engage in purposeful activity; the language used has the characteristics of real talk; meaning transfer and fluency have priority over error avoidance and accuracy; there is diversity of social interaction in the classroom. Criterial features of the analytic approach, on the other hand, include the following: the teacher focuses on specific language features such as pronunciation, grammar, or vocabulary; cognitive strategies are brought into play with the result that students acquire a conscious understanding of the language system; opportunities are provided for students to rehearse specific language items or skills; attention is paid to accuracy and error correction to a degree that is appropriate for a given group of learners (Stern 1987). As Stern pointed out in his discussion paper, it is important to be objective about both types of activity, and not to prejudge the issue by comparing experiential teaching at its best with analytic teaching at its worst. Although the extremes of Stern's P-scale are theoretically distinct, in practice many teachers draw selectively upon the two approaches in order to develop composite or 'mixed' methodologies which are tailor-made for particular instructional settings. Consequently, in comparing analytic and experiential teaching, we are often concerned with relative degrees of emphasis, rather than with absolute differences between classrooms.

2. The DBP core French studies

2.1 Development and validation of the COLT observation scheme

Although a number of observation instruments have been developed

278

for the L2 classroom (Moskowitz 1970, Fanselow 1977, Bialystok et al. 1979, Ullmann and Geva 1982), we found that none of the existing schemes could be adapted in its entirety for the purposes of the DBP project. We therefore decided to develop our own scheme – known as COLT (Communicative Orientation of Language Teaching) – which would contain categories to measure features of communication typical of classroom discourse, as well as categories to measure how closely these interaction patterns resemble the way language is used in non-instructional settings.

The COLT observation scheme was derived from the DBP communicative competence framework and from a review of current issues in communicative language teaching. The scheme is divided into two parts. Part I, filled out by observers during the class, identifies different types of classroom activity and categorises them in terms of (a) participant organisation; (b) the content, or subject-matter, of the activity; (c) student modality; and (d) materials in use. Part II, which is coded from a tape-recording of the class on a time-sampling basis, analyses the communicative features of teacher-student interaction. Seven main categories are identified: (a) use of target language – L1 or L2; (b) information gap; (c) length of utterance; (d) reaction to code or message; (e) incorporation of preceding utterances, or how the participants react to one another's contributions; (f) discourse initiation by teacher or student; and (g) relative restriction of linguistic form.

The COLT was piloted in 13 classes, mainly at the grade 7 level. The sample included four core French classes, two extended French and two French immersion classes, and five ESL classes. The study was begun with a number of tentative expectations about the main characteristics of the four types of classroom. Core French is taught as a subject within a limited time frame, and these classes were expected to contain a relatively large proportion of form-focused, teacher-centred activities. Since extended French involves the presentation and discussion of subject-matter in addition to core French instruction, the teaching in these classes was expected to be somewhat less structural and more meaning-oriented. Of the three types of French classrooms, French immersion was expected to provide the greatest opportunity for authentic discourse and for the negotiation of significant meaning. ESL teaching in Toronto differs from French language instruction, since many more opportunities exist for acquisition outside the classroom. As a result, it was expected that ESL teachers would tend to use class time to practise various aspects of the language code, but that they would also seek to introduce communicative enrichment material from the 'real world' outside the classroom. Expectations about the distinguishing characteristics of each group of classes were largely supported by the observation data. The core French classes turned out to be the least 'communicative' in terms of the COLT categories and immersion the most, while ESL and extended French occupied a position in between (Fröhlich et al. 1985).

The ability of the COLT observation scheme to capture differences in instructional orientation in a wide range of programs was seen as an indication of its validity. We were now in a position to state what the differences were between programs, but we were not yet able to say which characteristics might be most beneficial for developing which aspects of language proficiency. Therefore, we took the third and final step in the series of COLT studies, which was to use the observation scheme along with appropriate testing instruments in a study which would compare instructional differences within a program, and relate them to learning outcomes.

2.2 The core French observation study

The core French program was selected for the process-product study because the students' L2 proficiency could be assumed to derive largely from the classroom. Eight grade 11 classes from the metropolitan Toronto area were preselected with the help of school board personnel to represent a range of L2 teaching practices. Early in their grade 11 year, the students were given a series of pre-tests: (a) a multiple choice grammar test; (b) two written production tasks (a formal request letter and an informal note) which were scored for both discourse and sociolinguistic features; (c) a multiple choice listening comprehension test requiring the global comprehension of a series of recorded tests; and (d) an individual oral interview administered to a subsample of students from each class and scored for proficiency in grammar, discourse, and sociolingusitics. During the school year, each class was visited four times for observation with the COLT scheme. In May, the classes were post-tested with the same tests, and those students interviewed at the time of pre-testing were reinterviewed.

Based on the Part I and Part II categories of the COLT observation scheme, it was possible to rank order the eight classes on a bi-polar composite scale from 'most experiential' to 'most analytic'. We grouped the COLT features into binary oppositions (experiential vs. analytic, or 'high' vs. 'low' communicative feature) in order to arrive at a score which would permit ranking of the classes. We took the total percentage of time spent on each of the high communicative features in COLT Parts I and II and summed the figures. This gave us 2 classes in the 'high' communicative group and 6 classes in the 'low' communicative group, the mean score being used as the dividing line.

To give some idea of what the labels 'experiential' and 'analytic' mean in terms of classroom behaviour, let us consider some examples. In the two most experiential classes, there was proportionately significantly more topic control by students, more extended written text produced by the students, more sustained speech by students, more reaction (by both teacher and students) to message rather than code, more topic expansion by students, and more use of student-made materials than in the other classes. These two classes were labelled 'Type E' classes, in contrast to the remaining 'Type A' classes, where significantly more analytic features were in evidence, including a higher proportion of topic control by teachers, minimal written text by students, student utterances of minimal length, student reaction to code rather than message, and restricted choice of linguistic items by students. The COLT analysis revealed at the same time that none of the classes were prototypically experiential or analytic, but rather all were intermediate along the bi-polar scale. The COLT findings were supported by teacher questionnaires providing information about classroom activities throughout the year.

Three analyses were carried out on the data. First, it was hypothesised that the Type A classes would score significantly higher on both written and oral grammatical accuracy measures than the Type E classes, but that the Type E classes would score higher on all other proficiency measures, including discourse and sociolinguistic measures, and scores on global listening comprehension. In fact, when pre-test and post-test scores were compared, no significant differences were found between the Type E and Type A classes, although a near-significant difference ($p < 0.06$) emerged in favour of the Type A classes on the grammar multiple choice test. When the two Type E classes were compared to the two most analytic Type A classes (labelled Type A*), the Type A* classes did significantly better on the grammar multiple choice test (and specifically on agreement rules), but few other significant differences were found.[3] These results were both surprising and somewhat disappointing in that they suggest either that the similarities between the two groups of classes outweighed the differences, or that overall pedagogic orientation has no real effect on proficiency as measured by our particular tests.

The next step was to find out whether there were some classroom features which were more important than others for the development of second language proficiency. To this end, we performed a detailed correlational analysis relating the use of all the individual observation variables to learning outcomes. The purpose of this analysis was to explore the empirical relationships between COLT categories and proficiency measures, without any a priori assumptions about their relative pedagogic value. The results of the correlational analysis suggest that core French students benefited from a generally experiential approach in which relatively more time was devoted to such features as information gap, reaction to message, and topic incorporation. At the same time, there were positive correlations between various form-focused, teacher-directed activities and adjusted post-test scores. It must be emphasised that these results are drawn from a small sample and must therefore be interpreted wtih caution. However, the core French results do suggest the possibility that the analytic focus and the experiential focus are complementary, and that they provide essential support for one another in the classroom.[4]

3. The DBP immersion studies

3.1 The immersion observation study

Whereas core French is traditionallly oriented towards the analytic end of the scale, and may benefit from the addition of an experiential component, the situation in immersion teaching is the reverse. Immersion programs are mainly experiential because of their emphasis on substantive content. In a recent paper, however, Swain suggests that too much emphasis has been placed on the concept of 'comprehensible input'. If it is the case that students can understand discourse without precise syntactic and morphological knowledge, it is possible that at least part of the content lesson needs to be taken up by activities which encourage the production of 'comprehensible output', i.e., precisely conveyed messages demanding more rigorous syntactic processing than that involved in comprehension (cf. Swain 1985).

In the immersion observation study (Swain and Carroll 1987) classroom observations were carried out in nine grade 3 and ten grade 6 early total immersion classes, for the purpose of obtaining information about various aspects of classroom treatment. Among the aspects of the classroom environment examined were the following: vocabulary instruction, *tu/vous* input, error correction, and restricted/sustained talk by students.

(a) *Vocabulary instruction*

The analysis of L2 vocabulary instruction in the grade 6 classes was based on a classification scheme which focused on various pedagogic distinctions (e.g., planned/unplanned instruction, written/oral activities, control of vocabulary selection) and also on the linguistic aspects of vocabulary knowledge (e.g., phonology, morphology, syntax). Analysis of the classes in the light of these descriptors indicated that most planned vocabulary teaching occurred during reading activities organised around particular themes, during which students learned to pronounce words that they read aloud and to interpret passages, and in which the meanings of unfamiliar words were explained. The focus of both planned and unplanned vocabulary teaching was mainly on the interpretation of meaning in a specific context. There was little attempt to provide instruction about the use of words in other contexts and, with few exceptions, the presentation of structural information about vocabulary was limited to a separate grammar lesson. Because of its association with reading activities, the teaching of new words emphasised written varieties of French, and few attempts to teach words unique to the spoken mode were observed. Furthermore, there was no evidence that teachers were focusing on sociolinguistic or discourse-related aspects of vocabulary. We concluded that vocabulary teaching in the immersion classes occupied a rather narrow place in the overall teaching plan, and that it mainly involved meaning interpretation based on specific texts, with little planned attention to other, more general, aspects of vocabulary knowledge.

(b) *Tu/vous input*

In the *tu/vous* input analysis, all uses of these pronouns by ten grade 6 teachers were counted, as were the uses of the same pronouns in the public talk of the students.[5] The pronouns were classified according to the functions they served: singular, plural or generic; and formal or informal. Teachers were found to use *tu* and *vous* about equally often, with *tu* generally being used to address individual students and *vous* to address the class as a whole. Occasionally, however, *tu* was used to the class and *vous* to individual students, leaving room for potential confusion. There was scarcely any use of *vous* by the teachers as a politeness marker, and its infrequency in this function in the classroom context was seen as a reason for its underuse as a politeness marker by early immersion students. Although *vous* plural was used relatively frequently by teachers, it was noted that very few opportunities appeared to arise for student production of *vous* plural in the classroom context. It appears, then, that the classroom environment was functionally restricted in two ways. First, opportunities for students to observe the sociolinguistically motivated use of *tu* and *vous* were limited. Secondly, opportunities for students to produce the grammatically motivated use of *vous* also appeared to be infrequent in regular classroom discourse. In view of the above we hypothesised that:

> at this age and with the knowledge that students already possess, the provision of relevant grammatical and sociolinguistic rules in context, together with adequate opportunities for appropriate use,

would benefit learning (Swain and Carroll 1987:226).

(c) *Restricted/sustained talk*

Swain's 'comprehensible output' hypothesis has two parts: (a) students need to produce language as well as listen to it if they are to move towards native-speaker proficiency; (b) feedback needs to be provided so that learners can develop their knowledge of linguistic systems (Swain 1985). In order to determine the opportunities that the immersion students had to talk in class, transcripts based on 90 minutes of French class time in each of the nine grade 3 and ten grade 6 classes were analysed, as well as the English portion of the day in the grade 6 classes. Each student turn was categorised according to length (minimal, phrase, clause, and sustained) and source (e.g., teacher or student initiated, planned or unplanned, linguistically restricted or unrestricted). The findings indicate that in the French portion of the day student turns were less than two-thirds as frequent as in the English portion of the day. Sources of student talk in French were very similar for grade 3 and grade 6 students, the most frequent source being teacher-initiated student talk where the student's response was linguistically controlled. Constraints of this type appeared to encourage minimal responses from the students. Extended talk of a clause or more were more likely to occur when students initiated an interaction and when they had to find their own words. However, less than 15% of student turns in French were found to be sustained (i.e., more than a clause in length) when reading aloud was not included. These results suggest that greater opportunities for sustained talk by immersion students are needed, and that this might be accomplished through group work, the provision of more opportunities for student-initiated talk, and through the asking of more open-ended questions by teachers.

(d) *Error correction*

The second part of the 'comprehensible output' hypothesis refers to the need to provide students with useful and consistent feedback about their errors (Swain 1985; see also Ellis 1984). In order to determine what error correction strategies were used by teachers, we undertook a further analysis of the complete French transcripts of the ten grade 6 early total immersion classes. The analysis focused on the grammatical and pronunciation errors corrected by the teachers, the proportion of such errors corrected, and the systematicity of error correction. The highest proportion of error was observed in frequently used (i.e. 'unavoidable') grammatical features such as gender, articles, and verbs. Only 19% of grammatical errors overall were corrected, and corrections were often made in a confusing and unsystematic way. There seemed to be little sense in which students were 'pushed' towards a more coherent and accurate use of the target language. It seems reasonable to conclude that the lack of consistent and non-ambiguous feedback is likely to have a detrimental effect on learning.

To summarise, the immersion observation study suggests that content teaching would benefit language learning more if it were integrated with the right kind of focused input. In particular, there appears to be a need for a more systematic approach to word study and error correction, and for carefully planned activities which would enable students to produce extended discourse and to experience language in its full functional range.

3.2 Functional grammar in French immersion

Most discussions of L2 curriculum have tended to assume two basic approaches to classroom treatment, corresponding to the analytic and experiential ends of Stern's P-scale. It has been suggested, however, that there is room for a more flexible, variable focus approach to curriculum, incorporating three essential aspects or components: a 'structural-analytic' component in which the focus is on the formal features of language and medium oriented practice, a 'functional-analytic' component in which the focus is on discourse and in which practice is both medium and message oriented, and an 'experiential' component in which the focus is on the natural unanalysed use of language for personal, social, or academic purposes (Allen 1983). The aim of the functional-analytic component is to provide an element of carefully planned, guided communicative practice which will enable students to focus on the meaningful use of particular grammatical forms, and practise the productive use of such forms.

The experimental immersion study (Harley 1987) was designed to investigate the effect on students' L2 proficiency of functional-analytic materials which involved the provision of focused input in a problematic area of French grammar and which provided students with increased opportunities for the meaningful productive use of target forms. Following a workshop with teachers, a set of classroom materials aimed at teaching the meaning distinctions between the imparfait and the passé composé verb tenses was introduced for an eight-week period into six early immersion classes in six schools. These experimental classes were compared on pre-tests, immediate post-tests and delayed post-tests with a comparison group of grade 6 immersion students in six other schools who had not been exposed to the materials. The tests consisted of a narrative composition, a cloze test with rational deletions, and an oral interview administered to a sub-sample of students in each class. All the tests were designed to assess the students' ability to make appropriate use of the two past tenses and were scored accordingly.

The findings of the study indicate that there were some immediate benefits to the students who were exposed to the experimental treatment. Three months later, however, at the time of delayed post-testing, there were no significant differences between the experimental and comparison groups on any of the tests. In other words, both groups had improved their test performance over time. As Harley (1987) points out, the fact that there were no significant long-term differences between the groups might be construed as support for the view that comprehensible input is all that is needed by immersion students (Krashen 1982, 1984). This hypothesis rests on the assumption, however, that this is all the comparison students were getting, whereas it is clear from the teachers' questionnaire responses that students in the comparison classes spent a considerable amount of time focusing on the code in grammatical activities, and on the passé composé and imparfait tenses in particular.

The above interpretation assumes, moreover, that the experimental treatment the students received fully realised the potential of the teaching approach. This may be questioned on the basis of teachers' comments suggesting that there were organisational inadequacies in certain activities which needed to be overcome. Secondly, the materials were designed to provide a wide variety of activities, and yet it was clear that some kinds of activities appealed to particular teachers (and presumably to their students) more than others. Third, it appears from teachers' comments on some of their weekly evaluation sheets that the content of the material did not necessarily promote a simultaneous focus on the code. In spite of these difficulties, we concluded that:

> the use by sensitised teachers of motivating, grammatically focused materials attuned to the age level of immersion students in elementary school can accelerate grammatical development, even in an area of French grammar that poses subtle problems for advanced anglophone learners (Harley 1987:363).

It remains to be seen whether improved materials design will bring about a more long-lasting effect of the functional-analytic approach in an early immersion context.

5. **Pedagogic implications**

In the DBP treatment studies, we undertook a detailed analysis of core French and immersion classrooms. The two programs provide an interesting contrast, since core French is traditionally analytic with potential for moving in an experiential direction, while French immersion has a strong experiential focus which, however, does not rule out the use of grammar-based activities where appropriate. In our conclusion we will discuss these programs one by one, starting with core French.

4.1 Implications for core French

The results of the core French observation study support the view that there may be a need for the core curriculum to move in a more experiential direction. Although there were significant differences between our Type A and Type E classrooms, there is no doubt that the core French sample, considered as a whole, was biased towards the analytic end of the scale. If we examine the mean percentage of observed time spent on various activities for all the core French classes combined, we find that teachers spent about half the time addressing the whole class or individual students, while students addressed the whole class or other students for just over a quarter of observed class time. Teachers were in control of the topic being discussed for 82.19% of the time, while students selected the topic for only 5.31% of the time. With regard to the subject matter of activities, 54.44% of observed class time was characterised by an explicit focus on form, compared with 15.7% which was devoted to substantive content with a broad range of reference.

Although it may be true that core French teachers need to devote more time to experiential activities, it is not necessarily the case that they should abandon the grammar-oriented mode of instruction entirely. When we performed a detailed correlational analysis in the core French study, relating the use of all the individual observation variables to L2 proficiency outcomes, we found that teacher-directed discussion, focus on form, use of visual aids and L2 materials, extended writing, information gap, reaction to message, and topic incorporation were positively related to improvement. In other words, the most successful activities in our core French classrooms appeared to involve a mixture of analytic and experiential features.[6]

Whereas the eight core French classes spent 54.44% of total observed time on activities marked by an explicit focus on form, less than 1% was assigned to activities focusing on functional, discourse, or sociolingusitic aspects of language. When we compared pre-test scores for Type A and Type E classes, we found that both groups showed evidence of improvement during the year on written/oral grammar and listening comprehension measures. However, neither group showed much improvement on written/oral discourse or sociolinguistic measures. We attribute these results to the virtual absence of instruction on discourse and sociolinguistic aspects of language in both types of classroom. In the absence of explicit instruction, we cannot assume that knowledge of these aspects of language will be inferred from more general features of classroom interaction. We suggest, therefore, that there is a need in core French for activities which focus explicitly on functional, discourse, and sociolinguistic aspects of the target language, in order to ensure that students obtain knowledge of the relevant rules.

Our unexpected result merits further discussion. When we calculated the total gain in proficiency for each school over the year we found that of the two Type E classes one (class 2) made the greatest gain in overall proficiency and the other (class 5) made the least gain. A possible explanation for the difference in proficiency results may be found in the suggestion by Ellis (1984) that it is not the quantity of interaction that counts but the quality. Ellis formulates two hypotheses: (a) L2 development is fostered by consistency and accuracy of teacher feedback; (b) communicatively rich interaction which affords opportunities for the negotiation of meaning may aid development, where more structured forms of interaction do not. A qualitative analysis of the transcripts showed that the high-scoring experiential class engaged frequently in communicatively rich interaction, involving feedback and the negotiation of meaning, while the low-scoring class received less feedback and spent more time on activities which lacked the quality of spontaneous discourse.[7] Unfortunately, we found that our statistical analysis could not be depended on to distinguish between pedagogically effective and pedagogically ineffective activities. In any future study, therefore, we recommend that the observation procedures based on COLT be supplemented by a more detailed discourse analysis, with a view to obtaining additional information about the way meaning is negotiated in the classroom.

4.2 Implications for immersion

According to Krashen (1984), the success of immersion programs is due to the fact that comprehensible input, which he sees as "the only true cause of second language acquisition" has been provided via subject matter teaching. In this type of teaching, comprehensible input – defined by Krashen (1982) in terms of 'i + 1', or input that is slightly in advance of a student's current level of competence – is provided automatically in the natural, roughly-tuned talk of teachers as they focus on conveying interesting and relevant messages in the target language. However, other researchers (Harley and Swain 1984, Schachter 1984, White 1985) have questioned the assumption that the teachers' message-focused input automatically provides the 'i+1' that students need in order to make continued progress in the L2. It may be, as Harley and Swain (1984) have argued, that students' opportunities for output may have to be planned or guided from a linguistic point of view, in that the speech acts which occur naturally in the classroom context may provide insufficient opportunity for students to produce the full range of target language forms.

The DBP researchers have suggested, contrary to Krashen's (1984) claim, that "not all content teaching is necessarily good language teaching" (Allen et al. 1987). The reason is that typical content teaching focuses on meaning comprehension, whereas what L2 learners need is to focus on form-meaning relationships. An ability to do this is encouraged through the production of language, whether in written or spoken form. Because the typical question/answer sequence found in content lessons tends to elicit short responses of minimal complexity from students, at least part of the content lesson needs to be devoted to activities designed to elicit longer and more complex utterances which will be both grammatically and semantically coherent. As Swain (1985) points out, L2 learners need at least as many opportunities to use the target language as native speakers. Yet the grade 3 and grade 6 data show that immersion students are not only getting fewer opportunities out of class; they are getting fewer opportunities in class as well. This raises the question of what can be done to increase the opportunities for students to produce language. The observation results show a considerable similarity between grades 3 and 6 with respect to the sources of student talk. The most frequent source is 'selecting from limited choice', which appears to encourage minimal responses. The second most frequent source is 'students finding their own words', which appears to encourage extended responses, as does self-initiated student talk. These results suggest that if teachers provide more opportunities for student-initiated discourse and ask more open-ended questions that require students to find their own words, the amount of sustained student talk would increase (cf. Swain and Carroll 1987:233).

Another way of increasing the opportunities for comprehensible output is to involve students in group activities. However, almost no group work was observed in the immersion classes. For teachers who claim that group work is counter-productive because students tend to revert to their mother tongue, there are a number of pedagogic strategies which can be employed. One solution is to make sure that students are provided with a task that requires the outcome to be a spoken or written text in French. Examples include the preparation of materials for use in the classroom, the production of a class newspaper, the preparation of a radio show to be recorded on tape, etc. The assumption underlying group work is that conscious reflection on form-meaning relationships is encouraged when students use the target language as a medium for conveying their own meanings as precisely as possible. However, this process should not simply be left to chance. Students have the right to expect some help as they struggle to express their ideas in French. This is the point at which we see a role for carefully planned, guided communicative practice which will push students towards the production of comprehensible output, which was the intent of the immersion experimental study. One form of guidance is to engage students in activities which have been contrived by the teacher to focus the learners' attention on potential problems, and which will naturally elicit particular uses of language. Another form of guidance is to develop activities that make use of functions which would otherwise be rarely encountered in the classroom.

Observations made in immersion classes suggest that content teaching, with its strong focus on meaning, may result in unsystematic, possibly random feedback to learners about their language errors. Within the context of experiential language teaching, we are confronted by a dilemma: if teachers correct student errors, there is a danger that the flow of communication will be interrupted, if not halted completely. However, if teachers do not correct errors, then opportunities to make crucial links between form and function are reduced. According to Swain (1987), the solution lies in providing students with a motivation to "use language accurately, coherently and appropriately by writing for — or speaking to — real audiences". Preparation for such activities will normally involve "a process of revising and editing, and a commitment to an error-free final product" (p. 340). The concept of error-free does not mean that we have to return to a rigid, authoritarian, transmission mode of teaching. It does mean, however, that we will try to ensure that students are fully committed to whatever communicative task they have set themselves, and that they will not be satisfied until they have conveyed their intended meaning as fully and as accurately as possible.[8]

In the immersion study teachers spent only minimal amounts of observed time asking students what they intended in producing a specific utterance or in writing a text. Yet surely there is pedagogic value in systematically encouraging students to reflect on what they want to say and then helping them to make an appropriate choice of target language forms. As Swain and Carroll (1987) point out, the advantage of this type of instruction is that it does not require any special training or materials. It simply requires that teachers understand that one of their main functions is to provide students with the grammar and vocabulary they need to express the ideas that they have in mind.

5. Summary and conclusions

Our classroom treatment findings from different program settings lead to three main overall conclusions. First, there is a suggestion arising from both the core French and the immersion observation studies that the analytic focus and the experiential focus may be complementary, and that they may provide essential support for one another in the L2 classroom. Second, the quality of instruction is clearly important in both analytic and experiential teaching. Analytic teaching will be successful in developing L2 proficiency only if it is appropriately matched to the learners' needs, while experiential teaching should involve communicatively rich interaction which offers plenty of opportunities for production as well as global comprehension on the part of the student. Third, learners may benefit if form and function are more closely linked instructionally. There is no doubt that students need to be given greater opportunities to use the target language. Opportunities alone, however, are not sufficient. Students need to be motivated to use language accurately, appropriately, and coherently. In all these respects, the 'how' and 'when' of error correction will be a major issue for future investigation.

It seems reasonable to conclude that in all the programs we have been investigating in Toronto — core French, heritage languages, French immersion, and ESL — much more work needs to be done in the area of curriculum design. Such work should include research to determine what combinations of analytic and experiential activities are most effective for different types of student. Another comparatively neglected area from the research pont of view is teacher training and professional development. This area is likely to become more important at a time when more and more teachers are breaking away from their former dependence on prescribed pedagogic formulas and are increasingly making their own, more flexible, decisions about what can be done in the classroom.

Footnotes

1. The Development of Bilingual Proficiency project was funded by a grant (No. 431-79-0003) from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, with Patrick Allen, Jim Cummins, Birgit Harley and Merrill Swain as co-principal investigators. We would like to acknowledge the help of Jud Burtis, Susanne Carroll, Maria Frölich, Vince Gaudino, Françoise Pelletier and Nina Spada, who participated at various stages in the research. This is a revised version of the paper presented by Patrick Allen at the 1988 RELC Regional Seminar on behalf of the Development of Bilingual Proficiency project.
2. Core French in Canada refers to regular school FSL programs in which French is taught as a subject within a limited time frame: usually 20-40 minutes a day at the elementary level, and 40-75

minutes a day at the secondary leve. Extended French is a development of core French, and involves the teaching of one or more other school subjects through the medium of the target language, in addition to core French instruction. French immersion, on the other hand, is based on the principle that students receive the same type of education as they would in the regular English program, except that the medium of instruction — the language through which other school subjects are presented and discussed — is French. At the time of writing, Ontario has a 13-grade school system. Elementary school lasts eight years (grades 1–8, ages 6–12) and secondary school lasts five years (grades 9–13, ages 13–17).

3. Group A* scored significantly higher than Group E in the use of the conditional verb tense in the letter-writing task ($p < .001$). Also Group A* scored significantly higher in providing a rationale ($p < .01$) and a closing ($p < .01$) for the letter.
4. This should not be interpreted as an argument for returning to a structurally graded syllabus. It may be, however, that we should explore the possibilities for developing appropriate types of focused input within the context of meaningful task-based activities.
5. Students of French have to learn two rules concerning the use of the pronouns *tu/vous*. First, there is a grammatical rule: *tu* is second person singular, and *vous* is second person plural. Second, there is a sociolinguistic rule: *vous* is a polite form, used with either singular or plural reference.
6. At first sight, it may appear that these results lend support to a 'modified' or 'conservative' version of communicative teaching, according to which experiential activities go hand-in-hand with form-focused activities, rather than to a 'stronger' or more radical version, according to which comprehensible input is both necessary and sufficient. It should be pointed out, however, that our analysis was based on a sample of only eight classrooms, and few of the correlations reached significance. There is no doubt that much more research will be needed before we can come to any definite conclusion about the role of focused input in a communicative classroom.
7. In the case of the high-scoring class 2, the most striking examples of jointly negotiated meaning occurred in a lesson devoted to a philosophical discussion of *Le Petit Prince*. In this discussion the teacher insisted that the students use the target language to develop and express their own ideas, thus helping them to establish links between the novel and the world of their own experience. The communicatively rich interaction which resulted from discussiong *Le Petit Prince* contrasted with the stereotyped nature of student presentations in the low-scoring class 5. In one class 5 lesson several groups of students gave presentations on topics of general interest such as 'videos', 'abortion', and 'popular TV programs'. The students had

prepared the topics themselves and the activity was potentially a valuable one. However, the students addressing the class articulated so badly it was difficult to hear what they were saying, the discussion which followed each presentation was generally in English rather than French, and the teacher provided virtually no feedback concerning the students' use of the target language. In view of the 'quality interaction' hypothesis it seems likely that these factors must have seriously detracted from the effectiveness of the activity.

8. The implication is that "error correction derives its consistency from the stage in an activity where it occurs" (Swain 1987:33). Students will come to understand that there is a stage of spontaneous production during which they generate texts which will have to proceed through further stages of revision and editing before they can be presented in public. During the revision stage, self and peer monitoring are as important as teacher feedback. At the same time, there will be a major role for the teacher, since consistency in error correction derives from the questions which motivate it. According to Swain, the questions which motivate successful error correction are along the lines of "Do you mean this, or do you mean that? It's not clear from what you've said". Or: "It's not clear from the way you've written this. Could you write it more clearly?"

References

Allen, J.P.B. 1983. A three-level curriculum model for second language education. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 40/1, 23-43.

Allen, P., Swain, M., Harley, B. and Cummins, J. 1987. Aspects of classroom treatment: towards a more comprehensive view of second language education. Paper presented at the Development of Bilingual Proficiency Symposium, Toronto.

Barnes, D. 1976. *From Communication to Curriculum*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Bialystok, E., Fröhlich, M. and Howard, J. 1979. Studies on second language learning and teaching in classroom settings: strategies, processes and functions. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, unpublished report.

Cummins, J. 1984. *Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Ellis, R. 1984. Can syntax be taught? A study of the effects of formal instruction on the acquisition of WH-questions by children. *Applied Linguistics*, 5/2, 138-155.

Fanselow, J.F. 1977. Beyond Rashomon — conceptualising and describing the teaching act. *TESOL Quarterly*, 11, 17-39.

Frölich, M., Spada, N. and Allen, P. 1985. Differences in the communicative orientation of L2 classrooms. *TESOL Quarterly,* 19, 27-25.

Harley, B. 1987. Functional grammar in French immersion: a classroom experiment. In B. Harley et al., *The Development of Bilingual Proficiency: Final Report, Volume II.*

Harley, B. and Swain, M. 1984. The interlanguage of immersion students and its implications for second language teaching. In A. Davies, C. Criper, and A.P.R. Howatt (eds.) *Interlanguage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Harley, B., Allen, P., Cummins, J. and Swain, M. 1987. *The Development of Bilingual Proficiency: Final Report. Volume II: Classroom treamtent.* Toronton: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

Krashen, S.D. 1982. *Principles and Practice in Second Langauge Acquisition.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Krashen, S.D. 1984. Immersion: why it works and what it has taught us. In H.H. Stern (ed.) *Language and Society* (Special Issue), 12, 61-64.

McLaughlin, B., Rossman, T. and McLeod, B. 1983. Second language learning: an information-processing perspective. *Language Learning,* 33, 135-58.

Moskowitz, G. 1970. *The Foreign Language Teacher Interacts. Chicago: Association for Productive Teaching.*

Schachter, J. 1984. A universal input condition. In W.E. Rutherford *(ed.) Language Universals and Second Language Acquisition.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Stern, H.H. 1978. The formal-functional distinction in language pedagogy: a conceptual clarification. In J.G. Savard and L. Laforge (eds.) *Actes du 5e. Congrè de l'Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée.* Montreal: University of Laval Press.

Stern, H.H. 1987. Analysis and experience as variables in second language pedagogy. Paper presented at the Development of Bilingual Proficiency Symposium, Toronto.

Swain, M. 1985. Communicative competence: some roles of comprehensive input and comprehensible output in its development. In S. Gass and C. Madden (eds.) *Input in Second Language Acquisition.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Swain, M. 1987. The case for focused input: contrived but authentic. In B. Harley et al., *The Development of Bilingual Proficiency: Final Report, Volume II.*

Swain, M. and Carroll, S. 1987. The immersion observation study. In B. Harley et al., *The Development of Bilingual Proficiency: Final Report, Volume II.*

Ullmann, R. and Geva, E. 1982. The target language observation scheme (TALOS). York Region Board of Education Core French Evaluation Project. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Educaton, unpublished report.

Wells, G. 1982. *Language Development in the Pre-School Years.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

White, L. 1985. Against comprehensible input: the input hypothesis and the development of L2 competence. Montreal: McGill University (mimeo).

Teaching Prounuciation from the Top Down

Martha C. Pennington
Department of English as a Second Language
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Abstract

Pronunciation is re-examined from a "top-down" perspective which shifts the focus of attention in language instruction from individual phonemes to suprasegmentals and other features of the larger context of utterances. These include prosody, phonological fluency, voice quality, and gestures. A basis is provided for instruction and student practice of the entire communicational complex in which pronunciation is situated.

Introduction

Nowadays, pronunciation tends to be de-emphasized in language courses, and explicit instruction in this aspect of language is considered by many to represent outmoded educational practice. Advocates of modern comprehension-based or communicatively oriented language curricula generally take the view that pronunciation should not be taught explicitly but should rather be allowed to develop naturally as a by-product of attempts by students to communicate. However, there has been little systematic research to discover if certain teaching practices or conditions of training can have positive effects on pronunciation. Hence, we have no firm basis for asserting categorically that pronunciation is not teachable or that it is not worth spending time on pronunciation training in a language course. New ways of teaching pronunciation are still to be developed and tested, and there is a need for careful experimentation to determine the effectiveness of methods.

In this paper, a theoretical and pedagogical foundation for such efforts is provided. Pronunciation is examined from a contextual, "top-down" perspective from which segmental articulation assumes less importance than more general properties of speech such as rhythm and voice quality. Pronunciation is described as conveying many different types of messages to a hearer related to the information structure of a discourse, the speaker's attitude and mood, and other social and psychological features of the speaker or of the relationship between the speaker and hearer. Moreover, various aspects of pronunciation are shown to relate to specific gestures. Suggestions for teaching pronunciation are set in a context of research and theory. The discussion makes reference to the use of video and computer media in pronunciation training (for further discussion, see Pennington forthcoming), as well as to the use of more traditional types of audiovisual aids. The aim is to present a more descriptively enlightening and pedagogically useful characterization of second language phonology than traditional treatments, in which phonology was identified with discrete articulations and in which suprasegmental features were relegated to the periphery of language study.

Components of Pronunciation

In traditional language teaching and in some modern approaches, pronunciation has been primarily identified with accurate production of phonemes. Perhaps because of their association with graphemes, phonemes have tended to be thought of as building blocks for constructing words segment by segment. In this tradition, words were viewed as the building blocks for phrases, phrases for sentences, and sentences for discourses. While it may be relevant to certain aspects of linguistic performance, this linear, "bottom-up" conception of how people create language is limited in its explanatory power and its relevance for language teaching. A holistic, "top-down" conception of perception and production, now recognized as essential for explaining linguistic performance, also underlies many important developments in modern language pedagogy.

According to this "top-down" conception, language is produced and interpreted with reference to a larger meaningful context. In listening, language users employ pragmatic, semantic, syntactic and phonological context to interpret the full import of messages conveyed by speakers (Dirven & Oakeshott-Taylor 1983). Likewise, speakers construct messages not item by item, but rather with a view to the larger pragmatic, semantic, syntactic and phonological context (Brown & Yule 1983). From this perspective, pronunciation - far from being a static, building-block phenomenon - is a dynamic process in which many types of contextual elements interact to produce effects in the communication process (Pennington & Richards 1986).

When viewed as the phonological aspect of speech in real communication, pronunciation is correctly seen as quite essentially a non-segmental, non-discrete and non-autonomous phenomenon. The pronunciation of individual phonemes is greatly influenced by such factors as speaking style (Beebe 1980, Schmidt 1977), rhythm (Adams 1979, Gilbert 1984) and speaking rate (Fowler 1981, Hieke 1984). Moreover, the development of individual phonemes in second language acquisition is closely tied to the development of a variety of properties affecting stretches of speech (Pennington 1987), referred to as suprasegmental properties or features. For purposes of exposition, the suprasegmental category is here broken down into a three-way subclassification scheme which includes prosody, phonological fluency, and voice quality.[1] In a "top-down" approach, the relevant domain of phonology can also be usefully expanded to include the gestures that regularly accompany specific aspects of pronunciation (see, for example, Bolinger 1983, 1985, 1986).

In order to become a competent speaker and listener, a language learner needs to attend to not only the strictly mechanical, articulatory aspects of pronunciation, but also to the meaningful correlates of those articulatory features in the immediate linguistic context, as well as in the larger context of human communication. For pronunciation is one aspect of an interlocking meaning complex of language-specific conventions for interactional and transactional speech. These conventions relate to the presentation of one's knowledge and attitudes towards a variety of features of the communicational situation - e.g., the speaker's relationship towards the topic of discourse and to individuals in the speech situation as well as in the larger speech community. By following such conventions, speakers structure the information in a discourse and provide minute detail for its interpretation by others in the speech community.

Thus, it would seem reasonable in a language class to provide instruction and practice in the actual mechanics of English phonology as well as in producing the appropriate pronunciation in specific types of meaningful contexts. In the next sections, a foundation for such instruction and practice is provided through an examination of the phonological categories of prosody, phonological fluency, voice quality and the co-occurring gestures. The examination begins in each major section with a brief description of the suprasegmental property under consideration. This description forms the starting point for a discussion of types of meaning associated with that aspect of phonology and an examination of relevant teaching approaches.

Prosody

Description

Prosody is defined with reference to the patterns in individual words of stress (e.g., English), pitch, (e.g., Japanese), and tone (e.g., Chinese), as well as the rhythmic and intonational patterns of longer utterances. Stress is the amount of energy expended in producing a syllable. For the hearer, stress is manifested as perceptual prominence or strength. All languages operate on the general principle that utterances are timed on the basis of (an alternation of the weak and) the strong syllables, though the manifestation of strength and weakness varies from language to language. Languages exploit different combinations of parameters such as duration, intensity and pitch, to achieve strength, or prominence. Moreover, languages vary in the unit of duration that is relevant to achieving their characteristic rhythmic pattern. For "stress-timed" languages such as English and Mandarin Chinese, the relevant unit is the stress foot, which is one stressed syllable and its adjacent unstressed syllables (if any); in "syllable-timed" languages such as Spanish and Cantonese, it is the syllable; and in "mora-timed" languages such as Japanese and Estonian, it is the mora, or segment (Hoequist 1983).

Intonation is the pattern of pitch changes that occurs over grammatical units, the sentence being the basic category of reference. A tone group is that part of a sentence over which a particular intonation pattern extends. A tone group contains one prominent syllable, the tonic syllable. General intonational patterns are similar from language to language (Abe 1955, Bolinger 1978, Ohala 1983), but the details show considerable variation from one language to another (Delattre 1963). Categories of pitch change derived from research into Dutch intonation indicate the following as relevant for perception:

a) direction of pitch change (rise, fall, or level);
b) range of pitch change (difference between high and low levels);
c) speed of pitch change (how abruptly or gradually the change happens;
d) place of pitch change (in sentence, word, or syllable).

de Bot & Mailfert (1982:72)

Collier (1984) maintains these basic categories of pitch movements, while adding a parameter for the characteristic declination of pitch from the beginning to the end of an utterance. Such categories of pitch movement can be considered to represent the parameters of intonation which are relevant for describing intonational differences within and between languages.

Types of Meaning

In English, stress differences are relevant at the level of individual syllables and words, and sometimes differentiate pairs of grammatically related words as in:

SUBject	subJECT
OBject	obJECT

There are few pairs in English of the type *differ/defer*, that is, grammatically (and semantically) unrelated words which differ only phonologically in stress placement. In other languages, it is common for unrelated words to differ only in their non-segmental (suprasegmental) characteristics. In Japanese, Chinese, and many African languages, for example, lexical items are differentiated solely by pitch pattern.

Pennington & Richards (1986:211) summarize the kinds of meaning which may be associated with intonation contours:

> In every language, characteristic intonation contours carry both referential and affective meaning.... In their referential function, intonation contours provide an interpretation for a sentence by indicating which part of the information is viewed as new versus known, salient versus less salient, or topic versus comment. Intonation and stress are highly context-dependent, so that the patterns of stress and pitch that characterize isolated words or phrases are typically modified when these words or phrases occur in the context of longer utterances. For example, pitch level tends to be reduced in later parts of a discourse as predictability of information increases. Thus, intonation is an essential component of the prosodic continuity that makes connected stretches of speech – as opposed to individually spoken words or syllables – coherent and interpretable by the listener.

Intonation contours are associated with meanings such as finality, continuation or questioning, which are in turn associated in languages with grammatical units such as, respectively, indicative final clause, indicative non-final clause, and interrogative final clause. Moreoever, pitch contours may have specific meanings which can be identified when they co-occur with specific contextual elements. For instance, in English, there is a certain pitch contour, which, when spoken on a three-syllable vocalization of nasal sounds (the particular nasal selected does not seem to matter), mimics the intonation of the statement. "I don't know." In English as well as in Japanese, a single nasal syllable, when spoken with several different intonations, conveys meanings ranging from surprise, to pleasure, to routine acquiescence.

The meaning of a particular intonation contour may vary depending on the context or the language in which it occurs. For example, use of final high or rising intonation may be a component of "baby talk", "foreigner talk", femininity, condescension, friendliness, or continuation, depending on the culture and the circumstances of communication. Use of final low or falling intonation, in contrast, may signal "adult-talk" (e.g., information withheld from children, or other kinds of "privileged" or in-group messages), masculinity, authority or finality (Laver & Trudgill 1979; Pennycock 1985). In both of these cases, the relationship of the speaker and hearer, in addition to other aspects of the surrounding situational and linguistic context, will be important determinants of the meaning of the contour used on a particular occasion.

The degree of markedness of a certain type of prosodic contour will vary from language to language. For example, a very regular rhythmic contour, which would be the norm for any language termed syllable-timed, would be quite marked in English and would have a special connotation such as lack of interest. As another example, a "stepping" pitch contour such as the type that is common for Japanese, is a highly marked contour in English, used for what has been called stylized intonation, which marks routinized speech acts or highly predictable information (Ladd 1978). Likewise, a clausal contour with progressively decreasing pitch, while relatively common in Japanese (Haraguchi 1977, Higurashi 1983), is rare in English, where clause final position is reserved for prosodically highlighted, focused information.

Teaching Approaches

Training in prosody may be more valuable and essential than work on individual sounds, or phonemes, for achieving accurate perception and production at the segmental level. As remarked by Abberton, Parker & Fourcin (1978:34):

> From a formal point of view, voice and the associated prosodic features of rhythm and intonation provide the essential framework within which vocal tract segmental features are temporally organized. This is a major justification for working on prosody before articulation and segmental phonology.

Prosodic exercises may have students work individually or in small groups - as in the English stress exercises of Byrd et al. (in press) - to list together and then practice words or phrases which have the same prosodic patterns. Following research by Adams (1979), a training program for rhythm is suggested that moves from highly metrical material such as poetry to non-metrical prose. Visual aids - e.g., Woods' (1979) picture of a line of marching soldiers to represent the rhythm of a French sentence or his use of graphic illustrations of linked "beads" of different sizes to represent stress and rhythm - can be helpful for training intra-and inter-lingual rhythmic differences. Such training in rhythm prepares the student for work aimed at achieving phonological fluency, as described below. Based on the success of the language training program developed by de Bot (1983), which used a combination of an explicit presentation of the components of intonation and visual feedback on performance, it seems promising to train students using a visually reinforced presentation of intonational components in addition to visual feedback on perception and production of intonation contours.

Computers have many uses in enhancing the analysis and the presentation of prosodic patterns. With the aid of some peripheral equipment, computers can provide accurate and almost instantaneous analysis of speech input, e.g., to compare a student's prosodic patterns (both stress and intonation) with reference patterns stored on disk. The display screen and printer also make possible the use of computer graphics for presentation and feedback on performance.

Phonological Fluency

Description

Fluent speech phenomena are those aspects of language which can be observed under conditions of sustained oral production -i.e., "running speech" - in a natural context. Hieke (1985:139) describes the following quantitative parameters of fluent speech as the most important:

(1) speech rate (the amount of speech produced over a period of time, usually measured in syll/sec.);

(2) length of runs (the average number of syllables occurring between pauses);

(3) rate of articulation (the total phonation minus pause time);

(4) stalls, including silent pauses of more than 130 msec., filled pauses (filled with such vocalizations as *uh, ah, hm*), and progressive repeats to "buy time" while searching the memory for a certain lexical item.

Hieke (1985:140) also mentions a number of qualitative parameters:

> Fluent speech is the cumulative result of dozens of different kinds of processes. These can be classified according to the severity with which they cause alterations, i.e., the degree to which portions of running speech are absorbed. Absorption affects speech in increments, the mildest of which may be classified into forms of linking. A subtype of it [is] consonant attraction.... There are two other major classes, the second incorporating various kinds of levelling, ... and the third encompassing types of outright loss.

These qualitative parameters are the processes that produce phonological fluency in English. Hieke (1984) found that while native English speakers realized 77.3 percent of all potential link points for consonant attraction in spoken discourse, native German speakers at a fairly advanced level of proficiency realized only 53.5 percent of those links in English discourse. In a similar vein, Odlin (1978) demonstrated a correlation between overall proficiency level and use of contractions in the speech of ESL learners.

Languages differ in the degree to which they admit coarticulatory effects and "contaminations" of one sound by its neighbouring sounds in fluent speech. English is apparently at an extreme degree in this respect among languages. Fowler (1981) describes a compression effect which operates in English to maintain even foot duration - syllables are either stretched out or squeezed to accommodate to the stress-timed rhythm of the language. In many other languages, the integrity of individual sounds and word boundaries is maintained through glottal stopping, vocal tension or brief pausing.

Languages also differ in the degree to which sounds weaken under conditions of weak stress. In English, vowels tend to lose their distinctive articulation, or color (Donegan 1978), under conditions of casual speech. In an instrumental analysis of fluent English speech, Delattre (1981) found that all vowels tended to centralize towards the position of the schwa vowel. Weakenings under conditions of reduced stress in other languages did not show a comparable tendency. Prosodic patterns in a language are related to and limited by the typical length of a sense group, or thought group, i.e., a group of words that completes one meaning or thought. Welkowitz et al. (1984) report evidence of language-specific preferences for length of pauses and vocalizations in Canadian and Chinese speakers. Duez (1982) found that the length and distribution of pauses varied considerably in three different speech styles in French. Adams (1979) discovered that English teachers who were native speakers of one of several Asian languages paused more frequently and used longer pauses than any of the native English speakers tested under the same conditions.

Types of Meaning

Junctural differences - e.g., in whether or not linking is present and if so, at what point and to what degree - can mark differences in referential meaning. Well-known examples are: *Light housekeeper* versus *lighthouse keeper* and *an aim* versus *a name,* which can be distinguished in some speech styles. In the following example, the length of a pause, if one is present, and the concomitant differences in intonation and in articulation of the phonemes, would give a different connotation in each case:

Example 1. a. Oh. No! (pause of 1-2 sec. between words)
b. Oh, no! (pause .2-.3 sec. between words)
c. Oh no! (linking between words)

In example 1a, the physical separation of the two words connotes a functional separation into two messages which may or may not be related (i.e., the utterance of *No!* could be in response to the message which the speaker signifies by *Oh.* has just been received and understood, or it could be a reaction to something unrelated that is happening in the environment - e.g., a child about to touch a hot stove). Examples 1b and 1c each are more likely to represent a unified message. Example 1c in contrast to 1b perhaps connotes greater spontaneity or excitement; 1b may be the conventionalized emotive expression of a negative reaction.

Increased rate in English may be associated under certain conditions with authority and competence (Laver & Trudgill 1979), while in other situations it will be interpreted as disinterest or anger. Increasing the number of tone groups in an utterance through frequent pausing and careful articulation has a general connotation of emphasis. When speech rate is decreased in this way, it may indicate, in appropriate circumstances, a high degree of significance attached to a message, formality, lack of confidence, reluctance to speak, lack of enthusiasm or depression. A behavioral complex of slow speech and a low and monotonic pitch "in young school children was judged by teachers to be predictive of school failure," as reported in Robinson (1979:236).

Teaching Approaches

Fluent speech phenomena can be instructed by highlighting contextual processes affecting stretches of speech as well as individual sounds, e.g., by providing classroom activities to practice producing and perceiving reduced pronunciation (Brown & Hilferty 1986). Confusions which surface only under conditions of fluent, contextualized speech can form the basis for classroom exercises. In English, these might include "maximal pairs"[2] such as the following, each of which could become indistinguishable in rapid speech:

Example 2. a. That's not my chai
That's not much air.
b. We really don't owe them that much.
We really don't know him that much.

A useful direction for developing exercises to work on the production and decoding of phonologically fluent utterances is provided by Hieke's (1987) recovery strategies for the resolution of lexical items and boundary markers in connected speech.

As in other aspects of pronunciation instruction, visual displays generated by computer analysis or ordinary visuals offer salient reinforcement. Woods (1979), for instance, uses pictures of linked beads of different sizes to represent stressed and unstressed English syllables. Under conditions of phonological compression as defined above, the beads are seen to compress from round to ovoid shapes. Computer-assisted peripherals such as the Kay Elemetrics Visi-Pitch can show students a visual display of the timing and coarticulatory properties of contextualized syllables, words and phrases, and allow comparison with a stored display. In the future, it may be possible, with computer-assistance, to have a running display of feedback on aspects of oral performance such as those identified by Hieke (1985) to contribute most significantly to oral fluency.

Voice Quality

Description

A certain voice quality is achieved by means of mechanical settings of the tongue, the jaw, the lips and the vocal cords to achieve characteristic modes of articulation, lip shapes and vocal pitch. These settings vary from language to language, so that one language might have a relatively compressed intensity range as compared to another - e.g., French as compared to English (Delattre 1963) - or a comparatively slight degree of opening of the jaw or lips - e.g., Japanese as compared to English (Kaneko 1957).

Types of Meaning

Voice quality differences in languages may signal differences in language functions, affect and speaker roles (Laver & Trudgill 1979, Esling & Wong 1983). Voice quality can be manipulated by the speaker to achieve a variety of intentions or purposes. For example, a deep, emphatic voice may be used by a man or a woman to signify either threat or authority. In each culture, certain voice qualities are associated with certain social identities or roles. Royal's (1985) work on Cairo Arabic, for example, showed an association in a westernized, affluent neighbourhood of fronter articulation with female speech and of backer articulation (exhibiting, for example, a high degree of pharyngealization) with male speech. Trudgill (1974) also noted differences in voice quality for male and female speakers and for speakers of differing socioeconomic status in Britain.

Two languages may share a voice-setting feature, and yet in one of those languages the feature may be relatively common while in the other it may be relatively marked. For instance, laryngealization, or creaky voice, which is typical of the speech of the upper class British speaker

(Robinson 1979) or the traditional Japanese male speaker, is used more typically in American English for certain marked functions, such as commiseration or sarcasm. A certain voice quality may be associated with different culture-specific positive or negative meanings. For example, in many cultures, a softened voice and relatively high pitch will be interpreted as deferential and therefore as polite. In other cultures, these features are associated with timidity or exaggerated femininity. As these examples imply, misunderstandings can arise if the student simply transfers a voice-set that is appropriate in a certain situation in the native culture to an analogous situation in the target culture.

Teaching Approaches

Teaching approaches for working on voice quality might include recognition and imitative practice based on tape recordings of different accents or speech styles. Students might be asked to identify or to imitate different types of speakers - e.g., farmer, teacher, actress, businessman - using voice quality. Inferencing exercises in which students must correctly identify situational properties of utterances based on voice quality and other suprasegmental properties can also be devised. Two or more different tokens of the same sentence can be played, each with a different voice quality - e.g., one high-pitched and rapid and the other low-pitched and slow. The students must then reconstruct the general context in which such an utterance might occur. The same sort of exercise can be done at a more advanced level by recording conversations on the basis of which students draw inferences about the exact purposes of the communication and the exact relationship between the participants.

Silent dictation, that is, dictation in which words are mouthed but never actually spoken, helps students to focus attention on the visible settings and movements which produce the sounds of a language. A mirror can be a valuable addition to a pronunciation lesson, as it allows students to see the movements of jaw and lips that are occurring as words are pronounced. Video can also be used to help students visualize the movements of the jaw and lip shapes that accompany the pronunciation of individual sounds or running speech in the target language (Ecklund & Wiese 1981) and to compare and contrast these with the jaw movements and lip shapes in the native language. Eventually, we may see computer-assisted graphics which illustrate the continuous movements associated with running speech and which perhaps also supply on-line feedback to correct lip shapes and jaw movements as speech is input via a microphone.

Gestures

Description

Gestures that accompany speech are part of the meaningful system that has been referred to as kinesics. There are significant cultural differences in gestural complexes and their application during interaction, as stressed by Birdwhistell (1970). While there is a substantial amount of variation in nonverbal communication from culture to culture, there are also some similarities; moreover, there appear to be some universal tendencies (Ekman et al. 1969, Ekman & Friesen 1974, Eibel-Eibesfeldt 1974) which are realized to a greater or lesser extent from culture to culture. Thus, a speaker must learn to inhibit certain gestures and to enhance certain others in order to develop native or native-like competence in the use of culturally correct gestures in the culturally appropriate combinations with other gestures and with speech.

Types of Meaning

Certain gestures may have referential meaning in that they may unambiguously replace a linguistic item – e.g., the head nod or head shake in this culture. In most cases, however, individual gestures and gestural complexes signify much more generally. Bolinger (1983, 1985, 1986) has pointed out that certain gestures tend to be associated with certain aspects of intonation:

> If intonation is part of a gestural complex whose primitive and still surviving function is – however elaborated and refined – the signaling of emotions and their degrees of intensity, then there should be many obvious ways in which visible and audible gestures are coupled to produce similar and reinforcing effects. This kind of working-in-parallel is easiest to illustrate with exclamations. An *Ah!* of surprise, with a high fall in pitch, is paralleled by a high fall on the part of the eyebrows, and also, especially if the surprise is 'surprised realization', by a head movement consisting of a drop from a high position. How tight the correlation is can be felt by trying to reverse the direction of movement in one of the three actions. A similar coupling of pitch and head movement can be seen in the normal production of a conciliatory and acquiescent utterance such as
>
> I
> l.
> l
> wi
>
> with the accent at the lowest pitch – we call this a bow when it involves the head, but the intonation bows at the same time.
>
> (Bolinger 1985:98–99)

Analogously, a frowning eyebrow gesture and a retracted chin position are used to reinforce the meaning of a substantially lowered (deepened) voice.[3]

Although there has been little systematic research into this co-occurence of gestures with specific aspects of pronunciation, some recent studies indicate that prosodic peaks and kinesic peaks tend to coincide (Hadar et al. 1983; Bolinger 1983, 1985; McNeil 1987). For example, Hadar et la. (1983) confirmed a relationship between head and body movements and the presence or absence of stress or juncture. The work of Duncan (1974, 1976) has shown that cultures vary in the ways that two speakers use synchronization and non-synchronization of rhythms during conversation.

Teaching Approaches

Techniques to help students synchronize body movements and other gestures with intonation have been suggested by Acton (1983), who included work on rhythmic body gestures accompanying speech in a pronunciation course aimed at changing fossilized articulatory habits. Schnapper (1979) developed activities to increase use and perception of gestures through a type of discovery exercise in which students have to guess what another person is doing based on gestures and movements alone. Inferencing exercises in which the relationship between two interactants or the probable topic of conversation must be guessed based only on gestures - e.g., by watching a video with the sound turned off - may help to sharpen awareness of different gestural complexes. Imitative or creative exercises in which students simulate different roles or role relationships through gestures alone may help to increase the "active vocabulary" of gestures in the new language. "Mirror-me" exercises in which one member of a pair imitates all of the gestures and movements of the other member are a common improvisional theatrical technique which can be applied in the language teaching classroom. Pennycock (1985:275) describes a variety of such imitative games for working on gestures that might accompany speech.

Video programs can be specially developed for work on speech and gesture complexes. These might include exercises in which students match videotaped segments illustrating gestures such as raised eyebrows or lowered chin with a variety of sentences spoken on a high or low pitch. A more advanced exercise might require groups of students to work together to synchronize stretches of recorded speech to the videotaped movements and gestures which originally accompanied the speech at the time that it was recorded. In addition, student speeches or discussions can be videotaped and then later analyzed for appropriate and effective use of gestures. Commercial videotapes or television programs can be analyzed by class members for use of gestures accompanying speech.

Computer-assistance can be of value in this aspect of training, too. Teacher-designed or commercial videodiscs (which have the advantage that any frame can be accessed in any order) provide more flexibility than traditional videotape for modeling gestures. In addition, computer graphics programs provide a basis for developing sequential lessons on gestures and their speech accompaniments. Computer-assisted video programs or graphics material can be designed to compare and contrast the complexes of gestures and speech which occur within one language or across two or more languages.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have sought to provide a fresh perspective on pronunciation as a curricular area in language teaching. The position taken is that it is impossible to become a competent speaker of a language without attending to the whole meaning complex within which articulation is situated. This complex has been described as including prosody, phonological fluency, voice quality and certain related aspects of kinesics.

The categorization of suprasegmental phenomena into prosody, phonological fluency and voice setting, and the inclusion of gestures in the discussion of phonology, represent a significant departure from traditional accounts. In fact, a "top-down" approach to phonology is essentially the opposite of traditional approaches in which linguists sought to describe all of phonology in terms of discrete segments or features and to exclude from linguistics proper any aspects of communication which did not relate directly to the meaning of individual lexical items or grammatical units. It is felt that the "top-down" approach to phonological description is not only technically more correct for describing connected speech than a "bottom-up" analysis, but also more consistent with modern communicative language pedagogy. Most importantly, this type of description would appear to have greater explanatory power than a description in terms of individual phonemes, if the goal is to explain phonological proficiency in the context of language use.

It is expected that pronunciation teaching will become more effective when training and practice opportunities are provided which exploit the multiplex associations of phonological phenomena in human communication, rather than maintaining the traditional separation of pronunciation – e.g., for lab drilling – from its many meaningful associations. Because sounds are not produced in isolation in normal communication and because pronunciation displays so many symbolic functions in human interaction, it is reasonable to hypothesize better results in language education based on a contextualized, associational approach to teaching pronunciation. At the same time, the need to test specific approaches under controlled conditions must be stressed. Studies should be conducted which compare the results for learners when pronunciation is attended to and taught in context, rather than being ignored or taught as an isolated, mechanical phenomenon in which instruction focuses on individual segments. Basic research is also needed on the acquisition of suprasegmental features and the ways in which their development at different stages promotes or inhibits the acquisition of other discourse structuring devices and of individual phonemes (see Pennington 1987 for discussion). Until the results of much applied and basic research of this type become available, questions about the effectiveness of instruction in second language phonology cannot receive definitive answers.

Notes

1. As is typical of other taxonomies of linguistic units, the three-way distinction of prosody, phonological fluency and voice quality is a descriptively convenient idealization. In reality, these three aspects of suprasegmental phenomena do not necessarily (depending on how exactly they are defined) represent mutually exclusive properties. In some descriptive traditions, for example, prosodic is synonymous with suprasegmental, so that the domain of prosody includes the speech characteristics here termed phonological fluency and voice quality. In the present treatment, prosody is taken in its more literal (and literary) sense and restricted to "metrics", i.e. to the linguistic categories of stress, rhythm, pitch and intonation. Phonological fluency, while certainly related to stress and intonation, is the manifestation of the conceptually and physiologically distinct processes of weakening and coarticulation which cause the borders of syllables, words, phrases and sentences to coalesce in running speech. Voice quality, while also a property of connected speech, is a generalized, non-local characteristic of a language or speech variety derived from its underlying phonological basis. This phonological basis comprises the general features of articulation – e.g., tongue fronting, lip rounding, nasalization – which individual phonemes share. Following Laver (1980) and Esling and Wong (1983), voice quality derives from articulatory settings in any part of the vocal tract, not merely at the glottis, and is not restricted to the expression of paralinguistic and extralingustic meaning. In fact, the present discussion, following the

lead of other phonologists (e.g., Ladd 1980, Bolinger 1986), does not make use of the traditional, and ill-defined distinction, between paralinguistic, extralinguistic, and linguistic types of meaning.

2. Pennington (1986) described a test administered to 73 Japanese learners of English which included a subtest of multiple choice "maximal pair" discrimination items such as those in Example 2. Scores on this subject correlated more highly with overall phonological proficiency, as measured by three raters based on interview data, than measures of minimal pair discrimination or listening comprehension. Hence, classroom instruction on these types of items may help to improve aural as well as oral phonological proficiency.
3. It may be recalled that Ted Baxter, a character on the Mary Tyler Moore Show on American television, often made use of this combination of gestures and deepened voice when striking a stereotypically authoritative news anchorman pose and pontificating about "weighty" matters on which he thought himself to be an authority.

References

Abe, Isamu. 1955. "Intonational patterns of English and Japanese." *Word* 11, 386-398.

Abberton, E., A. Parker & A. J. Fourcin. 1978. "Speech improvement in deaf adults using laryngograph displays." *Speech and Hearing Work in Progress*. University College of London, Department of Phonetics and Linguistics: 33-60.

Acton, William. 1984. "Changing fossilized pronunciation." *TESOL Quarterly* 18:71-85.

Adams, Corinne. 1979. *English Speech Rhythm and the Foreign Learner*. The Hague: Mouton.

Beebe, Leslie. 1980. "Sociolinguistic variation and style shifting in second language acquisition." *Language Learning* 30:433-447.

Birdwhistell, Ray L. 1970. *Kinesics and Context*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Bolinger, Dwight. 1978. "Intonation across languages." Joseph Greenberg (ed.): *Universals of Human Language*, vol. 2, *Phonology*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 471-524.

Bolinger, Dwight. 1983. "Intonation and gesture." *American Speech* 58, 156-174.

Bolinger, Dwight. 1985. "The inherent iconism of intonation." John Haiman (ed.): *Iconicity in Syntax*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 97-108.

Bolinger, Dwight. 1986. *Intonation and its Parts: Melody in Spoken English*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

de Bot, Kees. 1983. "Visual feedback of intonation I: Effectiveness and induced practice behavior." *Language and Speech* 26:331–350.

de Bot, Kees, & Kate Mailfert. 1982. "The teaching of intonation: Fundamental research and classroom applications." *TESOL Quarterly* 16:71–77.

Brown, Gillian & George Yule. 1983. *Teaching the Spoken Language.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, James D., & Ann Hilferty. 1986. "The effectiveness of teaching reduced forms for listening comprehension." *RELC Journal* 17:59–70.

Byrd, Patricia, Janet Constantinides & Martha Pennington. In press. *Foreign Teaching Assistant's Manual.* Chapter Three: "Hearing and pronouncing American English." New York: Collier Macmillan.

Collier, R. 1984. "Some physiological and perceptual constraints on tonal systems." Butterworth, Brian, Bernard Comrie & Osten Dahl (eds.): *Explanations for Language Universals.* Mouton: Berlin, 237–247.

Delattre, Pierre. 1963. "Comparing the prosodic features of English, German, Spanish, and French." *IRAL* 1:193–210.

Delattre, Pierre. 1981. "An acoustic and articulatory study of vowel reduction in four languages." *Studies in Comparative Phonetics*, Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag, 63–93.

Dirven, R., & J. Oakeshott-Taylor. 1984. "Listening comprehension" (Part 1). State of the Art Article. *Language Teaching* 17:326–343.

Donegan, Patricia J. 1978. *On the Natural Phonology of Vowels.* Ph.D. dissertation. The Ohio State University.

Duez, Danielle. 1982. "Silent and non-silent pauses in three speech styles." *Language and Speech* 25:11–28.

Duncan, Starkey, Jr. 1974. "Some signals and rules for taking speaking turns in conversations." Shirley Weitz (ed.): *Nonverbal Communication.* New York: Oxford University Press, 298–311.

Duncan, Starkey, Jr. 1976. "Language, paralanguage, and body motion in the structure of conversations." William C. McCormack & Stephen A. Wurm (eds.): *Language and Man: Anthropological Issues.* The Hague: Mouton, 239–267.

Ecklund, Constance L., & Peter Wiese. 1981. "French accent through video analysis." *Foreign Language Annals* 14:11–17,

Eibel-Eibesfeldt, I. 1974. "Similarities and differences between cultures in expressive movements." Shirley Weitz (ed.): *Nonverbal Communication.* New York: Oxford University Press, 20–33.

Ekman, Paul, & Wallace V. Friesen. 1974. "Nonverbal leakage and clues to deception." Shirley Weitz (ed.), *Nonverbal Communication*. New York: Oxford University Press, 269–290.

Ekman, Paul, Richard Sorenson, & Wallace V. Friesen. "1969. Pan-cultural elements in facial displays of emotion." *Science* 164:86–88.

Esling, John H., & Rita F. Wong. 1983. "Voice quality settings and the teaching of pronunciation." *TESOL Quarterly* 17:89–95.

Fowler, Carol A. 1981. "A relationship between coarticulation and compensatory shortening." *Phonetica* 38:35–50.

Gilbert, Judy. 1984. *Clear Speech*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hadar, U., T. J. Steiner, E. C. Grant, & F. Clifford Rose. 1983. "Head movement correlates of juncture and stress at sentence level." *Language and Speech* 26:117–129.

Haraguchi, S. 1977. *The Tone Pattern of Japanese: An Autosegmental Theory of Tonology*. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.

Hieke, A. E. 1984. "Linking as a marker of fluent speech." *Language and Speech* 27:343–354.

Hieke, A. E. 1985. "A componential approach to oral fluency evaluation." *Modern Language Journal* 69:135–142.

Hieke, A. E. 1987. "The resolution of dynamic speech in L2 listening." *Language Learning* 37:123–140.

Higurashi, Yoshiko. 1983. *The Accent of Extended Word Structures in Tokyo Japanese*. Tokyo: Educa.

Hoequist, Charles Jr. 1983. "Syllable duration in stress-, syllable- and mora-timed languages." *Phonetica* 40:203–237.

Kaneko, Naomichi. 1957. "Specific x-ray observations on the movement of the lower jaw, lips and tongue in pronunciation." *Study of Sounds* 8 (1957):1–18. Cited from Yasuyo Edasawa. 1984. "Articulatory setting and teaching pronunciation. Doshisha Women's College, Kyoto, Japan: *Asphodel* 18:289–308.

Ladd, D. Robert, Jr. 1978. "Stylized intonation." *Language* 54:517–540.

Ladd, D. Robert, Jr. 1980. *The Structure of Intonational Meaning*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Laver, John. 1980. *The Phonetic Description of Voice Quality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laver, John, & Peter Trudgill. 1979. "Phonetic and linguistic markers in speech." Klaus R. Scherer & Howard Giles (eds.): *Social Markers in Speech*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1–32.

McNeill, David. 1987. *Psycholinguistics: A New Approach*. New York: Harper & Row.

Odlin, Terence M. 1978. "Variable rules in the acquisition of English contractions." *TESOL Quarterly* 12:451-458.

Ohala, John J. 1983. "Cross-language use of pitch: An ethological view." *Phonetica* 40:1-18.

Pennington, Martha C. 1986. "Acquisition of English phonology by native speakers of Japanese." Presentation to the Japan Association of College English Teachers, TESOL Summer Institute, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, HI, August 1986. Repeated at the annual conference of Japan Association of Language teachers, Hamamatsu, Japan, November 1986.

Pennington, Martha C. 1987. "Universals, Prosody and SLA." Presentation at the conference, Second Language Acquisition: Contributions and Challenges to Linguistic Theory. Stanford, CA: Stanford University, July 1987.

Pennington, Martha C. Forthcoming. "Applications of Computers in the Development of Speaking and Listening Proficiency." Martha C. Pennington (ed.), *Teaching Languages with Computers: The State of the Art*. La Jolla: Athelstan.

Pennington, Martha C., & Jack C. Richards. 1986. "Pronunciation Revisited." *TESOL Quarterly* 20:207-225.

Pennycock, Alastair. 1985. "Actions speak louder than words: Paralanguage, communication, and education." *TESOL Quarterly* 19:259-281.

Robinson, W. Peter. 1979. "Speech markers and social class." Klaus R. Scherer & Howard Giles (eds.): *Social Markers in Speech*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 211-249.

Royal, Ann Marie. 1985. *Male-Female Pharyngealization Patterns in Cairo Arabic: A Sociolinguistic Study of Two Neighborhoods*. Texas Linguistic Forum 27. First appeared as Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1985.

Schmidt, Richard W. 1977. "Sociolinguistic variation and language transfer in phonology." *Working Papers in Bilingualism* 12:79-95.

Schnapper, Melvin. 1979. "Your actions speak louder ...." Elise C. Smith & Louise Fiber Luce (eds.): *Toward Internationalism*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 134-140.

Trudgill, Peter. 1974. *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Welkowitz, Joan, Ronald N. Bond, & Stanley Feldstein. 1984. "Conversational time patterns of Hawaiian children as a function of ethnicity and gender." *Language and Speech* 27:173-191.

Woods, Howard B. 1979. *Rhythm and Unstress*. Hull, Quebec: Canadian Government Publishing Centre.

Language Acquisition, Language Contact and Nativized Varieties of English[1]

Jessica Williams
University of Illinois
Chicago

Abstract

The importance of non-native English varieties can be expected to increase as the number of their speakers continues to grow. This survey attempts to place non-native institutionalized varieties of English (NIVEs) within a wider framework which embraces the study of language contact and language acquisition in general. NIVEs and other contact varieties are explored from a sociolinguistic as well as second language acquisition perspective.

Introduction

The field of second language acquisition (SLA) draws models and data from many acquisitional phenomena and branches of linguistics. One acquisitional phenomenon, that of non-native institutionalized language varieties, until quite recently, has not been explored from the point of view of SLA (Lowenberg 1986; Sridhar and Sridhar 1986; Ritchie 1986; Williams 1987b, to appear). These varieties are of particular interest to the second language acquisition researcher because, while they are indeed second languages, their institutionalized nature has meant a crystalization of certain interlanguage (IL) features. As a result of this stability, non-native institutionalized varieties may be more accessible to SLA investigators than individual ILs. Attempts have been made to link SLA to language acquisition in other situations, in particular, pidginization and creolization (Andersen 1983). This survey attempts to sketch out where non-native institutionalized varieties of English (NIVEs) fit in with these other linguistic phenomena, as regards their sociocultural and acquisitional context.

Non-native institutionalized varieties of English

Wode (1984:182) states that "Learner languages, pidgins, creoles, bilingualism, and other marginal areas, are of central importance to linguistics and theories provided by this discipline." In order to fully understand the process of language acquisition in general, all acquisitional phenomena must be examined, even those which constitute only a small portion of such phenomena. NIVEs certainly fall under this umbrella. These varieties are spoken in countries which were previously under

British or United States administration which have chosen to perpetuate the internal use of English in some way, either as an official language, a language of education, of the courts, etc. Specific language policy varies from country to country, but in each case, English still plays a major role in day-to-day life. Examples of such countries include, among others, Bangladesh, Fiji, Ghana, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sierra Leone, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia.

It has already been mentioned that one of the most important features of NIVEs for SLA research is their stability. Certain forms found in NIVEs strongly resemble forms found in ILs, and at one time may, in fact, have been the result of individual language acquisition (Williams 1987a). However, these varieties have spread throughout the population and become institutionalized through use and thus can no longer be considered learner varieties of their external, native speaker (NS) counterparts. NIVEs have become regional standards and are now themselves the targets of SLA. Speakers of other chronologically first languages in these countries learn the regional standard rather than the external variety. Any comparison between NIVEs and SLA data should in no way imply that NIVEs are linguistically or expressively deficient versions of some NS standard. Because NIVE nations are currently in the process of establishing their local varieties of English as legitimate standards, there is some reluctance to examine them from the perspective of acquisition. Kachru (1982a; 1985) has urged that the innovations in local speech varieties be noted, not their deviations from some exonormative (NS) standard. Many of the innovations found in NIVEs, particularly lexical ones, were created to meet the needs of the new sociocultural settings and cannot be construed as steps along the way towards acquisition of the NS target. It is also true that until recently, the more positive aspects of the development of such varieties have not been stressed, and descriptions have often been in terms of deficiencies in the production of a NS target (Prator 1968; Tongue 1974; Spencer 1971). Alleged deficiencies in these varieties are potentially interpretable as deficiencies in their speakers. As a result, there has been some backlash against examining these varieties in terms of acquisition. Studies of NIVEs, which are primarily spoken in the third world, can thus become politically charged. However, to compare NIVEs to other acquisitional phenomena is not to deny their legitimacy, rather it is to explore the diversity as well as the similarities, which can be found in language acquisition data across a wide range of settings, as a contribution to the general knowledge of language and language learning. The inclusion of NIVE data in the study of SLA also points up the need for a closer examination of the notions *target* and *target-like use*. For many NIVE speakers, the NIVE itself, that is, the regional variety, is the end point of SLA. It must therefore be treated as the target and not confused with a standard NS variety.

NIVEs and other language acquisition phenomena

A number of claims have been made regarding the place of NIVEs among other language acquisition phenomena. Platt (1975, 1977) has described the use of English in Singapore, for instance, in terms of a continuum, borrowing from the post-creole continuum first proposed by DeCamp (1971). Platt uses the term *creoloid* to describe what he calls the basilect variety of this NIVE. He again invokes the post-creole model, using the term basilect to describe the variety which is the farthest from the exonormative NS standard. It manifests the greatest influence from the first languages of its speakers and is generally spoken as a foreign, rather than a second, language. Platt points out several similarities between basilectal Singapore English and basilectal creoles. First, they exist as the end point of a continuum. Like a basilectal creole, the basilect of Singapore English is used as a language of wider communication by the entire speech community. In fact, the use of basilectal varieties signifies membership in that community. Finally, Platt refers to structural similarities between basilects in NIVEs and in creoles, specifically the simplification of outer form (Hymes 1971). However, there are important differences as well, the most obvious being that the former have not evolved from pidgins.

Valdman (1983) uses the term *semi-pidgin* to describe basilectal varieties of NIVEs, preferring the comparison to pidgin languages. According to Valdman, semi-pidgins perform expressive and integrative, as well as referential, functions. They are also characterized by a range of continuous variation, although linguistic features may be shared by varieties across the entire continuum. The difference, Valdman claims, between a pidgin and a semi-pidgin can be seen in the socio-historic conditions under which they arise. Other terms which have been used to describe these varieties are *nativized* (Kachru 1982a; Lowenberg 1986) or *indigenized* (Moag 1982a; Richards and Tay 1981) language varieties. Both terms stress the sociolinguistic and linguistic modifications in English caused by the adaptation to its new setting and cultural context.

Within the field of SLA, researchers are beginning to see the unique circumstances of NIVEs as an opportunity to further the study of SLA in general. In addition, the growing number of people who acquire English in NIVE nations where the only input may be in the NIVE itself, makes these language varieties particularly important. The question of how the historical and present circumstances of NIVEs resemble those of other linguistic phenomena will be explored below. These include, among others, individual second language acquisition, pidginization, creolization, and first language loss. As noted above, NIVEs have frequently been compared to pidgins, creoles, and fossilized second language learning. Language attrition has also been included, as it has been suggested that this process represents the mirror image of language development (Bettoni 1985). The process of first language attrition may also offer insight into the linguistic subsystems which are especially vulnerable to historical or developmental change or in contact situations (see Williams 1987a).

Comparisons among these language acquisition phenomena can be problematic. A comparison which exclusively addresses the products of acquisition and development, that is, the language varieties themselves, may exclude important factors involved in their development. In addition, although the process-product distinction is an important one, in this case, it is necessary to further disambiguate the term *process*. Many of the language varieties described below, such as pidgins, creoles and NIVEs are as much a product of historical change as acquisition. Unlike individual language learning, the development of these languages may take several generations. Although the end product in both cases is a specific language variety or learner language, both the diachronic genesis of these languages, and their acquisition by individual speakers, bear examination. Where relevant, a distinction is made between these two processes of historical and developmental change, both in Table I and in the accompanying explanation. The circumstances which have given rise to individual learner varieties, as well as those which have become vehicles of a speech community, will be examined.

For the purposes of this comparison of NIVEs and other acquisitional phenomena, pidginization is taken to be a process which leads to the formation of a pidgin, and creolization, a process which leads to the formation of a creole. This is contrary to some conceptions of the terms which suggest that the end product is not essential to the definition of the process, and therefore define pidginization and creolization as forms of language acquisition under rather specific conditions (Schumann 1978; Andersen 1979, 1980). As regards language loss, only first language attrition will be considered here, since very little is known and therefore can be said about the attrition of second language skills (see Weltens 1987). As in the analyses of NIVEs, pidgins and creoles, the focus will be on situations involving English.

Another important distinction must be made when comparing these language varieties. Certain processes which produce these language varieties involve individual language acquisition or loss, for example, SLA in a NS setting. In other situations, however, while the acquisition of a new variety must, of course, be an individual process, the linguistic phenomena, e.g. language death, creolization, etc. involve entire speech communities. Thus, while we speak of say, variation in a dying language, it is important to distinguish between the variation in the production of an individual speaker and variation across the speech community.

This wide range of acquisitional phenomena is laid out in Table 1. These are viewed in terms of sociolinguistic, acquisitional, and linguistic dimensions. It is often difficult, however, to differentiate strictly between the first two, since sociolinguistic considerations can be important factors in language acquisition. As a matter of convenience, the first group contains factors which have traditionally been part of pidgin/creole accounts of language genesis and change, whereas the second pertains more to SLA concerns.

Sociolinguistic dimensions

Historical conditions

The historical conditions in which NIVEs arose do, of course, vary, but there are a number of similarities across NIVE settings. As mentioned above, these varieties exist in nations which were once under either United States or British administration. At some time in their history, English played a major role in administration, commerce, and especially, education. In many NIVE nations, this continues to be the case, but in others, language policy has changed considerably since independence. Before independence, when the administration required a cadre of lower level administrators competent in both English and local languages, English-medium schools were set up to train a portion of the population. Local teachers were also trained eventually to continue this process. Frequently, a localized version of English frequently began to take on the role of lingua franca among this administrative sector, since many spoke different first languages.

According to Moag (1982a), there are two important components of the initial stages of indigenization of an external language. First, the ruling foreign group encounters items or phenomena for which they have no names. Second, the English-trained local elites begin to use English among themselves, for specific domains, especially in discussing topics for which their own first languages are inadequate. Specific circumstances in the establishment and development of individual NIVEs vary of course. There are important differences, for instance, in how the NIVEs in East and West Africa developed. In West Africa, there were relatively few NSs of English during the early colonial period. In addition, an English-based pidgin, used for slaving and trading, already existed at that time. The use of the creole Krio by the descendents of freed slaves was, and still is, widespread (Todd 1982). As a result, a more standard local variety of English was learned, primarily in the classroom. Similarly, in Southeast Asia, the presence of the lingua franca Bazaar Malay, affected the development of the regional variety of English spoken in Malaysia and Singapore. In East Africa, in contrast to West Africa, there were far more NSs of English. A local English-speaking elite grew in response to the needs of the British in administration, as in India and parts of Southeast Asia. With no other readily available high status lingua franca, a localized variety of English soon developed and spread quickly, often acquired outside of classroom settings.

The genesis of NIVEs has often been compared to that of pidgins and creoles. However, there are crucial differences among them. The social circumstances involved in the establishment of NIVEs contrast starkly to those necessary for the formation of a creole. The former entails no dramatic dislocation of populations; NIVE speakers are generally native to the areas where they are spoken, or have immigrated there voluntarily. Many pidgins, and virtually all creole languages, on the other hand, developed in plantation settings, where a linguistically heterogeneous population was imported to work either as slaves or indentured laborers.[2] NIVEs usually have their origins in a multiethnic community whose members live with a more equitable, though by no means equal, distribution of power and resources, a difference which cannot be overestimated. In the case of plantation pidgins, there was a sharp break in linguistic tradition, whereby the learners of the pidgin could no longer use their first language to any significant extent. This was particularly true of early creolized creoles. The slave and/or laborer population had to be supplemented regularly with new shipments, since their life expectancy was very low, thus perpetuating the linguistic discontinuity. In general, NIVE speakers, on the other hand, did not, and to this day have not, lost their first languages.

Traditional views of creolization hold that the children of pidgin speakers are obliged to create their own language from the pidgin input. However, plantation pidgins, with their massive dislocation of populations, are not the only ones which can lead to creolization. There are also endogenous creoles which are spoken in trading communities (Chaudenson 1977). In these cases, the relationship between populations is not necessarily unequal. In addition, the populations in contact may be homogeneous, whereas in the case of plantation creoles, the subordinate population is generally, and often deliberately, kept heterogeneous.

The socio-historic conditions surrounding language death and societal first language loss are usually characterized by the presence of a dominant second language. This may involve the importation of an (economically) dominant second language, as in the case of English versus the indigenous languages of the South Pacific (Schmidt 1985; Day 1985). Death may take only a few generations or, the dying language may linger for centuries (Dorian 1980). Alternatively, a first language may be imported, but remain in a subordinate position to the native language of the new country, as in the case of English versus immigrant languages in Australia, Britain, and the United States (Bettoni 1985; Clyne 1985; Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983).

Domains of use

Differences in socio-historic circumstances have led to differences in the domains in which English is currently used. In general, NIVEs are spoken in a wide range of domains. In some countries, such as Singapore, English dominates all public and formal domains, as well as, for educated speakers, many informal ones. It is the language of government, courts, commerce, and a large sector of education, advertising, and the media. It is shared, although variably controlled, by the majority of the population. Similarly, in Ghana, Nigeria, and Zambia, English occupies a wide range of domains (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984). Chronologically, these institutionalized varieties are indeed second languages, but in terms of their domains and extent of use, for many speakers, they are in fact, first languages. This is particularly true for NIVEs such as Singapore English. Richards and Tay (1981) have pointed out that for this NIVE, the very definition of the term *native speaker* is called into question. The most appropriate definition may not, in fact, be one which is limited to the first language spoken as a child. In Singapore, many speakers, particularly those under forty, with higher, or even secondary education in English, now have restricted competence in the language they first spoke as children in the home. Their chronologically first language is used primarily with older members of the family and for in-group purposes. English has become the language in which these speakers are most proficient and the one they use the most.

In other NIVE countries, the opposite process has occurred, and English is more restricted in its domains of use than previously. In some domains once occupied by English, local languages are now used (Moag 1982b). This is true of the Philippines (Samonte 1981), Sri Lanka (Fernando 1982), East Africa (Schmied 1985), and Malaysia (Platt 1982). In Sri Lanka, for instance, local languages are increasingly replacing English in informal domains. In urban South India, Sridhar (1982) reports that the mother tongue is preferred for intimate domains, whereas English is dominant in utilitarian domains. In Malaysia, Malay has become the language of instruction in the school system, where, in contrast to countries such as Sri Lanka and India, English is not needed as a lingua franca, since the population is relatively homogeneous. Similarly, in the Philippines, there is a competing lingua franca, Pilippino, which is strongly associated with national identity. These factors may partially explain the recession of English in these areas.

Pidgins, whether they are endogenous or exogenous, tend to be used in a limited number of domains. They are generally restricted to the following categories: trade, the military, and migrant and domestic labor (Mühlhaüsler 1986). Of course, for indentured or forced laborers, cut off from all speakers of their first language, the pidgin must serve a wider range of functions. Expanded pidgins, such as Cameroon Pidgin and Tok Pisin, are well-established and function in a wide variety of domains (Todd 1984; Mühlhaüsler 1986). Typically, however, it is during the process of creolization that such expansion occurs. Creolization, like NIVE development, involves the extension of a new variety to a broad spectrum of domains. It is no longer restricted to instrumental functions, but is used for expressive functions as well, a process Valdman (1983) calls *vernacularization*. According to Sankoff (1979), it is this increase in functional load, and not necessarily the appearance of a generation of creole-speaking children which is the driving force behind creolization. According to some creolists, however, creoles can only be created by children, generally of pidgin-speaking parents (Bickerton 1979, 1981). This implies that the creole would be used in all domains, since the creole is the new generation's only language. The development of NIVEs has indeed been an expansion process, yet offers a picture which is almost the reverse of creolization. While NIVEs' domains of use originate with the most public and highest status situations and have spread downwards, the domains of creoles generally extend from the most intimate and lowest prestige situations upwards. One might say that the most "advanced" creoles are now national languages, such as Tok Pisin, and are used in government, business and as a language of instruction. The most "advanced" NIVEs, such as Singapore English, on the other hand, are now even used for intra-ethnic communication, including such intimate settings as the family domain.

The use of NIVEs also contrasts with that of individual learner languages, where the first language is usually maintained, at least initially, for many domains. There are instances, however of group SLA, where the second language begins to encroach on the domains previously reserved for the first language (Andersen 1982; Dorian 1983; Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983; Bettoni 1985). This process is characteristic of dying and immigrant languages, where intimate domains are the last to feel the effects of the dominant new language. It is also interesting to note that the kinds of domains which are maintained for dying and immigrant languages are similar to those few left unoccupied by English in NIVE nations. These would include the home, especially communicating with older generations, and in-group functions, such as in religious and ethnic organizations. In both cases, the higher prestige language is used for external functions.

Attitudes toward language varieties

Throughout the world, wherever NIVEs are spoken, the prestige attached to the use of at least the acrolectal varieties, is high (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984). Attitudinal studies in individual countries reveal that, in spite of its association with colonial heritage, the prestige of English remains substantial (Schmied 1985; Moag 1982b; Goh 1983; Shaw 1981; Hancock and Angogo 1982). Frequently, however, external models remain the preferred ones (Kachru 1982b) and lower sociolects especially, may be viewed pejoratively (Mehrotra 1982). In other instances, the positive attitudes toward local English may be based on the fact that it is a *local* variety of English, and not simply the fact that it is English. In fact, the use of speech which conforms to exonormative standards may be frowned upon as a sign of arrogance. Several NIVE researchers report the strong emotive value of local Englishes and their association with national unity (Zuengler 1982; Tay 1982). In general then, the instrumental prestige of acrolectal varieties of NIVEs is high, while the attitudes toward the more basilectal varieties are ambivalent.

On the surface, the prestige accorded NIVEs contrasts with pidgins and creoles, which generally enjoy lower prestige than the superstrate language. Attitudes toward creoles today, however, are also ambivalent; knowledge of creole is an emblem of membership in the speech community (Lawton 1982; Rickford 1985; Rickford and Traugott 1985) and therefore may be perceived positively. In some nations, the creole has been accorded official status. The prime example of this is Papua New Guinea, where Neo-Melananesian (Tok Pisin) is an official language. A major difference between NIVEs and creoles remains, however. In the past, creoles have not even been considered legitimate languages. To some extent, this remains a common perception even today, while NIVEs have always been considered some form of English.

In individual and societal cases of language loss of first languages, Gardner states, "retention of first language skills will be related to the perceived consequences of bilingualism and the relative prestige attributed to the two languages" (1982:41). The first language is of generally lower prestige than the second language, even though the former may be valued as a symbol of ethnic identity. For instance, Dorian (1982) reports that in East Sutherland, speakers who claim to lack proficiency in Gaelic are viewed negatively. The situation varies with immigrant languages. Smolicz (1981) claims that the maintenance or loss of an immigrant language is dependent, not necessarily on prestige, but on its association with the core values of the immigrant group. If language is an integral part of these values, functions will be found for it, at least in the short run.

Stability and norms

Many NIVEs have now been in use for several centuries. They are stable inasmuch as any natural language is stable, and have become institutionalized through use. While prescriptive, written norms have not yet appeared, norms of usage and interaction are widespread and can be articulated by individual speakers (Tay and Gupta 1981; Gupta 1986; Kachru 1982b). Richards (1982), following Haugen (1977), has called these *communicative* norms of use, as opposed to the *rhetorical*, or prescriptive norms. According to Richards, the rhetorical norm corresponds to what Platt and Weber (1980) have called the acrolect and, for most speakers, exists primarily as an idealized form. The mesolect represents the communicative norm, while the basilect represents the actual communicative style, rather than a norm.

The linguist's or language planner's assessment of standards does not always correspond to that of the government. Indeed, although in most NIVE countries, the official standard is still an external NS variety (primarily RP), in practice, some form of the local standard has become the target. Indeed, although Ministries of Education in some NIVE countries may claim that the standard is RP, locally trained teachers generally have command over, at most, a high variety of localized speech. Even those speakers who do use a variety of local speech which approaches an external NS norm will have in their speech repertoire other localized varieties which they may use in appropriate situations. The existence of at least two norms, one exonormative and one or more endonormative, is characteristic of language varieties such as NIVEs, which are associated with a speech community, rather than individual speakers.

The existence of both rhetorical and communicative norms means that many NIVEs are now relatively stable. This has not always been the case. In NIVE nations, prior to independence, only a limited number of speakers had constant access to the target, which, in most cases, was some form of Standard British English. The members of the local elite acquired this fairly standard British English, making few modifications in their production, except in phonology, especially in prosody, and in lexis. However, these speakers were a tiny minority of the population. As a result, the English proficiency of speakers in these countries varied greatly. Their target receded when these nations became independent, but the continuum, or proficiency cline remained. To most of these speakers, English was definitely a second, or even a foreign, language. Although there is no direct evidence, it is likely that their production contained many IL features which are characteristic of the speech of second language learners (SLLs) of English in other settings. These and other features were gradually institutionalized and are now firmly established in these varieties. Institutionalized should not, however, be taken to mean static. NIVEs are changing, as are all living languages. However, from the point of view of acquisitional, rather than historical development, NIVEs present a relatively stable object of study. For many adult speakers, there will be no further development in their acquisition of English. Those speakers have reached the target - the NIVE itself.

Within the field of second language acquisition, the question of stability is a difficult one. The presence of a standard or target does not imply stability. Tarone, Frauenfelder and Selinker (1975:97) have defined stability as consistency of use over time, as distinct from systematicity, or internal consistency of the learner's grammar at a single point in time. According to this definition, NIVEs are certainly stable. Within a given sociolect, they are probably consistent as well, although this is difficult to determine conclusively because of frequent lect shifting (see section on variation below). The kind of stability which has been described for NIVEs, is generally not found in the speech of individual SLLs except in the speech of so-called fossilized learners. The production of SLLs has been shown to be highly variable, although debate continues on whether this variation is random or systematic (Ellis 1987; Rutherford 1984; Huebner 1983).

The stability of the other acquisitional phenomena listed in Table I varies a great deal. Many pidgins are highly variable depending on speaker, but norms may emerge over time. Some pidgins, particularly of the trade variety, continue to exist for generations although there may be extensive variation from speaker to speaker. Mühlhaüsler (1982) suggests that the stability of a pidgin is the result of the forced interaction of a linguistically heterogeneous population which needs to communicate. Each speaker brings his or her own previous knowledge to the task, but cannot fully rely on the first language. Still, there is no such thing as *native speaker intuition* which might indicate some level of standardization.

Not all pidgins are as stable as the Pacific pidgins described by Mühlhaüsler. According to Bickerton (1979, 1981), pidgins may be very unstable, as well as unsystematic. Sankoff (1980) disagrees, maintaining that the fact that no formal standard exists does not necessarily imply lack of systematicity.

Creoles, in comparison to pidgins, are relatively stable. In general, a creole is a native language of a significant portion of the speech community and speakers are able to articulate norms. The situation may be complicated by the co-existence of the superstrate language and the creole variety. This situation may encourage decreolization, or movement toward the standard (external norm). In this case, as in NIVE nations, there are two norms, one external and one internal. These are represented by different parts of the decreolization continuum. As in the case of NIVEs, the use of localized speech may signal in-group identity and one lect may eventually attain the status of a local standard.

In the case of societal language loss or language death, a loss of norms accompanies a loss of linguistic competence. In the latter, speakers no longer know what the norms are, although they may know that their own production does not conform to them. In the former, while norms may still exist for the language, they no longer are available within the speech community. Research in both areas reveals that significant changes may occur in the linguistic systems of these languages. Although there is no drastic break in linguistic tradition, as in the formation of pidgins and creoles, the grammatical systems of speakers of immigrant and dying languages may be greatly reduced versions of NS varieties (Dor[illegible] 1980; Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983; Bettoni 1985). While at the level of individual speakers, these languages are fairly systematic; instability is characteristic of the speech community as a whole.

Association with a speech community

A contributing factor to the relative stability and development of group norms in NIVEs is their association with a specific speech community, rather than with a single speaker, as is the case in individual second language acquisition. This association with a speech community marks a major difference between NIVEs and individual learner varieties. An individual SLL can be a member of his or her first language speech community or that of the target language, or both, but there is no reference group for his or her own IL. There are exceptions to this general rule. Wolfram, Christian and Hatfield (1986), for instance, report that there has been some crystallization of forms which specifically mark the variety of English spoken by Vietnamese immigrants in the

United States. Similar observations have been made regarding other immigrant groups, where the particular variety of second language English is strongly associated with a specific speech community (Biondi 1975; Metcalf 1979; Penalosa 1980; Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983; Nash 1982). In cases such as these, however, the speakers are already members of the same speech community by virtue of their first language.

Valdman (1983) has shown that when a learner language becomes a vehicle for a speech community, it undergoes a number of changes. It becomes stable, complexified, and codified in order to meet the referential and expressive needs of its speakers. In most NIVE nations, the local varieties of English began as lingue franche, used primarily for official purposes and for interethnic communication. In some cases, however, widespread use and knowledge of the NIVE have led to its use by speakers of the same first language as well. Indeed, in Singapore, this has occurred to such an extent that Singapore English has become more than *a* vehicle of the speech community, and is now *the* vehicle of the speech community.

NIVEs share this characteristic with creole-speaking, and to some extent, pidgin-speaking communities. Creoles are always associated with specific speech communities, while the situation varies with pidgins. In some cases, such as that of Tok Pisin, the association may be a strong one, while in others, the presence of many other competing languages restricts the pidgin to a more marginal role. For some creolists, the social functions of language and the changes which may occur when a pidgin becomes the language of a speech community are unrelated. For instance, Bickerton (1980) maintains that creolization occurs solely in the brains of the child-creators. Others would claim that social function and language change have everything to do with each other (Washabaugh 1979; Sankoff 1979; Mühlhaüsler 1986).

Acquisitional dimensions

Length of time for acquisition/development

There is much controversy over how long it takes for pidgins and creoles to develop. It has been claimed that rudimentary "instant" pidgins can develop (LePage 1980), but it is more usual for the process to take place over several generations (Sankoff 1979). Creolization is even more controversial. Bickerton (1979, 1981) maintains that creolization is a virtually instantaneous process which occurs when children use their "bioprogram" to expand the restricted pidgin grammars they receive as input. Sankoff's research on Tok Pisin (1979, 1980), on the other hand, indicates that creolization may, in some cases, occur over a period of several generations, and be a result of an increase in the functional load on a pidgin, rather than the innate language creation facility of children.

Individual SLA has often been compared to group processes such as pidginization, creolization and decreolization (Schumann 1978; Andersen 1980; Stauble 1978; Schumann and Stauble 1983). However, by definition, individual second language acquisition must take place within a single lifetime. Gilbert (1981) and Rickford (1983) point out that this is one of the major drawbacks of any comparisons between individual learning and group processes. Rickford notes that the kind of rapid change which is characteristic of second language development takes at least two generations in decreolization. In addition, the passage of time in individual SLA usually means that the speaker has moved on to a more target-like stage of acquisition, leaving earlier constructions and forms behind. In group processes, in contrast, this is not always the case. Because creoles often exist as part of a continuum, speakers often have a command of several lects. They do not lose one lect simply because they gain another.

NIVEs, too, have developed over many generations, and in this way, bear many similarities to other group phenomena, particularly decreolization. In NIVE speech communities, a continuum exists between the basilectal "creoloid" and the acrolect, in the same way that the basilect-to-standard continuum exists in decreolizing speech communities. There is constant exposure to higher sociolects of the variety, as well as public encouragement to master them. At the same time, there is an opposing force which encourages the use of lower sociolects as an in-group marker. There is, however, an important difference between NIVE and creole speech communities. Although, like creoles, NIVEs have taken many years to develop as separate varieties from the NS standard, it is also true that NIVEs are almost always learned as a second language. NIVEs must be viewed, therefore, as the product of both historical and repeated acquisitional processes.

Conditions of exposure

An issue which is closely related to the length of time of acquisition, is the conditions of exposure to the target language. Pidgins and creoles are, for the most part, learned of necessity and without formal guidance. With the exception of linguists, very few people ever study them formally. Creolizaton represents the most extreme example of this form of acquisition. Bickerton (1979) paints a graphic picture of the creolizing child thrown into the plantation fields to acquire some vehicle of communication which will allow him to converse with those around him. This language may bear very little resemblance to his input. In fact, in creolization, there is virtually no model for acquirers to follow. This is in contrast to many, though by no means all, instances of individual second language learning, where some model is generally available.

The acquisition of pidgins, and formal second language acquisition, can be said to represent the two extremes of the tutored-untutored continuum, although the available input and opportunities for interaction in both cases may be limited. The case of NIVEs is somewhat different. The role of education cannot be overestimated in the spread of NIVEs. Several researchers (Platt and Weber 1980; Moag 1982; Kuo 1985) name the spread of English to the education domain as the most important factor in NIVEs' expansion. As has already been mentioned, very few NIVE speakers learn English as their first language. Until quite recently, acquisition of these varieites of English was delayed until children reached school, where it was taught as a second language, using an exonormative model as a standard. In school, children soon pick up the local variety as well, and use it to communicate with their schoolmates, even if teachers insist on a variety closer to a NS standard in the classroom. Recent research has shown that in some NIVE countries, acquisition is taking place before the children ever reach the classroom. In Singapore, children are now learning English from older siblings and playmates as well as from the media before they reach school age (Foley 1984). They come to the classroom proficient in some variety of localized speech, usually a basilectal or lower mesolectal form. Teaching English thus becomes more second dialect than second language instruction. In other countries, particularly in areas of Africa, where educational resources are scarce, English instruction is delayed until after primary school. In general, in the countries where English is introduced the earliest, knowledge of the NIVE is the most widespread.

In the cases of immigrant languages and language death, the conditions of exposure may vary a great deal. Typically in language death, the first (dying) language is learned informally and often incompletely (Dorian 1983). Frequently, the models for acquisition are reduced forms of the original language. Both immigrant and minority groups may try to delay language loss in younger generations by establishing programs of formal instruction in the mother tongue. The results of these attempts have been mixed (Clyne 1985; Fennell 1981; Jones 1981). One of the problems with this method of language maintenance is that immigrants, especially those from Europe, often speak a non-standard variety of the first language, and consequently the issue of which variety should be taught can be problematic.

Availability of the target

Two important questions in determining how and to what extent a second language is acquired concern the nature and availability of the input, and the interaction of learners with NSs (Long 1981). However, before any questions as to the availability of the target can be answered, it must first be decided what that target is. In most second language learning settings (pidgin settings being a major exception), progression toward the NS target language is at least a possibility. While the standard variety of the target is not always eventually acquired, some form of the target language is generally available as input. NIVE speakers, however, like creole speakers, may attain target-like use in the local variety, without ever fully acquiring the original standard target language. In other words, in the case of NIVEs, "target-like use" may not amount to target-like use of the exonormative standard NS target. Instead, a new target is established. This target is a fully developed language, with norms, stylistic range and an associated speech community. The external variety may cease to be a target for some speakers. Indeed, NIVE speakers may have little desire to emulate the external variety or identify with its speakers. A similar situation often obtains in creole communities, where the original target may continue to exist. In this case, the creole may undergo decreolization. For some speakers then, there may be two targets, one standard and one creole. However, the availability of these two targets can vary greatly within the population, and, as with NIVE speakers, creole speakers may reject the exonormative variety as a target (Eckman and Washabaugh 1983).

Differences in input and opportunities for interaction and production may lead to wide variation in rates and levels of acquisition. Bickerton (1977) has pointed out that the difference between the creation of a pidgin and the attainment of a standard version of the target language, or some approximation of it, is rooted in the availability of that target, and the amount of interaction a learner has with target language speakers. Pidgin speakers receive very little input from the standard target and have virtually no chance to interact with NSs of that target. The picture may be further complicated if the superstrate language changes. For example, in the Caribbean, the colonial rulers often changed from Spanish to French, Danish to Dutch, Dutch to English, etc. In these cases, there is even less continuity.

The children of such speakers have extremely restricted input to use as material for acquisition of their first language, especially in the area of grammatical structure. The same kind of situation may arise in certain cases of individual SLA. It has been argued, for instance, that Schumann's subject, Alberto, because of his isolated social circumstances, received very reduced input and had little interaction with NSs during the period of his acquisition of English (Schumann 1978). He never moved beyond the first stages of SLA, leading Schumann to propose the Pidginization Hypothesis, which compared the social and psychological circumstances surrounding Alberto's acquisition with the genesis of pidgin languages.

Between the two extremes of pidginization and native-like acquisition of the standard NS variety of the target, there is extensive variation in both input and output. NIVEs are an example of one acquisitional phenomenon within this range of variation. In the development of NIVEs, the role and the availability of the original target language have changed over the years, as has the nature of the target itself. As stated above, under British administration, only a minority of the population had access to NS English as their target. The rest of the population spoke a range of learner varieties of English. Many of the features of those learner varieties became institutionalized with extended use. Today, NS models are primarily available in the media and to some extent, in the schools. For the most part, learners of English have unlimited access only to local models, firmly establishing the new features in their speech (Sridhar and Sridhar 1986; Kachru 1982b). Input and production, both in and out of the classroom, are largely in the new local variety.

Speakers of languages in attrition also have limited exposure to the target and little opportunity to interact with proficient speakers of that language. Dorian (1983) maintains that lack of exposure to the target is typical of the acquisition profiles of semi-speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic. In immigrant speech communities, as the first generation of immigrants die, (or even before, see Bettoni 1985) the target becomes less readily available and the speakers which do remain often have less than perfect command of it. Interaction is generally limited to a small number of specific domains.

Linguistic matrix-first language influence

Because NIVEs are usually found in multilingual settings, there is potentially a great deal of influence from the first languages of their speakers (Platt, Weber and Ho 1984). The amount and nature of items and features subject to transfer vary depending on sociolect. The middle and higher sociolects, which are used extensively for interethnic communication, in most cases, exhibit more superficial forms of transfer, such as lexical items and prosodic features. In the basilect, however, there is more extensive transfer and there are readily identifiable first language-based influences.[3] Lowenberg (1986) maintains that much of this transfer serves an identity function, one which unites the entire population of a NIVE nation, regardless of first language.

Pidgins and creoles are also found in multilingual settings (Sankoff 1979; Bickerton 1979; Mühlaüsler (1986); specifically in situations which have involved massive dislocation of populations. In fact, it has been claimed that a multilingual setting is a necessary condition for tertiary hybridization, a prerequisite for pidginization, to occur (Whinnom 1971). Individual pidgins may show extensive lexical influence of the parent languages, whereas creoles tend to be used more uniformly across users. According to Bickerton (1977), relexification is the major strategy in the early stages of pidgin formation. Individual second language acquisition, on the other hand, may take place in monolingual and bilingual settings, as well as multilingual ones. Transfer from the first language is possible, even probable, and has been attested in a number of SLA studies (Gass and Selinker 1983; Kellerman and Sharwood Smith 1986).

Language death and societal loss of a first language is unlikely to occur in any but a bilingual situation. Typically, the second language is dominant and of higher prestige. Contact with first language speakers ends either through attrition, a cessation in the flow of immigration, or the fact that new immigrants do not or cannot return to their mother countries. However, while the immigrant or dying language is still vital, it may exert considerable influence on the second language acquisition of its speakers and is a significant source of transfer.

Linguistic dimensions

Linguistic form has often been the focus of interest in pidgin/creole studies as well as in SLA research. First, it has been claimed that these varieties are somehow reduced or simpler than NS varieties of English (Schumann 1978, Andersen 1981; Meisel 1977, 1980). Similar claims have been made regarding pidgin languages and NIVEs. Bickerton maintains that "there is a definite level of complexity that language has to reach in order to serve as a native tongue" (1980:11). This would imply that NIVEs and creoles have to, in effect, prove their complexity in order to lay claim to NS status. First, it should be pointed out that the simplification which Schumann describes in his Pidginization Hypothesis is not a monolithic process. Meisel (1983) has noted that there are a number of ways in which a language can be simplified and as many motivations for such simplification to take place.

Looking first at the complexity of pidgins, the traditional view has been that pidgins are indeed simplified or reduced, but that creoles are fully expanded and complex. Both Mühlhaüsler (1986) and Sankoff (1980) have observed, however, that the differences between some expanded pidgins and their creole counterparts are not drastic. Thus the "complexification of outer form", noted by Hymes (1971) may not necessarily be a defining feature of creolization, rather it accompanies a functional expansion of the language variety. This view is in sharp contrast to Bickerton's claims regarding unstable pidgins versus their later creolized forms. As regards NIVEs, simplification has an important role in their establishment and acquisition (Williams 1987a, b); however, there are some NIVEs modifications which "include at least as much complexification as simplification" (Sridhar and Sridhar 1986).

Questions have also arisen regarding the variability of these and other learner varieties as autonomous linguistic systems. Variation has also recently become a major topic in second language acquisition research. In learner varieties, it has been found to have many sources and to be rule governed in some cases, while seemingly random in others (see Rutherford 1984). Corder (1977) has defined two types of language continua: developmental and lectal. These two continua may, in turn, shed some light on different kinds of variation. He calls pre-pidgin and post-pidgin continua, as well as the process of SLA, developmental, because they all involve increasing linguistic complexity. Progression along a developmental continuum may lead to the kind of variation which occurs when there is an overlap in the stages which learners go through as they approach the target. The learner uses forms from both the old and the new stages but presumably, successful acquirers eventually use only the new forms. Lectal continua, on the other hand, include a range of varieties which are based on social options, but do not necessarily involve increasing linguistic complexity. Lect shifting may lead to the variation in speech which occurs due to a change in interlocutor, setting, genre, task, etc.

In NIVEs, it is lectal variation which predominates in the production of adult speakers. Children acquiring English would, of course, also go through a series of developmental stages. Platt and Weber (1980) use the post-creole continuum model to describe the varieties of Singapore English. Although there are speakers who are limited to one or another variety, or *lect*, it is often the case that a speaker commands a wide range of these varieties. The appropriate variety is chosen from this repertoire, depending on the social situation, interlocutor, etc. It is difficult then, to label an individual NIVE speaker as say, a mesolect speaker. Another model has been proposed by Richards (1982) to describe the language continuum in Singapore, which involves a series of overlapping styles from one end of the continuum to the other. A given speaker would have command over a set of these styles and use them appropriately in a variety of situations. The major difference between this model and the post-creole continuum mode, as proposed by Platt and Weber, is that it emphasizes style rather than competence level. Most other NIVEs also can be viewed as part of language continua (Kachru 1982b; Todd 1982; Hancock and Angogo 1982).

Language continua are an integral part of pidgin/creole linguistics. Bickerton (1979) claims that in pidgins, in addition to developmental variation, there is extensive, often unsystematic, individual variation, specifically that which is based on first language influences. Sankoff (1980), on the other hand, maintains that developed pidgins, at least, are rule governed. Sankoff does not deny that there is variation, but argues that it is systematic. Variation in pidgins may originate in first language influence, geographical differences, urban versus rural settings, and a host of other factors (Mühlhaüsler 1986).

Recent SLA research has also seen a push toward discovering systematicity in variation (Gass and Madden to appear; Eisenstein to appear). In an attempt to discover the rules which govern developmental variation, Huebner (1983) has used a dynamic approach, based on the work of Bailey (1973) and Bickerton (1975, 1979), which claims that historical change and development originate in synchronic variation. Instead of trying to capture development at an elusive stable stage, an attempt is made to describe linguistic development through the variation itself. This kind of approach "account(s) for systematicity *as it is developing* both at a moment in time and in movement through time." (emphasis in original) (Rutherford 1984:132). In addition to developmental variation, there is increasing evidence that the production of SLLs is subject to lectal variation. A number of other studies have shown that SLLs may change phonological and syntactic features in their speech, depending on the social situation and task (Beebe 1980; Schmidt 1977: Tarone 1985; Ellis 1987).

NIVEs and the speech of SLLs bear many similarities, yet the fleeting changes which have frequently been noted in developing learner varieties are not generally found in NIVEs. This is because, especially among speakers who have control over higher sociolects, there is no variation due to development. There is no need to investigate the stage of the speaker in terms of development toward the target because he or she has already reached the target - the local variety of English. Variation within a single adult speaker's grammar is generally no more than in that of NSs, namely, the lectal variation which comes with changes in various aspects of a speech situation. Another crucial difference which separates learner languages from other varieties such as NIVEs is the maintenance and use of many sociolects, some of which may resemble early stages of second language learning. Any developmental variation which occurs generally means the mastery of higher sociolects. As Rickford (1983) has pointed out, this is an extension of competence, since the speaker retains competence in the lower sociolects as well. It is not the replacive development which occurs as learners go through successive stages of language acquisition.

In language attrition, on the other hand, there is a reduction in the catalog of target language forms (Andersen 1980; Dorian 1983; Bettoni 1985; Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983), but at the same time, there is increased variability in performance due to interference from the second language (Sharwood Smith 1983; Bettoni 1985). This is called attritional variation on Table 1, although there is no formal difference between it and the variation found in individual second language acquisition. Frequently the acquisition of the second language is replacive, that is, as second language forms are mastered, some first language forms are lost.

Conclusions

NIVEs are an important area of investigation in the fields of language acquisition and language contact which add to an already diverse picture of linguistic phenomena. NIVEs are unique among them, however, in that they are the product of nativization which has taken several generations as well as SLA within each generation. Historically, and linguistically, NIVEs bear some resemblance to pidgins and creoles and, because they are second languages, it is not surprising that they have much in common with individual ILs. In spite of these similarities, their status as legitimate regional varieties forces us to view them as something quite apart from imperfect versions of external NS Englishes. It is likely that these varieties will become increasingly important as the proportion of English speakers who are actually NIVEs speakers grows. It is hoped that this brief profile of NIVEs and where they can be situated within language contact and language acquisition research, can stimulate further research in this area.

Notes

[1] I would like to thank Teresa Pica, Barbara Hoekje, and Robin Sabino for their comments on earlier drafts. All remaining errors are, of course, my own.

[2] There are, however, numerous cases of imported indentured labor in the history of some NIVE nations. The issue of free will is debatable.

[3] There is some disagreement on this topic, see Bamgbose (1982).

Table 1
Comparison of acquisitonal phenomena

	Pidgins	**Creoles**	**Second language (in NS setting)**	**NIVEs**	**Dying languages**	**First language of immigrant communities**
SOCIOLINGUISTIC DIMENSIONS:						
2) domains of use	restricted	wide	restricted/wide	moderate to wide	restricted	restricted
3) language attitudes	low	low (covert-high)	varies	high	instrumental-low emotive-high	instrumental-low emotive-high
4) stability	varies	stable, though presence of related target may encourage decreolization	unstable (generally movement, toward NS target)	stable	unstable	unstable
5) norms	vary	possibly 2 norms: creole norm and standard norm	NS target	2 norms: exonormative, endonormative	loss of norms	loss of norms
6) association with speech community	varies	yes	no-individuals exc. some immigrant communities	yes	yes	yes
ACQUISITIONAL DIMENSIONS:						
7) period of acquisition/establishment	within one generation/across generations	instantaneous (Bickerton)/across generations (Sankoff)	within a lifetime	across generations/within a lifetime	across generations	across generations
8) conditions of exposure	untutored	untutored	untutored/formal	usually formal	untutored	usually untutored
9) availability of target and speakers	unavailable	NS target often unavailable	usually available	NS target and speakers: limited availability local target: available	target degenerating, few speakers	target degenerating, few speakers
10) language matrix	multilingual	multilingual	varies	multilingual	generally bilingual	generally bilingual
LINGUISTIC DIMENSIONS:						
11) complexity	low	as a native language	changes	acrolect as a native language	becoming simpler	becoming simpler
12) variation	individual	lectal	developmental (lectal)	developmental/lectal	attritional	attritional

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

References

Andersen, R. 1979. Expanding Schumann's pidginization hypothesis. *Language Learning* 29:105–119.

__________ 1980. Creolization as the acquisition of a second language as a first language. *Theoretical orientations in creole studies*. ed. by A. Valdman and A. Highfield, 273–295. New York: Academic Press.

__________ 1981. Two perspectives on pidginization as second language acquisition. *New dimensions in second language acquisition research*, ed. by R. Andersen, 165–195. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

__________ 1982. Determining the linguistic attributes of language attrition. *The loss of language skills*, ed. by R. Lambert and B. Freed, 83–118. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

__________ ed. 1983. *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Bailey, C-J. 1973. *Variation and linguistic theory*. Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Bamgbose, A. 1982. Standard Nigerian English: issues of identification. *The other tongue: English across cultures*, ed. by B. Kachru, 99–111. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Beebe, L. 1980. Sociolinguistic variation and style shifting. *Language Learning* 30:433–447.

Bettoni, C. 1985. Italian language attrition: a Sydney case study. *Pacific Linguistics Series C* No. 2 ed. by M. Clyne, 63–79. Canberra: Australia National University.

Bickerton, D. 1975. *Dynamics of a creole system*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

__________ 1979. Pidginization and creolization: language acquisition and language universals. *Pidgin and creole linguistics*. ed. by A. Valdman, 49–69. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

__________ 1981. *The roots of language*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.

Biondi, L. 1975. *The Italian-American child: His sociolinguistic acculturation* Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Chaudenson, R. 1977. Toward the reconstruction of the social matrix of Creole language. *Pidgin and creole linguistics*, ed. by A. Valdman, 259–276. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Clyne, M. 1985a. Language maintenance and language shift: some data from Australia. *Language of inequality*, ed. by N. Wolfson and J Manes, 197–202. Berlin: Mouton.

Corder, S.P. 1977. Language continua and the interlanguage hypothesis. *The notions of simplification, inter-language and pidgins and their* *relation to second language pedagogy*. ed. by S. Corder and E. Roulet, 11–17. Geneva Librarie Droz.

Day, R. 1985. The ultimate inequality: linguistic genocide. *Language of inequality*, ed. by N. Wolfson and J. Manes, 163–181. Berlin: Mouton.

DeCamp, D. 1971. Toward a generative analysis of a post-creole speech continuum. *Pidginization and creolization of languages*. ed. by D. Hymes, 349–370. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dorian, N. 1980. *Language death: the life cycle of a Scottish Gaelic dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

__________ 1983. Natural language acquisition from the perspective of the study of language death. *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*, ed. by R. Andersen, 158–167. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Eckman, F. and Washabaugh, W. 1983. The acculturation model and the problem of variation in second language acquisition. *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*, ed. by R. Andersen, 275–289. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Eisenstein, M. ed. to appear. *Variation in second language acquisition: An empirical view*. New York: Plenum Press.

Ellis, R. 1987. Interlanguage variability in narrative discourse: style shifting in the use of past tense. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*. 9:1–20.

Fennel, D. 1981. Can a shrinking minority be saved? Lessons from the Irish experience. *Minority languages today*, ed. by E. Haugen, 32–39. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Fernando, C. 1982. English in Sri Lanka: a case study of a bilingual community. *New Englishes*. ed. by J. Pride, 188–207. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Foley, J. 1984. A study of the development of language among pre-school children in Singapore with particular reference to English. *On TESOL 84*, ed. by P. Larson, E. Judd and D. Messerschmidt. 29–44.

Gardner, R. 1980. Social factors in language retention. *The loss of language skills*, ed. by R. Lambert and B. Freed, 24–43. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gass, S. and Madden, C. ed. to appear. *Variation in second language acquisition. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.*

Gass, S. and Selinker, L. eds. 1983. Language transfer and language learning. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gilbert, G. 1981. Discussion of "Two perspectives on pidginization as second language acquisition." *New dimensions in second language* *acquisition research*, ed. by R. Andersen, 207-212. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

__________ 1984. Universals of discourse structure and second language acquisition. *Language universals and second language acquisition*, ed. by W. Rutherford, 109-133. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Goh, Y. T. 1983. Students' perception and attitude toward the varieties of English spoken in Singapore. *Varieties of English in Southeast Asia* ed. by R. Noss, 251-277. Singapore: RELC SEAMEO.

Gonzo, S. and Saltarelli, M. 1983. Pidginization and linguistic change in emigrant languages. *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*, ed. by R. Andersen, 181-197. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gupta, A. 1986. A standard for written Singapore English? *English World-Wide* 7:75-100.

Hancock, I. and Angogo, R. 1982. English in East Africa. *English as a world language*, ed. by R. Bailey and M. Görlach. 306-323. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haugen, E. 1977. Norm and deviation in bilingual communities. *Bilingualism*, ed. by P. Hornby, 91-102. New York: Academic Press.

Huebner, T. 1983. *A longitudinal study of the acquisition of English*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.

Hymes, D. (ed.) 1971. *Pidginization and creolization of languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jones, B. L. 1981. Welsh: Linguistic conservatism and shifting bilingualism. *Minority languages today,* ed. by E. Haugen, 40-52. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Kachru, B. 1982a. Models for non-native English. *The other tongue: English across cultures*, ed. by B. Kachru, 31-57. Urbana: University of Illionois Press.

__________ 1982b. South Asian English. *English as a world language*, ed. by R. Bailey and M. Görlach. 251-280. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

__________ 1985. Institutionalized second language varieties. *The English language today*, ed. by S. Greenbaum, 211-226. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Kellerman, E. and Sharwood Smith, M. eds. 1986. *Cross-linguistic influence in second language acquisition*. New York: Pergamon.

Kuo, E. 1985. Language and social mobility in Singapore. *Language of inequality*, ed. by N. Wolfson and J. Manes, 337-354. Berlin: Mouton.

Lawton, D. 1982. English in the Caribbean. *English as a world language*, ed. by R. Bailey and M. Görlach. 251-280. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

LePage, R. 1977. Processes of pidgnization and creolization. *Pidgin and creole linguistics,* ed. by A. Valdman, 222-225. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Long, M. 1981. Input, interaction and second language acquisition. Native language and foreign language acquisition. *Annals of the New York Academy of Science* 379:259-278.

Lowenberg, P. 1986. Non-native varieites of English: nativization, norms and implications. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 8:1-18.

Mehrotra, R. 1982. Indian English: a sociolinguistic profile. *New Englishes* ed. by J. Pride, 150-173. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Meisel, J. 1977. Linguistic simplification: a study of immigrant workers' speech and foreigner talk. Language continua and the interlanguage hypothesis. *The notions of simplification, inter-language and pidgins and their relation to second language pedagogy*, ed. by S. Corder and E. Roulet, 89-113. Geneva: Librarie Droz.

__________ 1980. Linguistic simplification. *Second language development: Trends and issues*, ed. by Felix, S. 13-40. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

__________ 1983. Strategies of second language acquisition: More than one kind of simplification. *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*, ed. by R. Andersen, 120-157. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Metcalf, A. 1979. *Chicano English*, Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Moag, R. 1982a. English as a foreign, second, native and basal language: a new taxonomy of English-using societies. *New Englishes*, ed. by J. Pride, 11-50. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

__________ 1982b. The life cycle of non-native Englishes: a case study. *The other tongue: English across cultures*, ed. by B. Kachru, 270-288. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Mühlhaüsler, P. 1982. Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea. *English as a world language*, ed. by R. Bailey and M. Görlach, 439-466. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

__________ 1986. *Pidgin and creole linguistics*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Nash, R. 1982. Pringlish: still more contact in Puerto Rico. *The other tongue: English across cultures*, ed. by B. Kachru, 250-269. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Penalosa, F. 1980. *Chicano sociolinguistics*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Platt, J. 1975. The Singapore English speech continuum and the basilect

"Singlish" as a creoloid. *Anthropological Linguistics* 17:363-374,

__________ 1977b. The creoloid as a special type of interlanguage. *Interlanguage Studies Bulletin* 2:22-38.

__________ 1982. English in Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong. *English as a world language*, ed. by R. Bailey and M. Görlach, 384-414. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Platt, J. and Weber, H. 1980. *English in Singapore and Malaysia: status, features, functions*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Platt, Weber and Ho. 1984. *The new Englishes*. London: Routledge and and Kegan Paul.

Prator, C. 1968. The British heresy in TESL. *Language problems of developing nations*, ed. by J. Fishman, C. Ferguson and J. Das Gupta, 459-476. New York: John Wiley.

Richards, J. 1982. Rhetorical and communicative styles. *The other tongue: English across cultures*, ed. by B. Kachru, 154-167. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Richards, J. and Tay, M. 1982. Norm and variability in language use and language learning. *English for cross-cultural communication*, ed. by L. Smith, 40-56. New York: St. Martins Press.

Rickford, J. 1983. What happens in decreolization? *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition*, ed. by R. Andersen, 298-319. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

__________ 1985. Standard and non-standard attitudes in a creole continuum community. *Language of inequality*, ed. by N. Wolfson and J. Manes, 145-160. Berlin: Mouton.

Rickford, J. and Traugott, E. 1985. Symbol of powerlessness and degeneracy or a symbol of solidarity and truth? Paradoxical attitudes toward pidgins and creoles. *The English language today*, ed. by S. Greenbaum, 252-261, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Ritchie, W. 1986. Second language acquisition research and non-native varieties of English: some issues in common. *World Englishes* 5:15-30.

Rutherford, W. 1984. Description and explanation in interlangauge syntax: state of the art. *Language Learning* 34:127-155.

Samonte, A. 1981. Teaching English for international and intranational purposes: the Philippine context. *English for cross-cultural communication*, ed. by L. Smith, 74-82. New York: St. Martins Press.

Sankoff, G. 1979. The genesis of language. *The genesis of language*, ed. by K. Hill, 23-47. Ann Arbor: Karoma.

__________ 1980. Variation, pidgins and creoles. *Theoretical orientations in creole studies*, ed. by A. Valdman and A. Highfield, 139-164, New York: Academic Press.

Schmidt, A. 1985. Speech variation and social networks in dying Dyirbal. *Pacific Linguistics* Series C No. 2 ed. by M. Clyne, 127–150. Canberra: Australian National University.

Schmidt, R. 1977. Sociolinguistic variation and language transfer in phonology. *Working Papers on Bilingualism* 12:79–95.

Schmied, J. 1985. Attitudes toward English in Tanzania. *English World-Wide* 6:237–269.

Schumann, J. 1978. *The pidginization process: a model for second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

__________ 1984. Non-syntactic speech in Spanish-English basilang. *Second languages*, ed. by R. Andersen. 355–374. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schumann, J. and Stauble, A. 1983. A discussion of second language acquisition and decreolization. *New dimensions in second language acquisition research*, ed. by R. Andersen, 260–274. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Sharwood Smith, M. 1983. On first language loss in the second language acquirer: problems of transfer. *Language transfer and language learning*, ed. by S. Gass and L. Selinker 222–231. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Shaw, W. 1981. Asian student attitudes towards English. *English for cross-cultural communication,* ed. by L. Smith, 108–122. New York: St. Martins Press.

Smolicz, J. 1981. Core values and cultural identity. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 4:75–90.

Spencer, J. ed. 1971. *The English language in West Africa,* London: Longman.

Sridhar, K. 1982. English in a south Indian urban context. *The other tongue: English across cultures*, ed. by B. Kachru, 141–153. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Sridhar, K. and Sridhar, S. 1986. Bridging the paradigm gap: second language acquisition theory and indigenized varieties of English. *World Englishes* 5:3–14.

Stauble, A. 1978. The process of decreolization: a model for second language development. *Language Learning* 28:29–54.

Tarone, E. 1985. Variability in interlanguage use: a study of style shifting in morphology and syntax. *Language Learning* 35:373–403.

Tarone, E., Frauenfelder, U. and Selinker, L. 1975. Systematicity/variability and stability/instability in interlanguage systems. *Language Learning* Special Issue no. 4, ed. by D. H. Brown 93–134.

Tay, M. 1982. The uses, users and features of English in Singapore. *New Englishes*. ed. by J. Pride, 51–76. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Tay, M. and Gupta, A. 1981. Toward a description of Standard Singapore English. *Varieties of English in Southeast Asia,* ed. by R. Noss. 173–189. Singapore: RELC SEAMEO.

Todd, L. 1982. Cameroon: *Varieties of English around the world.* Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag.

__________ 1984. *Modern Englishes.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Tongue, R. 1974. *The English of Singapore and Malaysia.* Singapore: Eastern Universities Press.

Valdman, A. 1983. Creolization and second language acquisition. *Pidginization and creolization as language acquisition,* ed. by R. Andersen, 212–234, Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Washabaugh, W, 1979. On the sociality of creole languages. *The genesis of language,* ed. by K. Hill, 125–139. Ann Arbor: Karoma.

Weltens, B. 1987. The attrition of foreign language skills: a literature review. *Applied Linguistics* 8:22–38.

Whinnom, K. 1971. Linguistic hybridization and the special case of pidgins and creoles. *Pidginization and creolization of languages,* ed. by D. Hymes, 155–171. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, J. 1987a. Production principles in non-native institutionalized varieties of English. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

__________ 1987b. Non-native varieties of English: A special case of language acquisition. *English World-Wide* 8:161–200.

__________ to appear. Variation and convergence in non-native institutionalized Englishes. *Variation in second language acquisition: An empirical view,* ed. by M. Eisenstein. New York: Plenum Press.

Wode, H. 1984. Some theoretical implications of L2 acquisition research and the grammar of interlanguage. *Interlanguage,* ed. by A. Davies et al., 162–184. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.

Wolfram, W., Christian, D. and Hatfield, D. 1986. English of adolescent and young adult Vietnamese refugees in the United States. *World Englishes* 5:47–60.

Zobl, H. 1984. Uniformity and source-language variation across developmental continua. *Language universals and second language acquisition.* ed. by W. Rutherford, 185–218. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Zuengler, J. 1982. Kenyan English. *The other tongue: English across cultures,* ed. by B. Kachru, 112–140. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Miscorrection in Peer Feedback in Writing Class

George Jacobs
University of Hawaii

Peer feedback is part of a larger category of educational activities in which students work together in groups. Three prominent learning theorists whose works are cited in support of group activities are Piaget (1959), Vygotsky (1962, 1978), and Dewey (1966).

Piaget and Vygotsky, while differing in several ways, both discussed the benefits for learners of interaction with others. Piaget pointed out that such interaction can be the source of cognitive conflict which can lead learners to reexamine and adjust the frameworks through which they view the world. A key concept for Vygotsky was the zone of proximal development, i.e., the area between what we can do on our own and what we can do with others. He saw interaction with others as central to furthering learning and development. Dewey was a strong believer in making students, rather than teachers, the hub of classroom activity.

Research on cooperative learning has given empirical validation to the use of thoughtfully organized group activities as a means of enhancing not only academic achievement, but a host of affective variables as well (Johnson, Maruyama, Johnson, Nelson, & Skon, 1981; Slavin, 1980). This and other research, in addition to years of classroom experience, have led scholars to hypotheses about key variables in structuring group interaction (Hythecker, Dansereau, & Rocklin, 1988; Johnson & Johnson, 1987; Webb, 1983).

Peer feedback on student writing has been advocated for first language learners (Bruffee, 1984; Elbow, 1973; George, 1984; Jacko, 1978) and second language (L2) learners (Raimes, 1983; Whitbeck, 1976). Indeed, calls for the use of peer feedback may become more common for two reasons. First, the growing popularity of teaching writing as a process with several dimensions has made peer feedback more appropriate because there is more emphasis on revision. Second, these dimensions of the writing process - creating ideas, shaping those ideas into a piece of writing, and then fixing the form of that writing - provide more points at which feedback can be offered.

Perhaps the key advantage put forward in support of peer feedback is that it changes students' role in the class. With an exclusively teacher-fronted approach to writing instruction, the students' role is limited to producing writing which will be read and evaluated solely by the teacher.

In contrast, peer feedback broadens learners' involvement by giving them the additional roles of reader and advisor to go with that of writer. Hopefully, this addition of roles increases learners' insight into the writing process. A related benefit proposed for peer work is that it helps learners become more autonomous (Davies & Omberg, 1986), thus preparing them to write without a teacher there to correct their errors. Further, structuring face-to-face discussion into the feedback process provides students the opportunity to engage in constructive controversy which may lead to insights and greater task engagement (Johnson & Johnson, 1987).

However, some teachers and students, particularly in L2, are worried about using peer feedback in writing class because they fear students' comments will cause as many problems as they solve, due to students' lack of language ability (Jacobs, 1987). A similar question as to the wisdom of group activities, given nonnative speakers' level of competence in the L2, has been raised regarding group speaking activities. However, little miscorrection of student speech by peers was reported in studies by Bruton and Samuda (1980), Porter (1983), cited in Long and Porter (1985), and Deen (1988).

The purpose of the study reported here was to investigate miscorrection in group writing activities. It might be believed that more miscorrection would occur with writing than with speaking because the fact that the words are permanently on the page, rather than vanishing instantly into the air as in spoken discourse, makes errors - real or supposed - easier to find and point out. Also, students may be accustomed to a stricter standard of accuracy for written language and thus feel that they should focus more on the form of what their classmates write than on the form of what they say. At the same time, students may tend to disregard some of their peers' suggestions because they lack confidence in their peers' ability to give them correct advice on their writing.

The Study

Subjects. The subjects were eighteen third-year English majors at Chiang Mai, Thailand. Thirteen were female and five male. They were enrolled in a course devoted seventy per cent to writing and thirty per cent to reading. The class met twice a week. The normal procedure for writing compositions in the course was for students to first write a sentence outline, which was checked by the teacher for content, organization, and grammar, and then students changed the outline into a three paragraph composition. Next, the composition was evaluated by the teacher and returned for possible correction by students. Writing was not done in class.

Several times during the term, however, peer feedback on composition outlines and drafts was added to the standard procedure. This took several forms: 1) students wrote separate compositions, but worked together to improve their peers' compositions with grading based on the average grade of the groups' compositions; 2) students wrote separate parts of a composition and then worked together to mold the parts into one composition; 3) students read others' compositions and said what they found most interesting about them; 4) students looked for designated errors in their peers' compositions.

Method. To begin the process of creating the pieces of writing to be used in the study, a topic was assigned, explained, exemplified, and discussed. Students then wrote three paragraph sentence outlines to be handed in the day before the class met again. These outlines were checked by the teacher for content and organization only. The next class period the outlines were returned to the students who expanded them into three paragraph composition drafts and handed them in at the end of class.

Two photocopies of each draft were made by the teacher who then randomly paired the students. (In one case a pairing was changed because of a personality conflict between the members of the pair.) The following class period, students received a photocopy of their partner's draft to read and make suggestions on regarding grammar only.

The suggestions were to be of two types. First, if an item was believed to be incorrect, students were to put a line through it and write what they thought was the correct form above it. Second, if students thought something might be wrong but they were not sure, they were only to circle the item and write nothing above it. After 20 minutes, the pairs met to discuss their suggestions for 30 minutes. Students were told that their grade would be based solely on their own composition. In the remaining 30 minutes of the class two things were done. One, students used the second photocopy of their peer's draft to write revised suggestions. This was done because the discussion might have changed some of their ideas. Two, students rewrote their drafts in light of their peer's comments and the just concluded discussion.

Scoring. The two types of suggestions, corrections and indications of uncertainty, were coded differently. Corrections were placed into one of four categories: A1) wrong in original – correction wrong, e.g., "Suwit living in Chiang Mai"; A2) wrong in original – correction right, e.g., "Suwit live in Chiang Mai"; A3) correct in original – correction also right, e.g., "Suwit lives in Chiang Mai"; A4) correct in original – correction wrong, e.g., "Suwit lives in Chiang Mai". Because with indications of uncertainty, students did not write an alternative, these were placed in only two categories: B1) wrong in original; and B2) correct in original.

Next, for each category of comments a comparison was made between changes in the original and revised drafts and the peer's comments on the first photocopy to see whether the peer feedback, via the markings on the first photocopy and the subsequent discussions, had led to any changes. Finally, differences between the first and second photocopies were recorded to see if the intervening discussions had produced any changes in the peers' comments. The scoring was done by the researcher and checked by another teaching professional. Any disagreements were resolved by the decision of a third teacher.

Results. Table 1 shows the markings that students made on the two photocopies of their peers' composition drafts. What stands out here is that by far the largest type of marking was accurate correction of incorrect forms, category A2. When this category is combined with category B1, indications of uncertainty about incorrect items in the original draft,

Table 1
Comparison of Markings made by Peers on First Photocopy of Composition Drafts (Before Discussion) and Second Photocopy (After Discussion)

	First photocopy		Second photocopy	
Marking category	n	%	n	%
A. Correction				
1. Wrong in original - correction wrong	4	3	2	2
2. Wrong in original - correction right	59	48	58	55
3. Correct in original - correction right	9	7	13	12
4. Correct in original - correction wrong	7	6	8	8
B. Indication of uncertainty				
1. Wrong in original	24	19	16	15
2. Correct in original	21	17	9	8
Total	124	100	106	100

the percentage is 67% for the first photocopy and 70% for the second. At the same time, category A4, correct in original - correction wrong, accounts for less than 10% of the markings on both photocopies. The discussions held between the markings of the two photocopies seemed not to have produced large changes, except in category B2, correct in original - marked unsure. Here, the number and percentage fell by more than 50%.

Table 2 compares the changes between the original drafts and the new versions, written after students had seen and discussed their peers' markings on the first photocopy, with the markings on the first photocopy. Again, what stands out is the size of the category A2 changes. When combined with B1 markings which were changed correctly, these two account for 76% of all the changes between drafts. Also interesting

Table 2
Comparison of Markings made by Peers on First Photocopy of Composition Drafts (Before Discussion) and Changes in Rewritten Drafts

	Changed		Unchanged	
Marking Category	n	%	n	%
A. Correction				
1. Wrong in original - correction wrong	4	4	0	0
2. Wrong in original - correction right	53	58	6	18
3. Correct in original - correction right	7	8	2	6
4. Correct in original - correction wrong	4	4	3	9
B. Indication of uncertainty				
1. Wrong in original				
a. Changed correctly	16	18	6	18
b. Changed incorrectly	2	2		
2. Correct in original				
a. Changed correctly	5	5	16	49
b. Changed incorrectly	0	0		
Total	91	99	33	100

to note is that of the seven type A4 miscorrections, only four were adopted, and these all came from the same student's draft and involved the same grammar point: articles. Additionally, none of the type B2 markings correct in original – marked unsure, led to incorrect changes.

Discussion

The changes which followed the peer feedback can be grouped into three general categories. First, when category A2 corrections were adopted and items with category B1 markings were changed to be correct, students' compositions improved. Second, when category A1 and A3 were adopted, items with category B1 markings were changed to another incorrect form, and items with category B2 markings were changed to another correct form, the writing's quality was not changed. Finally, when category A4 corrections were adopted, writing quality declined.

The second group of changes deserves attention. Here, changes were made, but the quality of the draft was not affected because a correct form was substituted for another correct form or an incorrect form was substituted for another incorrect form. While these changes neither improved nor worsened the writing, perhaps confusion may have been created which could have a negative impact on students' interlanguage. Nevertheless, as reported above, 76% of the changes fell into the first group: improvements.

The major finding of the study seems to be the very low number of changes resulting from category A4 corrections and the absence of incorrect changes resulting from category B2 markings. This is especially striking because, as mentioned earlier, all these miscorrections came from only one student's paper, and all concerned only one language point: articles, something which is usually acquired late in the process of learning English as a second language.

However, it should be kept in mind that the study involved a small number of students and only one set of compositions. Also, there are other ways that the question of miscorrection in peer feedback on writing could be investigated. These include taping feedback discussions, extending the length of time for critiquing, discussing, and rewriting, deepening students' experience with and skill in peer feedback and group activities generally, and investigating miscorrection in areas other than form. Additionally, it should be noted that students did not find all the errors in their peers' drafts. This is similar to what occurred in Bruton and Samuda's 1980 study.

Finally, it needs to be noted that there are other forms of peer feedback besides the marking of errors. For example, students can mark those parts of drafts with good form, content, or style. Another example is that when peers do summaries or state the main idea of all or parts of a draft, this gives writers an indication of whether or not they are getting across their intended ideas.

Implications

As to how to make peer feedback more effective, Bruton & Samuda (1980) suggest that students be given specific types of errors to look for rather than being asked to look for errors in general. Perhaps, teachers could select those grammatical error types which they believe should be in students' monitors or those rhetorical points which have been stressed in class. This would present learners with a more doable task, one probably less subject to problems of miscorrection.

Further, Newkirk (1984) advises that when students are given error types to help their peers with, the criteria should be clearly defined. This seems particularly important when learners are helping each other with the content and organization of their writing. Thus, teachers have a key role in guiding peer feedback.

Conclusion

The findings of the study reported above, in which learners gave feedback on their peers' writing, are consistent with studies of miscorrection in spoken activities. The relatively small amount of miscorrection found in the study may ease some teachers' and students' concern that peer feedback is a case of the blind leading the blind. Indeed, peer feedback can play a role in the development of writing ability by giving students additional perspectives from which to learn and apply writing skills. Further, as noted by Davies & Omberg (1986) and other advocates of peer interactive methods, working in dyads and groups can increase students' sense of autonomy and responsibility in the learning process. Therefore, it is hoped peer feedback and other group writing activities will be considered in the planning of writing programs.

Bibliography

Bruffee, K. (1984). Peer tutoring and the "conversation of mankind." *College English*, 46, 635–652.

Bruton, A., & Samuda, V. (1980). Learner and teacher roles in the treatment of oral error in group work. *RELC Journal, 11* pp. 49-63.

Davies, N.F. & Omberg, M. (1986). *Peer group teaching and the composition class.* Paper presented at the International Conference of IATEFL. Brighton, United Kingdom, April.

Deen, J.Y. (1987). *An analysis of classroom interaction in a cooperative learning and teacher-centered setting.* Thesis, University of California Los Angeles.

Dewey, J. (1966). *Selected educational writings.* Heinemann: London.

Elbow, P. (1973). *Writing without teachers.* London: Oxford University Press.

George, D. (1984). Working with peer groups in the composition classroom. *College Composition and Communication, 35,* pp. 320-326.

Hythecker, V.I., Dansereau, D.F., & Rocklin, T.R. (1988). An analysis of the processes influencing the structured dyadic learning environment. *Educational Psychologist, 23*(1), 23-27.

Jacko, C.M. (1978). Small group triad: an instructional mode for the teaching of writing. *College Composition and Communication, 29,* pp. 290-292.

Jacobs, G. (1987). First experiences with peer feedback on compositions: student and teacher reaction. *System, 15,* pp. 325-333.

Johnson, D.W. & Johnson, R.T. (1987). *Learning together & alone: Cooperative, competitive, & individualistic learning* (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Johnson, D.W., Maruyama, G. Johnson, R.T., Nelson, D., & Skon, L. (1981). Effects of cooperative, competitive, and individualistic goal structures on achievement: a meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 89*, 47-62.

Long, M.H., & P. Porter. (1985). Group work, interlanguage talk, and second language acquisition. *TESOL Quarterly, 19,* pp. 207-228.

Newkirk, T. (1984). Direction and misdirection in peer response. *College Composition and Communication, 35,* pp. 301-311.

Piaget, J. (1959). *Language and thought of the child* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Porter, P. (1983). *Variations in the conversations of adult learners of English as a function of proficiency level of the participants.* Diss., Stanford University.

Raimes, A. (1983). *Techniques In Teaching Writing.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Slavan, R.E. (1980). Cooperative learning. *Review of Educational Research, 50,* 315-342.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1962). *Thought and language* (translated and revised by A. Kozulin). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Vygotsky, L.S. (1978). *Mind in society.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Webb, N. (1983). Predicting learning from student interaction: Defining the interaction variables. *Educational Psychologist, 18*(1), 33–41.

Whitebeck M.C. (1976) Peer correction procedures for intermediate and advanced ESL composition lessons. *TESOL Quarterly, 10,* pp. 321–325.

How ESL Teachers and Peers Evaluate and Respond to Student Writing

Raymond Devenney
California State University, Bakersfield
USA

Introduction

The expansion in the 1980's of learner-centered approaches to English as a Second Language writing instruction (Taylor, 1981; McKay, 1981), the view of writing as an act of creating meaning (Zamel, 1982, 1983), and the use of communicative activities in second language (L2) writing classes (Raimes, 1978, 1983; Lasser-Rico, 1983) have led to two significant developments in ESL writing instruction. The first of these is a critique of the teacher as examiner (Langer and Applebee, 1984; Chaudron, 1986); and the second is the growth of the peer group as an audience for ESL student writers (Brinton, 1983; Cohen, 1983a; Cramer, 1984).

Second language research concerning the reliability of peers as an audience for student writers remains inconclusive (Partridge, 1981; Cohen, 1983b; Chaudron, 1984). If ESL teacher and peer evaluations differed significantly, as they did in first language (L1), that is, if the groups formed distinct evaluative communities; then considering L2 peers a viable audience for student writers becomes problematic. At best, such a finding would leave unchallenged what Chaudron (1984) called "the uncertain status of peer evaluation in L2 writing" (p. 4).

In two studies conducted at the University of New Hampshire (UNH), Newkirk (1984a, 1984b) found significant, systematic differences between L1 teacher and peer evaluation of student papers. His analysis of subjects' evaluative comments revealed that L1 teacher and student evaluations differed in respect to the following areas: (1) the role of personal identification with writer and text, (2) the role of organization, (3) the role of writing style, and (4) the role of stance. Newkirk concluded the two groups formed distinct "interpretive communities" (Fish, 1980). According to Fish, interpretive communities establish norms for constructing and evaluating text; therefore, "a reading that might be appropriate in one community might not be considered appropriate in another" (Newkirk, 1984b) (p. 284).

Given the diversity of ESL learners and the variety of contexts for L2 writing instruction, Fish's notion of interpretive communities would appear to be a highly appropriate and relevant construct for examining ESL student writing evaluation. Differences between ESL teacher and peer evaluation have not been explored thoroughly. Much of the ESL peer group research has focused on evaluating the effects of feedback on revision and editing of student compositions (Chaudron, 1984; Zhang and Halpren, 1984; Zhang, 1985). The L2 research has not determined whether ESL teachers and students actually differ in their evaluation of writing, nor has it explained if the groups use the same or different criteria to evaluate student compositions. The question remains, do ESL students and teachers form distinct interpretive communities? The study reported here attempts to investigate this potentially informative facet of ESL writing instruction. It amounts to a partial replication of Newkirk's L1 research findings as applicable to ESL.

The Study

Newkirk (1984a) pointed out that framing the issue of writing evaluation in terms of interpretive communities grants integrity to both teacher and student responses. Differences between teacher and peer evaluations were viewed as "the result of coherent strategies and not ignorance or impulsiveness on the part of the student" (p. 284). This study shares these basic assumptions of Newkirk's L1 research.

Purpose

To see if Newkirk's findings regarding L1 instructor and peer evaluation differences would hold true for L2 teachers and learners, an exploratory study was conducted. The study was based upon the same two research questions posed by Newkirk:

(1) Are there papers on which the evaluations of teachers and students differ significantly?

(2) What does an analysis of written evaluations reveal about differences in the criteria used by the two groups?

Subjects

The subjects in the study consisted of thirty-nine fully-matriculated ESL, university students and thirteen experienced ESL teachers. The students were enrolled in three different courses in the English Language Institute at the University of Hawaii (ELI/UH): ELI 72, a non-credit reading course; ELI 80, a non-credit listening comprehension course; and ESL 100, a three-credit expository writing course which fulfills students' freshman English requirement. All had TOEFL scores in the 475–550 range. The students' ethnic backgrounds were as follows:

Chinese (15), Korean (9), Vietnamese (4), Japanese (4), Indonesian (4), and Filipino (3).

The ESL instructors were all native English speakers, and they had an average of seven years of teaching experience. Nine of the ESL instructors were teaching a writing course at the time of the study. The teachers were working at three different institutions of higher education: the State University, a two-year public community college, and a four-year private college.

Procedures

Following Newkirk's (1984b) procedures, the thirteen teachers and thirty-nine students were asked to read and rank seven ESL compositions, from (1) best paper to (7) worst paper, and to make written comments about their evaluations. A table of random numbers was used to set the order in which subjects would read the sets of compositions. The subjects were instructed to read the papers in the exact order presented and to read all the papers before ranking any of the compositions. Teachers and students could re-read the papers in any order after the initial reading of all seven compositions. After ranking the writing samples, subjects were asked to write down the reasons - criteria - they used to evaluate the papers and determine rankings. Subjects were also asked to make written comments about their reaction to the papers.

Materials

The writing samples in the study consisted of seven compositions of approximately equal length (1-1½ pages) selected by the researcher. The papers reflected different writing styles, patterns of organization, and rhetorical purposes. All had been final drafts of assignments submitted by students in writing classes at the ELI/UH. As in the L1 study, it was assumed that student papers would elicit variable reactions. Thus, it was felt that the papers should be actual student products rather than texts created by the researcher.

The researcher anticipated that reaction to error would play an important role in the evaluation of ESL student writing (Santos, 1986). For this reason, certain changes were made to the two papers which primarily appeared to value text structure or form (Papers #1 and #2). These changes included reducing the number of errors of grammar, usage, spelling, and punctuation. These corrections can be said to represent "proofreading" or "editing" rather than substantive "revision". Every effort was made to avoid affecting meanings and to leave the papers' original wording intact. No changes of any kind were made to the other papers. Consequently, the writing samples gave teachers and students ample opportunity to make clear choices about evaluative criteria and to demonstrate reliability in their rankings and written comments.

Analysis

As in Newkirk's UNH studies, teacher and peer mean rankings of the papers, from (1) best paper to (7) worst paper, are reported. Nonparametric statistical analyses of the ranking data were performed. First, a Likert scale was used to calculate the means, standard deviations, and correlations of teacher and student rankings. Following this, a T-Scale program was used and the scales revised (Dunn-Rankin, 1983) (pp. 91–93); see (pp. 337–338 for T-Scale program). Second, Spearman Rank Order Correlations were used to compare teacher/peer average mean rankings of the seven papers. Third, a Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance was performed to determine if different relationships were present within the same groups. A significance level of $p < .05$ was set for all statistical analyses.

As in the UNH studies, the written responses of the L2 teacher and student evaluations for each paper were also analyzed. First, a Ph.D. candidate in Applied Linguistics at the University of Hawaii parsed the subjects' written responses into separate evaluative statements "that conveyed the sense of a single thought" (Squire, 1964) (p. 17). The total number of parsed evaluative comments was 759.

Next, the analysis of evaluative comments focused on seven response categories in which significant differences emerged in the L1 research: personal identification with author or text, subjective response, organization, writing style, unfinished text, grammar, and content. These seven categories were explained to two independent raters, an MA student in ESL and an MA student in English at UH. (A more detailed discussion of these seven categories follows this section of the paper.) The two raters were asked to place each of the 759 evaluative comments into one of the seven categories. The raw percentage of agreement between the raters was 76.3%. This figure is consistent with Newkirk's (73.6%) and Squire's (71.4%).

After the two independent ratings, the raters were asked to meet and make decisions regarding the statements about which they originally disagreed. The raters eventually assigned to classes all but twenty-four statements (3.16%). These comments were not included in the analysis.

For another twenty statements (2.63%), the raters felt the subject's comment could have been parsed into two separate statements. The raters felt they could only reach a classification agreement on the basis of two distinct statements. This re-classification added another twenty statements to the study. The total number of evaluative statements eventually classified in the study, therefore, was 755.

Finally, a chi-square test was conducted to determine whether the group of teachers and the group of students applied significantly different evaluation criteria in their written responses to the seven compositions.

The Categories for Analysis of the L2 Evaluative Responses

(1) *The Role of Personal Identification.* This category was a major source of disagreement between L1 teachers and students. Newkirk claimed peer willingness to identify with the writer caused them to "read in" or "extend" what had actually been written in the text. This peer elaboration of text resulted in clearly different responses and rankings by the L1 groups.

(2) *The Role of Subjective Response.* This category included comments that justified an evaluation of a paper entirely on the basis of a subjective comment (for example, calling a paper "boring"). Newkirk noted that "subjective response" was similar to Elbow's (1981) criterion of "reader-based", as opposed to "text-based", response.

(3) *The Role of Organization.* The most frequently cited category of L1 evaluative response, organization, was another area of marked disagreement between L1 teachers and peers. Newkirk concluded that student concepts of "what is permissible may be limited to the restrictive models they have been taught" (1984a) (p. 297).

(4) *The Role of Writing Style.* This L2 category synthesized several areas which separated the groups in the L1 study including the role of logic, clarity, and point of view; the role of word choice; and the role of originality. A scale of values is implicit in any evaluative comment about writing style. The issue is whether the scale of values used by students is different from the scale of values used by teachers.

(5) *The Role of Unfinished Text.* While Newkirk's (1984b) "role of stance" began to get at this important concept, a subsequent L1 study (Gere and Stevens, 1985) more explicitly delineated the issue involved. These researchers asserted that the notion of unfinished text is the critical difference between teacher and peer groups' responses to writing. Gere

and Stevens claimed peer response is "intent on forming text by informing it; that is, it tries to realize the meaning of text by informing the writer of actual and potential meaning" (p. 103), The peer group responses can be predicted to "show the features we have described as genuine response: questions about meaning, directions, and possible meanings, information about effective and ineffective passages, all of it highly specific" (p. 103).

(6) *The Role of Grammar.* The L2 study anticipated that grammatical correctness would be an important factor in ESL writing evaluation; however, this category also follows from Gere and Stevens' concept of unfinished text. Gere and Stevens suggested teacher comments "may be said to form student writing by conforming it, that is by trying to realize its potential to a paradigm text by asking the writer to conform to certain characteristics of 'good writing'" (p. 103). Mechanical or grammatical error is precisely the kind of generalized, interchangeable criterion characteristic of ideal text.

(7) *The Role of Content.* This category included comments that justified an evaluation on the basis of a response to the specific information, ideas, or facts presented in the text. Langer (1982) points out knowledge about a topic is critical to the manner in which a paper is written; therefore, peer or teacher evaluative comments concerning the presentation and development of topic-related content form a legitimate response category. The study wanted to find out if these "information and ideas" responses were as different for the L2 subjects as they were for the L1 teachers and peers.

Results and Discussion

The Teacher and Peer Rank Orderings of the Student Compositions

Table 1 presents the descriptive statistics for the seven compositions as evaluated by teachers and students in the L2 study following creation of two Likert scales and performance of two T-Scale programs.

Taking the mean ranking obtained for each paper, Table 2 presents a comparison of the teacher and peer rankings. The L2 Spearman Rank Order Correlation of .607 was high, much higher than the L1 teacher and peer correlation (.105); but it did not reach a level of statistical significance. On this basis, second language teachers and students could be said to be acting as different evaluative communities. However, strong evidence contradicting the position that L2 teachers and peers formed distinct interpretive communities was found in the last of the

Table 1
L2 Teacher and Student Descriptive Statistics

TEACHERS

Paper	Title	Mean Rank	Standard Deviation	Standard Error
#1	Hiking.	3.07	2.100	.5825
#2	Job.	4.69	1.750	.4855
#3	Untitled.	5.07	1.891	.5245
#4	My Father.	3.53	1.808	.5015
#5	Sonya's Angel.	4.53	2.401	.6662
#6	Thai Culture.	3.69	1.493	.4142
#7	Rape.	3.38	2.063	.5722

STUDENTS

Paper	Title	Mean Rank	Standard Deviation	Standard Error
#1	Hiking.	3.41	2.124	.3401
#2	Job.	4.74	1.758	.2815
#3	Untitled.	4.48	1.699	.2721
#4	My Father.	2.89	1.916	.3069
#5	Sonya's Angel.	4.82	2.050	.3283
#6	Thai Culture.	4.66	1.840	.2947
#7	Rape.	2.97	1.597	.2558

Table 2
Comparison of Teacher and Peer Mean Rankings

Paper	Title	Teacher Mean	Rank Order	Student Mean	Rank Order
#1	Hiking.	3.07	1	3.41	3
#2	Job.	4.69	6	4.74	6
#3	Untitled.	5.07	7	4.48	4
#4	My Father.	3.41	3	2.89	1
#5	Sonya's Angel.	4.53	5	4.82	7
#6	Thai Culture.	3.69	4	4.66	5
#7	Rape.	3.38	2	2.97	2

Spearman Rank Order Correlation = .607 $p > .05$

statistical procedures done on the rank order data in the present study, Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance.

Implicit in the notion of interpretive communities are these assumptions: (1) a clear set of shared evaluative criteria exists, and (2) it will be used by members of the interpretive community to respond to text. Yet, this did not prove to be the case for either ESL teachers or students. Table 3 shows that a statistically significant relationship does not exist within the group of teachers or within the group of students regarding the evaluative criteria used by each group.

Table 3
Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance

	TEACHERS	
$W = .1178$	$DF = 6$	$p > .05$
	STUDENTS	
$W = .1572$	$DF = 6$	$p > .05$

The present study found that no single, clear set of evaluative standards existed for teachers or students in ESL writing evaluation. The answer to the first research question must be that neither the teachers nor the students formed a homogeneous group with a shared set of evaluation criteria which were then applied to student writing. Thus, neither formed an interpretive community.

The Written Evaluative Responses

Differences between teacher and peer written comments in the seven response categories are presented in Table 4. A chi-square test shows this difference to be significant at the .001 level.

The Role of Personal Identification

Second language instructors and peers followed the "interpretive community" pattern of the L1 subjects in this category; a marked difference between teacher and student evaluation did appear. ESL students strongly identified with the author or text, and the L2 teachers did not. Student identification was particularly strong for Papers #3 and #4, which were based on the authors' personal experiences. On the other hand, only 7 out of 265 total instructor comments were classified by the

360

Table 4
Analysis of the Response Categories

Number of Teacher and Peer Responses in Each Category

CATEGORY	PI	SUBJ	ORG	W STY	GRAM	CONT	UNF TX	TOTAL
Students	37	112	96	63	10	96	76	490
Teachers	6	50	61	59	32	35	22	265
Category Total	43	162	157	122	42	131	98	755

Chi-Square Analysis.

CATEGORY	PI	SUBJ	ORG	W STY	GRAM	CONT	UNF TX	TOTAL
Students	2.963	.448	.337	3.306	10.926	1.418	2.417	21.815
Teachers	5.477	.828	.640	6.113	20.207	2.622	4.468	40.355

Chi-Square = 62.17 $p < .001$

raters as statements of "personal identification". Furthermore, the teachers' comments did not reflect the intensity of student identification with author and text.

The Role of Grammar

Gere and Stevens claim student response to text is more closely related to formative evaluation; teachers, on the other hand, provide more of a summative response. The number and specificity of teacher versus student comments about grammar support this claim. Only 6 to 490 total student comments were related to grammar or mechanical correctness. Peers, unlike teachers, did not use grammar as a basis for evaluating writing.

Writing Style

Newkirk reported that conflicting views of writing style formed a basis for differences between teacher and peer evaluation of student writing. In the L2 study, the groups differed in terms of the number of comments made in this category; the teachers made proportionately more comments than students (see Table 4). But, the two groups did not apparently differ in regard to the kind of comment made about writing style. There were, however, conflicting views of writing style within the two groups. Part of the variability evident in the Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance can be attributed to divergent views of writing style within each group.

The Role of Content

Both first and second language teachers and peers responded to the specific ideas and information presented in the student compositions; and they used these responses about content to make evaluative judgments about the papers. As in the category of writing style, differences between the ESL groups were more a function of number than kind of comment (see Table 4). However, in this category, students made proportionately more evaluative comments than teachers did. Variability was again evident within the two groups.

The Role of Unifinished Text

The ESL peers were intent, as Gere and Stevens put it, "on trying to form text by informing it." They understood and pointed out that student writing could be made better. This analysis does not mean to imply that teachers do not make evaluative comments to help students revise text. However, there was a greater tendency for teachers to respond to a paper as a "finished" piece of writing; whereas students responded to papers as "works in progress". This was precisely Newkirk's point concerning stance:

> To evaluate writing the instructor must direct considerable attention to the ways in which the text meets or fails to meet criteria implicit in the genre in which the student is writing, for at some point the teacher must give a critical response. In order to give a response, an instructor must view the text as opaque; it is a tangible representation of a set of decisions made by the writer (1984b) (p. 308).

In providing what Gere and Stevens have termed a "genuine response to text", L2 peer audiences serve an extremely important function. The very diversity of peer response cannot be matched by the response of a single instructor. And, in many instances, the L2 peer comments "sounded" like teacher comments. The students did not have some aberrant or inferior set of criteria for evaluating writing.

The Role of Organization

There was no indication of a difference between the ESL groups for this response category in the chi-square data (see Table 4). The second language teacher and peer groups did not display sharply contrasting views about organizaton in writing, as did the groups in L1.

Teacher and peer attendance to organization did follow the L1 pattern in one respect. The greatest number of teacher comments and the second greatest number of peer comments concerned organization. ESL teachers and students applied this criterion to all papers, and they used organization-related comments to justify both favourable and unfavourable evaluations. Variability was evident within each group.

The Role of Subjective Response

Both teachers and peers used personal reactions or judgments about text as a basis for evaluating student writing. Chi-square data indicated no significant difference between the groups in their frequency of subjective response to text. Subjective response was the most frequently cited student reaction (112/490) and the second most frequently cited teacher response to text (59/265). Variable reactions were again apparent within the groups.

Overall analysis of the second language groups' written evaluative comments provides an answer to the second research question. Similarities and differences appear both within and between the L2 peer and teacher groups regarding their evaluative responses to student writing. The second language groups demonstrated stark contrasts in the criteria used to evaluate student writing in two important areas: (1) the role of personal identification and (2) the role of grammar. The teachers and students showed marked differences in the number, but not kind, of responses in three other categories: (1) the role of writing style, (2) the role of content, and (3) the role of unfinished text. There were no significant differences between the groups in two categories: (1) the role of organization and (2) the role of subjective response. Variability was evident within both groups.

Limitations

The limitations of this study must be outlined as they may bear on the results presented above. These limitations were due to both time constraints and the exploratory nature of the study.

First, only one individual parsed the written responses into separate evaluative units. And, it is certainly possible (as the two independent raters demonstrated) for people to disagree about what constitutes a separate evaluative statement.

Second, while the raw percentage of agreement between the raters of 76.3% was consistent with the agreement reported by Newkirk and Squire, this may be a sub-optimal level of inter-rater agreement. Specifically, since there were seven classification categories, agreement could have taken place by chance one out of seven times (14.3%). This illustrates the need for subsequent research to be very thorough about training the independent raters before the raters are asked to assign the written statements to categories.

Third, no rating of student compositions was done by subjects in the present study. Newkirk's subjects, all native speakers, were already familiar with a grading system that rates compositions on a scale from one to ten. This was not necessarily true for second language students. Consequently, only ranking tasks and non-parametric statistical analyses were used in the present study. Subsequent research would need to devise a suitable rating instrument, or it would need to ascertain that the second language peer raters were familiar with the assumptions implicit in the traditional scale.

Implications for Teaching

L2 peers and teachers should not be viewed as clearly distinct, homogeneous groups with fixed and opposing views of writing and evaluation. Analysis of the written evaluative responses shows there is a valuable role for L2 student audiences. This role is related to peers' ability to illustrate a dynamic, interactive view of meaning and peers' tendency to respond to writing as unfinished text. The study found evidence the role and function of teacher evaluations differs from that of peer evaluations. The challenge, then, for ESL teachers, is to find ways to make "clear, plausible, even appealing, the wide range of norms of our community" (Newkirk, 1984b) (p. 310). The key to this is to assume students' approaches to writing make sense by looking for the commonalities as well as the differences between teacher and student discourse communities and not to underestimate what second language writers can do.

References

Brinton, D. (1983). Student attitudes toward peer critique. Paper presented at CATESOL 1983 State Conference. Los Angeles.

Chaudron, C. (1986). Writing for second language learners: Process and product. LLL Dean's Colloquium on Writing, University of Hawaii. Honolulu, April 23.

Chaudron, C. (1984). The effects of feedback on students' composition revision, RELC Journal, Vol. 15, No. 4, pp. 1-14.

Cohen, A. (1984a). Reformulating Compositions. TESOL Newsletter, Vol. 17, No. 6, p. 1.

Cohen, A. (1984b). Reformulating second language compositions: Paper presented at Seventeenth Annual TESOL Convention, Toronto.

Cramer, N. (1985). The writing process: Twenty projects for group work. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Dunn-Rankin, P. (1983). Scaling methods. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Fish, S. (1980). Is there a text in this class?: The authority of interpretive communities. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univeristy Press.

Gere. A. (1980). Written composition: Toward a theory of evaluation. College English, Vol, 42, No. 1, pp. 44–58.

Gere, A. and R. Stevens. (1985). The language of writing groups: How oral response shapes revision. (In) The acquisition of writing, Sara Freedman, (Ed.), pp. 85–105. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Langer, J. (1982). What students know and what they write. National Writing Project Newsletter, Vol. 4, No. 1.

Langer, J. and A. Applebee (1984). Language, learning, and interaction: A framework for the improving of writing. (In) Contexts for learning to write, A. Applebee (Ed.), pp. 169–182. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Lasser-Rico, G. (1983). Writing the natural way. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin.

McKay, S. (1981). Pre-writing activities. TECFORS Newsletter. Vol. 4, No. 3, p. 12.

Newkirk, T. (1984a). How students read student papers: An exploratory study. Written Communication, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 283–305.

Newkirk, T. (1984b). Direction and misdirection in peer response. College Communication and Composition, Vol. 35, No. 3, pp. 301–312.

Norusis, M. (1983). SSPSx advanced statistics guide. Chicago: McGraw Hill.

Partridge, K. (1981). A comparison of the effectiveness of peer vs. teacher evaluation for helping students of English as a second language to improve the quality of their written compositions. M.A. thesis. Honolulu: Department of English as a Second Language, University of Hawaii.

Raimes, A. (1978). Focus on composition. NY: Oxford University Press.

Raimes, A. (1983). Techniques in teaching writing. NY: Oxford University Press.

Santos, T. (1986). Professors' reactions to the writing of nonnative students. Paper presented at the 21st Annual TESOL Conference. Anaheim, CA.

Squire, J. (1964). The responses of adolescents while reading four short stories. Champagne, IL: NCTE.

Taylor, B. (1981). Content and written form: A two-way street. TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 5-15.

Zamel, V. (1982). Writing: The process of discovering meaning. TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 195-209.

Zamel, V. (1983). The composing processes of advanced ESL students: Six case studies. TESOL Quarterly, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 165-187.

Zhang, S.Q. (1985). The differential effects of source of corrective feedback on ESL writing proficiency. M.A. thesis. Honolulu: Department of ESL, University of Hawaii.

Zhang, S.Q. and P. Halpren. (1984). The effects of corrective feedback on the accuracy and discourse quality of ESL students' compositions. Unpublished paper. Honolulu: Department of ESL, University of Hawaii.

Current Research in Southeast Asia

Yolanda Beh
RELC

Reports on research related to language and linguistics and relevant to the Southeast Asian region are included herein. The research projects are on-going or nearing completion at the time of writing. As a regular feature in this journal "Current Research in Southeast Asia" is aimed at facilitating the exchange of information between researchers and at minimizing the likelihood of duplicating research. Those engaged in research are therefore encouraged to complete a form obtainable from the following address:

Librarian and Head of Information Centre
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

If preferred, researchers may send write-ups on their work to the same address. The headings to be used are as shown below.

MALAYSIA

Title:	**Phonetic, Semantic and Morphological Changes in Arabic Words in Malay and Their Implications in Teaching Arabic to Malay Students**
Description:	The research project will attempt to (1) analyze the phonetic, morphological and semantic changes which have occurred in Arabic loanwords in Malay, and (2) discuss and provide solutions to the problems resulting from such changes which may affect the teaching of Arabic to Malay students. The main sources of data will be old Malay manuscripts and dictionaries such as those compiled by Iskandar, Wilkinson, Swettenham, Winstedt and Marsden. Based on the Malay lexicon a list of words of Arabic origin will be prepared. An etymological study will then be conducted on some doubtful words such as *peduli, sejarah, nalar, harus, pakar,* etc.

Principal researcher:	Arit K Abukhudairi Lecturer in Arabic, Language Centre University of Malaya Lembah Pantai 59100 Kuala Lumpur Malaysia
Title:	**An Approach to ESL Textbook Evaluation**
Description:	Many different approaches which contribute towards language performance and language acquisition in the ESL situation exist in ESL textbooks. These approaches exploit meaningful learning which expands the learners' cognitive structures and develops abilities in critical, creative thinking and problem-solving. Hence, this research will attempt to (1) identify the various approaches which have been used by textbooks to facilitate language learning in the ESL situation (2) analyse the roles and nature of the approaches (3) validate each approach to confirm its usefulness (4) classify the educationally valid approaches and relate them to their respective functions, and (5) prepare a reference document to serve ESL textbook writers and textbook evaluators. Thesis (Ph.D) — University of Malaya
Principal researcher:	Hoe Keat Siew Senior Lecturer, Pusat Bahasa Institut Teknologi MARA 40450 Shah Alam Selangor Darul Ehsan Malaysia

PHILIPPINES

Title:	**Translatability of Academic Texts: Towards Intellectualization of Filipino**
Description:	This study is part of the growing national concern to develop the Filipino national language so that steps can be taken to make it an effective medium of communication in different aspects of national life. Specifically, this study is directed towards the intellectualization of Filipino so that it can be an

efficient medium of teaching and learning in the tertiary level of education. It focuses on the translatability of academic texts in the tertiary level from English to Filipino with a view to bringing to the surface attendant problems and difficulties that may arise in the process of translation.

The aims of the study are to (1) determine the extent to which academic texts can be efficiently translated from English to Filipino (2) find out what changes take place during the translation process, and (3) identify subject areas whose texts can lend themselves effectively to translation from English to Filipino.

A sample text will be chosen from a textbook in at least ten subject areas in the university curriculum: biology, chemistry, physics, mathematics, history, sociology, economics, literature, law, business, and health. A teacher of the subject will be chosen to translate the text to Filipino. To test each translation, another teacher of the subject area will be asked to translate the translated text back to English. (The possibility of having students enrolled in the respective courses to do the back-translating is being explored). The translated texts (Filipino) will be compared to the corresponding English texts and the differences or changes analyzed. Then the back-translated texts will be compared to the original English texts and the differences or changes will be analyzed.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — University of the Philippines

Principal researcher: Magelende M Flores
Associate Professor, Department of English
University of the Philippines
Diliman, Quezon City
Philippines

Sponsoring or financing body: Rockefeller-Ford Grant for Faculty Development
c/o The University of the Philippines Foundation

SINGAPORE

Title: **Learner Participation in Teacher-led and Peer Group Discussions in Junior Colleges in Singapore**

Description: The research project will investigate the interactive processes in classroom discussions to identify patterns of learner participation in teacher-led as well as peer group discussions. The analysis of interactive processes in classroom discussions aims at identifying aspects of learner participation that relate to issues in the acquisition of English as a second language. It is hoped that in this way comment can be made on the relationship between learner participation, the contexts of classroom participation and the communicative competence of participants. The specific aim is to set up communicative indices relating observable aspects of learner participation to their developmental competences as language learners and users. The approach adopted is eclectic drawing upon research relating to classroom interaction studies in ethnography, sociolinguistics, social psychology and language acquisition.

This research project adopts a micro-macro perspective and includes quantitative as well as qualitative data. As such, research data includes field observation, interviews, recording and transcription of 60 teacher-led and peer group discussion sessions in junior colleges in Singapore as well as a survey of 2000 students through a written questionnaire.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — National University of Singapore

Principal researcher: Shirley Lim
Lecturer
Institute of Education
469 Bukit Timah Road
Singapore 1025

Sponsoring or financing body: Institute of Education
Singapore

Title: **The Representation of Language in Bilinguals**

Description: Models of reading are relatively well developed for the English language but to date they are either very rudimentary or non-existent for languages where there is a different relationship between orthography and phonology, for example, Chinese and Malay. It has been informally observed that bilingual Chinese/English readers and Malay/English readers use different reading strategies to the much-studied monolingual English readers. It seems likely that the strategies of bilingual readers may be less than optimal and may result in less efficient and more effortful reading. With a better understanding of cognitive processes in bilinguals, improved methods of teaching reading skills could be derived.

The project will be implemented in at least four stages: Stage I: Group studies of Chinese/English and Malay/English normal adult readers; Stage II: Group studies of Chinese/English and Malay/English normal school children; Stage III: Single case studies of brain-damaged dyslexic adults; Stage IV: Single case studies of developmentally dyslexic school children. Each stage will be aimed at developing models of reading and their implications with focus on a particular kind of reader. Supporting data from a variety of sources will be collected to provide convergent validity for a model and increase the number of practical applications that pertain.

Principal researchers:

Chua Fook Kee and Susan J Liow
Lecturers in Psychology
Department of Social Work & Psychology
National Univeristy of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 0511

Sponsoring or financing body:

National University of Singapore
Shaw Foundation
Shaw Centre
1 Scotts Road
Singapore 0922

THAILAND

Title: **The Relationship Between Parent Involvement in the Reading Development of Their Children and Their Children's Academic Achievement**

Description: The purposes of this study are to (1) determine the relationship between parent involvement in the reading development of their children and their children's academic achievement in regard to educational level, occupation and family income of the parents, and (2) examine whether the degree of parent involvement and the level of academic achievement of the children are different in regard to the same independent variables.

The subjects comprise 292 parents of the pupils in Grades 1, 2, and 3 in seven public and private primary schools in Ratchaburi Province, Thailand.

The "Parental Role Questionnaire" developed by the researcher is being used to collect the data for parent involvement in reading development. The pupils' school achievement percentage scores are being used as indicators of their academic achievement.

Principal researcher:

Nitaya Praphruitkit
Assistant Professor, Lecturer in Early Childhood Education
Petchaburi Teachers College
Petchaburi 76000
Thailand

Sponsoring or financing body: SEAMEO RELC

BOOK REVIEW

Classroom Observation and Research: A Perspective on Three New Publications

David Nunan
National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research
Macquarie University, Sydney

Allwright, Dick. 1987. *Observation in the Language Classroom.* London: Longman.

Chaudron, Craig. 1988. *Second Language Classrooms: Research on Teaching and Learning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

van Lier, Leo. 1988. *Classroom and the Language Learner.* London: Longman.

Interest in what actually happens in Language classrooms, as opposed to what people think happens, has been growing steadily in the last few years. This development, as Richards has noted, may well represent a watershed in the history of language teaching, as it may indicate that at last we have overcome our obsession with the search for the "right" method which will solve all our language teaching problems once and for all. During the years in which language teachers, teacher trainers and methodologies have searched for the right method, a number of "designer" methods have come and gone. Most teachers have at least passing familiarity with one or more of the following: Audiolingualism, Cognitive Code Learning, Suggestopedia, the Silent Way, Community Language Learning, Total Physical Response and the Natural Approach.

Despite their diversity, all of the approaches share something in common: they are all based on (largely untested) assumptions and beliefs about the nature of language and language learning which have been imported into the classroom from outside. Many also claim to be based on the principles underlying first language acquisition. For example, Total Physical Response recommends an initial "silent" period during which learners listen and carry out instructions but do not speak. It is claimed that this replicates the silent period through which infants pass when acquiring their first language. However, if one actually studies the interactions between an infant and its parents (or other primary care-givers) one will readily see that this period is anything but silent. In many other instances, the claims of the designer methods can be seen to be inaccurate, misleading and in some cases, simply wrong.

It is therefore a good thing that language teaching specialists have given up the futile search for the "right" method and are recording, transcribing and analysing what actually goes on between teachers and learners in the classroom as a first step towards articulating principles for language learning and teaching. The growth of empiricism is reflected in the growing body of literature on classroom observation and research. The three books listed at the beginning of this review are particularly worthy additions to the literature, and all deserve a place on the bookshelves of serious students of language learning and teaching.

On first encountering these three publications, I was amazed, not only that three books on the same subject could appear in such a short space of time, but also that they could be so different. The task set for me by the editor of the *RELC Journal* was to undertake a comparative review of the three books, something I found almost impossible to do, as each book has a different target audience and different goals. A comparative review would put me in the position of criticising at least one, and possibly more, of the authors for not doing something he had never set out to do in the first place.

Allwright's book is, at first sight, quite different from the other two as it consists of edited reprints of key papers from the literature on classroom observation. These are held together with a critical commentary by Allwright. I must confess that, on opening the book and finding it consisted largely of reprints, my first impressions were not entirely positive. I had expected something rather different from one of the major figures in the field. After looking at the book a little more closely, however, I was more than happy to change my mind. I now believe that it is one of the most useful and interesting of the publications on classroom observation and research. Allwright has done much more than simply cobble the papers together with a few gratuitous comments. He has constructed an insightful analysis of the evolution of classroom observation as a tool in both research and teacher education. For this reason, it is one of the first books I recommend to teachers taking graduate courses in TESOL. This is not to say it is a link only for graduate students; it is eminently suitable for classroom teachers wishing to extend their insights into what goes on in language classrooms.

It is fitting that a book by Allwright should appear at this time of heightened interest in classroom observation. This is because Allwright is himself a pioneer in the field. Years ago, when most of us were still obsessed with the search for the magic method, he was urging us to look at what was actually going on in language classrooms.

Chaudron's book is an extremely detailed literature review of classroom-oriented research. It contains an exhaustive (and some might say exhausting) critical examination of issues and methods in second language classroon research. In setting the scene for his book, he suggests that there are four traditions in second language classroom research; the psychometric and ethnographic, as well as discourse analysis and interaction analysis. I believe it is an error to accord discourse analysis and interaction analysis separate status as research traditions. Rather, they are methods of collecting and analysing data which may be utilized in both qualitative and quantitative research.

In fact, the distinction between qualitative and quantitative research is a simplistic one, as Grotjhan, among others, has pointed out. While studies carried out strictly according to the scientific method do exist, and while there are others which are purely ethnographic, most studies are "hybrids" containing both quantification and interpretation. Grotjhan suggests that research should be characterised in terms of the following:

(1) the method of data collection (whether or not this was through some sort of experimental or quasi-experimental procedure).
(2) the type of data collected (whether or not this is quantifiable).
(3) the type of analysis (whether this is statistical or interpretive).

Mixing and matching these variables gives us eight research types - two of these are "pure", the rest are hybrid. The pure research types are as follows:

"Pure" type 1: Psychometric
(1) experimental procedure
(2) quantifiable data
(3) statistical analysis

"Pure" type 2: Ethnographic
(1) non-experimental
(2) qualitative data
(3) interpretive analysis

While he pays lip-service to ethnography as a legitimate form of applied linguistic investigation, Chaudron's book is heavily weighted in favour of studies carried out under experimental or quasi-analyses of different aspects of input and interaction in the classroom. For example, in discussing teachers' speech, dozens of studies are reported and critiqued. The cumulative effect of such analyses on the average reader is likely to be catatonic. This underlines the fact that it is not a book for the average classroom teacher; nor is it intended to be. It is an authoritative and scholarly survey of the state of classroom research.

Despite the veritable forests which have been sacrificed to provide the paper for reporting the plethora of studies surveyed by Chaudron, the conclusion reached by the author at several points in the book is that "more research is needed". However, one unintended outcome of the book might well be to drive the uncommitted reader in the opposite direction, i.e. to question whether yet more studies of the type already carried out are even likely to sort out once and for all what makes learners tick.

Such a reader would probably welcome van Lier's book. At the very beginning of the book, the author's position is made clear:

> Research into second-language (L2) classrooms is to date, though there are a few exceptions, still very much conducted with the aims of finding cause-effect relationships between certain actions and their outcomes. This aim leads to a concern with strong correlations, levels of significance, definability and control of variables, and all the other requirements of scientific method. The price that is paid for scientific control is an inevitable neglect of the social context of the interaction between teachers and learners. Without this social context it is difficult to see how classroom interaction can be understood and what cause-effect relationships, if they can be conclusively established, really mean.
>
> (van Lier 1988:xiv)

van Lier's basic position is that the classroom is a sociocultural entity in its own right, and that it therefore needs to be studied on its own terms. To bring preconceived beliefs about language and learning to the study of the classroom, or to record interactions through various preconstructed coding schemes such as those reviewed by Allwright and Chaudron, is to risk being blinkered to what is really going on in the classroom.

van Lier is at pains to point out that no form of classroom observation and analysis is ever objectively pure. We never enter the classroom as "blank slates", and it is unrealistic to think that we can easily put aside our conscious and subconscious belief about the nature of language and learning when it comes to investigating classrooms. The important thing is that we should try to be aware of these beliefs and attitudes and their possible effects on our observations.

It is a well documented fact that classrooms are different from other public institutions where people gather together and communicate, e.g. post offices, airport departure lounges, courtrooms, doctors' surgeries, etc. The particular nature of the classroom is reflected in the language which is used and the patterns of interaction which occur. Exchanges of the following kind, which are quite commonplace in the classroom, are virtually known in the world beyond the classroom.

Teacher: Does Martha have brown eyes?
Student: Yes, she does.
Teacher: Right, yes, good. Correct.

Here, the teacher asks a display question (that is, a question to which she already knows the answer). The student, who knows the teacher knows the answer, gives the expected response, and the teacher completes the exchange by providing some positive feedback.

The persistence of such idiosyncratic patterns of interaction in language classrooms has been derided. This is particularly so in relation to classes which are supposed to be based on principles of communicative language teaching. van Lier is not so sure:

> ... what gives such question series their instructional, typically L2-classroom character is not so much that they are display rather than referential, but that they are made with the aim of eliciting language from the learners. Upon examination, it may well turn out that the teacher, and several of the students, did not know Martha has brown eyes, and that this information was made available as a result of the question, which would make the question a referential one. Whether or not this is the case appears to be a perfectly trivial matter in interactional terms. In both cases, the function of the question remains the same: to provide input, and to elicit verbal responses.
>
> (op cit. 222-232)

So far, then, classroom-oriented research has demonstrated quite conclusively that the classroom is a particular type of sociocultural entity with particular types of language and patterns of interaction. This is consistent with the genre analysis carried out by systemic-functional linguists. What has not yet been established is whether or not these patterns of interaction are determined to, or facilitative of, second language acquisition. Were it to be demonstrated that established patterns of classroom interaction, such as display question driven exchanges (an example of which we have already seen), are detrimental, the further question remains of what, if anything can be done about it. Indications are that language and context are so intimately bound up with each other that it is not possible to change the overall pattern of classroom language use (except in a trivial sense) without radically altering the very nature of the classroom itself. It has certainly been demonstrated possible to change certain aspects of teachers' language (e.g. training them to increase the percentage of referential questions they ask relative to display questions). Whether such changes are essentially trivial, as van Lier suggests, remains to be seen. It is issues such as these which classroom research has to grapple with over the next few years.

In reviews such as this, it is customary to place the reviewed books in some sort of intellectual or academic "pecking order". For reasons already indicated, this is something I find impossible to do. Each publication is listed as required reading on the graduate research methods course I run as each has its own particular contribution to make to the field.

Language, Learners and Computers

John Higgins
Longman, 1988

Reviewed by
Gloria R. Poedjosoedarmo
Universiti Brunei Darussalam
Bandar Seri Begawan

The title of this book by John Higgins is *Language, Learners and Computers* with the subtitle (printed on the inside title page, but not on the cover) *Human intelligence and artificial unintelligence*. But teachers looking for a manual explaining how to use computers for language teaching will not find it here. Though Higgins uses examples of computer programs for language teaching throughout the book and devotes the final chapter to the role of the machine in the language teaching/learning process, the book is really about the nature of the language learning process itself and the role of the teacher. It is thus a book which should be of more general interest than the title might suggest.

Summary

Higgins describes two idealized roles which a teacher might assume which he calls *magister* and *pedagogue*. A magister, as Higgins defines the term, *controls* the events in the classroom, telling his students what they should do and then telling them whether or not they have done it correctly. A pedagogue, on the other hand, is simply a *source of information* who provides that information when the students ask for it but otherwise remains silent. The pedagogue does not direct or control the activities of the students.

In fact, according to Higgins, a teacher should be willing to sometimes play one role, sometimes the other, and sometimes a combination of the two. It is his major thesis that teachers in general tend to play too magisterial a role in the language classroom and that uses of computers in language teaching so far have tended to give the machine too magisterial a role. If both teacher and machine were to play the role of the pedagogue more often, Higgins thinks that learning would be more greatly facilitated.

After introducing the terminology to be employed, Higgins discusses in the following chapters (entitled *The language, The* *learner, The teacher, The book, The test*, and *The machine*), the nature of language, the language learning process, the role of the teacher, the role of text-books, the nature of testing, and the role that machines should play in the language learning. Each chapter contains, in addition to summaries of things which have been said before, new insights in view, particularly of the magister/pedagogue dichotomy.

The Language

In reference to language and language learning, Higgins makes the point that though teachers often speak of the problem of motivating students, motivation to learn is, in fact, nearly always present · unless it is suppressed. The two commonest conditions responsible for suppressing motivation, he says, are for everything in the environment to be too complex and unfamiliar to be put in order or for everything to be too familiar and thus offer no challenge – in other words, for the task to be either too difficult or too easy. The job of the teacher, then, is not so much to increase motivation as it is to reduce demotivation. Teachers, he says, often report an increase in motivation when computers are used. He says that students enjoy computer work and want to spend time on it precisely because the computer provides "optimal challenges" (i.e. work that is not too difficult or too easy) and thus reduces demotivation.

The Learner

Learners, Higgins says, are intelligent, much more intelligent, in fact, than teachers often give them credit for being. Machines, on the other hand, are stupid. They do exactly what we tell them to do, no more and no less. But we can use this stupidity to our advantage in the language learning process.

Higgins says that learning (and teaching) can be either deductive (moving from the general to the specific) or inductive (moving from the specific to the general). Another dichotomy is between conscious or aware analysis of language and unconscious or unaware learning of patterns. These two oppositions can be represented on a grid with examples of language teaching techniques and approaches representing each intersection as follows:

	Deductive	Inductive
Unaware	Pattern-practice	Immersion
Aware	Cognitive code	Exploratory

The explicit and aware use of induction, Higgins says, is not common in language learning. It requires a playmate for the learner who responds but does not interfere and who will not bend the rules of the game, in other words, a pedagogue. Humans, he says, play this role reluctantly, but machines do it very well. He gives examples of some computer programs which allow the student to explore the structure of the language while playing games. However, he says that similar problem-solving and rule-induction tasks can be done just as well with pencil and paper. The value of the computer is that it can remind us of what can be done.

The Teacher

In connection with teacher training, Higgins raise the question of whether or not teachers should be trained in CALL. He says that at present most CALL training is in-service rather than pre-service training and that it tends to consist of a short course in BASIC programming to which many computer specialists object. Higgins feels that training in CALL should be part of pre-service training in order to demystify the machine for teachers before they meet it on the job. He thinks that teachers should learn to program, not because most of them will ever become expert software producers, but simply to give them an opportunity to "grapple with a problem-solving approach to language." (p. 61) In so doing, he says, the teachers will become learners and will thus become more tolerant of learners' errors.

The Book

Teachers aware of the increasing availability of computers for language learning work may first of all wonder if the computer will eventually replace the teacher and then secondly, whether the computer will replace books. With regard to the latter query, Higgins thinks not. Reading is often divided into extensive and intensive reading, but Higgins prefers to use the terms reading and study respectively. In "study", he says, reading may be very slow, perhaps only 60 or 70 WPM. A student can usually recall a text, which has been studied using the same words which are used in the original. "Reading", on the other hand, is much faster, usually 180 WPM or more. Information obtained from reading can hardly ever be quoted verbatim. If we talk about it we produce a paraphrase.

Computers, according to Higgins, are not much use for reading because they display too small a chunk of text on the screen at one time. However, they can be useful for teaching certain reading skills, for example to train readers to look for meaningful phrases and to avoid regression.

While they are not much use for teaching reading, Higgins feels that the computer can have real value as a study aid, and he describes several ways in which computers can be used to help students acquire study skills.

The Test

Higgins makes the point that contrary to what teachers often think, students actually enjoy taking tests, especially if they get immediate feedback. What they object to is "the institutional consequences of a test." (p. 77)

However, institutions need to evaluate their students and this is nearly always done by testing. Statistical evidence may suggest that scores for certain tests are quite "reliable" and "accurate", but Higgins points out that important decisions such as admission to a university, may be made on the basis of small differences in test scores which could be the result of change. Where language testing is concerned there is a further difficulty: that what we wish to measure is command, and that we can only measure this through indirect observations of behavior. Higgins suggests using "profile testing", which combines information from different tests, such as, for example listening, speaking, reading, and writing. For reporting the results, Higgins suggests using "ability bands", a British Council scheme, which he hopes will be standardized and used by all language teachers. He suggests further that students can be taught the scheme and asked to evaluate themselves.

The Machine

The final chapter of the book is devoted to a discussion of the role of the computer in language teaching. Higgins recounts the sad history of many language labs throughout the world which, after costing their institutions a great deal of money, in the end fell into disrepair or for other reasons ceased to be used, and he reports that many language teachers feel that computers are likely to experience the same fate. Higgins, however, says that the problem with tape recorders was not that the machines were of no use, but rather that they were misused. Their value lies in providing students with an accurate model of the spoken language and exercises can be devised using them in which students are encouraged to explore and experiment on their own. However, he says, language labs were rarely used in this way. Instead, students were made to sit in isolated booths for a fixed length of time at regular intervals all listening to the same thing. As a result, students were bored. In addition, teachers were often afraid of the equipment and, if they were not native speakers, afraid of the authenticity of the language their students were listening to and that it would reduce their own credibility. Thus, when the equipment broke down, they were happy to have the excuse not to use it.

Higgins feels that computers are not likely to suffer the same fate. Institutions usually can not afford to have full-scale computer labs, or if they do, these will be under the jurisdiction of the math or science department and not language departments. However, he feels it is important that computers be used in a way that allows students to explore and experiment. That is, the computer should have the role of pedagogue, not of magister.

Discussion

We might wish to take issue with a number of Higgins' minor points. For example, in saying that the computer is not much use for teaching reading because it cannot display a large enough block of text on the screen at one time, Higgins seems to be speaking exclusively of teaching young children whose reading material consists entirely of stories. Many of us in Asia, however, are concerned with teaching university students or even lecturers whose main objective is to be able to read technical materials in their field. For this purpose the computer can be extremely helpful. In addition to "study" of text, students need to be able to skim through a text rapidly to get the main idea, or to scan it for specific information. Exercises for these skills given in books or on paper tend to require a lot of awkward flipping of pages. But computer programs can be written which allow the student to depress a single key to flip from question to text and back to question, and then give him or her immediate feedback as soon as he or she has answered the question. Experiments with a program of this sort at IKIP Sanata Dharma in Yogyakarta, Indonesia showed that students were able to complete more exercises more quickly than a group at the same level given the same materials using books and paper.

We might also not be thoroughly convinced of Higgins' main point or at least may not wish to take so strong a position - that all learning should be exploratory and experimental in nature and that both teacher and machine should nearly all the time play the role of pedagogue rather than magister. Different students respond well to different activities and techniques of teaching. In Asian countries, where students are used to playing a passive role in education, it may be difficult to get them to take initiative. Also, different activities and techniques are appropriate for students of different levels of proficiency. Some of the programs which Higgins describes (e.g. DODOES, p. 20, and JACKASS, p. 45) require grammatically accurate input from the student in order to work properly. But it would be difficult to find a beginning English class in many Asian countries that could produce simple sentences without errors at a rate of even 50%. Programs the point of which is to try to get the machine to make a mistake are only useful if the student can recognize the mistakes. Programs of this sort are very useful for teaching students about their own language. Goldenberg and Feurzeig in Exploring Language with Logo (MIT Press, 1987) use a similar approach to teach the basic concepts of linguistic analysis. But if students have no intuition about the language they are studying, then such programs need to be used only with great care. Otherwise we will find students and machine alike joyfully learning mistakes.

But whether or not we agree with everything Higgins says, it is undeniable that he raises some very important questions about the nature of language learning and the nature of teaching, as well as about the role of computers in language learning. For this reason, every language teacher and every student preparing to be a language teacher should read Language, Learners and Computers.

The Native Speaker is Dead!

Thomas M. Paikeday
Paikeday Publishing Inc., 1985. 109pp.

Reviewed by
Gordon Taylor
Monash University

The western world has got into the habit of announcing the death of one thing or another ever since the German philosopher Nietzsche killed off God towards the end of the nineteenth century. The 1970s saw the death of the author: authors no longer write books; the books write them. Now Thomas M. Paikeday, a Canadian lexicographer with a gift for debunking, has attempted to do the same to a linguistic myth – the existence of the native speaker. This is a serious debate which Paikeday does his best to present with a veneer of joviality. That is no bad thing: a book which is really about one aspect of the philosophy of languages need not succumb to the sepulchral prose this subject commonly elicits. Paikeday takes on the persona of the 'Enquirer', who engages in a round table Socratic dialogue with many well-known linguists and other scholars to help him write his dictionary entry for 'native speaker'. The upshot is that the Enquirer, having satisfied himself that the concept of the native speaker of a language really is dead, performs a merry dance on the grave.

There is a certain parallel between claiming the death of God and the death of the native speaker. Paikeday's main target is Chomsky, whose linguistics calls for a grammar which will generate all the grammatical sentences of the language and none of the ungrammatical ones. How is one to differentiate? Through the intuition of the native speaker-hearer, Chomsky says. The native speaker, that is to say, has a God-like intuition about the grammaticality of his or her language. Ever since it was first formulated, this notion has been challenged – first by the empirical structuralists whose temple Chomsky overthrew, and later by heretics such as Macaulay and Fillmore, who rejected the orthodox M.I.T. doctrine. Transformational grammarians who used to present conference papers in which they claimed that such and such a string was ungrammatical became accustomed to having their judgement queried from the floor. This led them to preface their judgements with the phrase 'In my dialect ...', which really meant 'In my idiolect, and discounting any context of meaning or use that I haven't thought of'. Now Chomsky did idealise the native speaker; but the practical problem remained –

38

after all, the linguists who seek the rules are human, and so are their informants. Even the Pope of Rome, as Paikeday's Enquirer points out, claims infallibility only when he declares himself to be speaking on doctrine *ex cathedra*. (But, as the sceptic asks, is His Holiness infallible when he makes the decision to speak infallibly?)

The standard definition of a native speaker is one who is born into the speech community and uses this language as his or her 'mother tongue' until it is well-established: as Chomsky puts it in this book, when the learner's language system arrives at a 'steady state'. But, the Enquirer asks, how do you know you are a native speaker? By identifying the native language of your mother? Can you switch from being a native speaker of one language to being a native speaker of another, say by migrating as a child or adolescent or, indeed, an adult from one language community to another? Or is 'native speaker' rather 'an ideal or a convenient linguistic fiction ... [and] if so, how valid are linguistic studies based on the intuitions of native speakers?' Is a 'native speaker' best defined simply as a 'proficient user of the specified language' who can only *aspire* to the ideal state of knowing that language?

These are good questions. Three kinds of answer are isolated in this book. I shall call them the Quirk, the Quine and the Quirky. Randolph Quirk, a traditional empiricist, is quite firm that the native speaker is very real, and is, so to speak, to be found on the Clapham omnibus - at least as a 'satisfactory' statistical sample of mature, educated L1 English speakers. Quirk admits to the existence of fuzzy edges, for example 'foreigners' who seem indistinguishable from native English speakers; but he will not use them as informants in his Survey of English Usage. By contrast, W.V.O. Quine, arguably the doyen of analytical philosophers, agrees with the Enquirer that the native speaker is a theoretical construct, a convenient fiction. Though he doesn't actually say so, Quine would probably take the pragmatic view that any speaker who demonstrates 'proficient use' of a language is, well, a proficient user, or - if you must - a 'native speaker'. (This circularity we shall return to.) The quirky (i.e. Chomsky) predictably answers that the metaphysics behind the question are all wrong and this can only lead to confusion - Chomsky's apparently stock answer to every question with which he feels uncomfortable. And, as everyone knows. Chomsky has little interest in languages as socio-political constructs.

The text of Paikeday's book is, as I have said, a philosophical one. The sub-text is socio-political. One of the Enquirer's questions to his interlocutors is this:

> Can the distinction between native and non-native speaker, especially since

> it happens to favour one group of speakers of each language, become discriminatory in some of its applications such as hiring for language-teaching positions ...? If the difference is real or legitimate, is it necessarily one of kind or merely of degree as implied by the expression 'educated native speaker'?

He then goes on to ask whether there is an 'acid test' to distinguish a highly proficient non-native speaker from a native, 'proficient or otherwise'. This, needless to say, is a burning question in many parts of the world. Is, for example, a Singaporean who has learned English as a first language, or as one of two 'first languages', a native speaker of English only if her mother or father or both are native speakers of English? Is a Singaporean her mother's linguistic keeper? These are difficult questions which do not easily admit generalised answers. Paikeday concludes there is no acid test of native-spaker intuition: 'intuition', he says, 'comes with training and experience, not from circumstances of birth or infancy' (pp. 42-3).

There need be no difficulty in accepting the circular view that a proficient user of English is best defined as one who demonstrates proficiency. But, of course, this throws the burden onto one's criteria of proficiency. These criteria will be partly phonetic, partly syntactic, partly semantic and partly cultural - the weighting being determined by the job in hand. A person who might make a good dictionary editor in Toronto or New York might not have the kind of linguistic knowledge or understanding to be a competent English dictionary editor in Melbourne or teacher of technical English in Hong Kong. The criteria, of course, are themselves subject to argument. But there is this to be said for them: they make no distinction between a native speaker as conventionally defined and a 'proficient user'; there are plenty of so-called native speakers who would fail particular tests. There is an important corollary to this which concerns the learning of second languages. Paikeday shows that one very highly qualified and experienced teacher of English as a second language cannot infallibly discriminate between the errors made by L1 and L2 speakers of English. Error is therefore much less a matter of interference from a native language than is often supposed. What it is that makes *any* learner proficient needs more attention.

This brings us back to the philosophical issues. Paikeday wants a good solid definition that he can write in a few words. Though he can tolerate fuzziness to help, as he says, to accommodate thoughts (p. 78), a lexicographer wants to tie things down more precisely. Having raised the spectre of viewing the native speaker as an idealised, fictional construct, he nevertheless draws back from some of its implications. Such a construct cannot easily be confined to the monastic cell of the standard dictionary entry – it needs room to grow and expand; to become, as Dr Christopher Stinson says at the end of the volume, a 'cluster' in linguistic space correlated with a particular language. This 'linguistic space' is really four-dimensional: it includes time. Despite the presence of many professors of English in this volume, the idea that the proficient user is sensitive to and inherits the language of the past, whilst always struggling to interpret that language to the present and the future, is never put forward.

Paikeday has opened up an important question; and for this reason alone this book should be read. With Quine, I agree with his main proposition that the native speaker is a convenient, idealised fiction. I agree, too, with his manifesto:

> having a language as one's first language is a decided advantage in achieving competence in it. It gives you a head start. Beyond that, native speakership seems a question of education and individual aptitudes (p. 15).

I cannot agree, however, that the native speaker is dead yet. The irony is that the lexicographer himself cannot play god with the words and phrases of the languages. Even if there are no native speakers, the term 'native speaker' will live a long time yet precisely because it has a history and because it is the idealised construct Paikeday says it is. Like the meaning of 'God', its meaning will probably evolve; but it is unlikely to die.

RELC

ANNOUNCEMENT

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

Language Testing and Language Programme Evaluation

9–12 April 1990

For more information, please contact:

CHAIRMAN,
SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE,
SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
30 ORANGE GROVE ROAD
SINGAPORE 1025

PROSPECT

THE JOURNAL OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Prospect is the national professional journal of the Australian Adult Migrant (Immigrant) Educational Program (AMEP). This Commonwealth-funded program offers English as a Second Language and Orientation tuition to approximately 100,000 adult immigrants to Australia from all over the world each year.

Jill Burton, Editor

Reference Panel includes
Professor J. Anderson
Flinders University of S.A.
Professor H. Holec
Universite de Nancy 11
Dr. D. Ingram
Brisbane College of Advanced Education
Mr. H. Nicholas
La Trobe University
Dr. M. Pieneman
University of Sydney
Professor J. Richards
University of Hawaii

It publishes articles, notes, reports and reviews on applied linguistic and teaching concerns related to the adult E.S.L. field. Prospect is published three times a year by the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research. Information about subscription rates and advertisements can be obtained from:

GERD S. STABLER
SALES AND MARKETING MANAGER
NCELTR ◆ SCHOOL of ENGLISH and LINGUISTIS ◆ MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY ◆
SYDNEY ◆ NEW SOUTH WALES 2109 ◆ AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE (02) 805 7673 TELEX MACUNI AA122377 FACSIMILE (02) 805 7849

CROSS CURRENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

CROSS
CURRENTS

Cross Currents pursues both theoretical and practical issues central to ESL/EFL instructors. Within each issue, you'll discover articles about English language teaching theory, balanced by ideas for daily lesson planning, all of which is put into international perspective by cross-cultural themes.

Look at selections from recent issues:

- Anderson: "Creative Strategies for Large Class Management"
- Gardner: "Cultural Differences in Non-Verbal Communication: Practical Activities for the ESL/EFL Classroom„
- McClure: "Developing Basic Conversational Management Skills
- Teaching in Developing Countries: a Series of Sketches.
- Putting English on the Ball: a Collection of Sports Related ESL Exercises
- Duppenthaler: "A Review of Cognitive Styles of Learning and Their Applications in TESOL."

ISSN 0289-1239

Cross Currents Written by teachers for teachers

The subscription rates for *Cross Currents* have not changed in almost a decade. Now, due to the increasing value of the yen internationally, the subscription rate outside Japan will increase as of *November 1, 1987*. New subscriptions and renewals received before this deadline can take advantage of the current rates:

SUBSCRIPTIONS	Single issue	1 year	2 years
Inside Japan*	¥1,250	¥2,500	¥5,000
Outside Japan—Individual Subscription			
(*until* November 1, 1987)	$6.00	$10.00	$18.00
(*after* November 1, 1987)	$8.00	$15.00	$25.00
Outside Japan—Institutional Rate			
(*until* November 1, 1987)		$15.00	$25.00
(*after* November 1, 1987)		$19.50	$35.00

* *Special rates available for JALT members.*

Cross Currents is published twice a year by the Language Institute of Japan.

• Japan Subscriptions:
School Book Service
Ohkawa Building
3-23-4 Takadanobaba
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
03-364-1261

(By postal transfer to Tokyo postal account No. 9-86192, or cash delivery–Genkin Kakitome.)

• Current Issues are also available in major Japanese bookstores through **YOHAN** in Japan.

YOHAN
3-14-9 Ohkubo,
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
Tel. 03-208-0181

• Outside Japan:
Cross Currents
Language Institute
of Japan
4-14-1 Shiroyama
Odawara, Kanagawa 250
Japan

(Make checks payable to *Cross Currents* (LIOJ) drawn on a U.S. bank.

ARE THESE ON YOUR READING LIST?

ISSN 0289-7938
全国語学教育学会
NOVEMBER 1988
VOL. XII, NO. 12

THE Language Teacher

THE JAPAN
ASSOCIATION OF
LANGUAGE TEACHERS
JALT
¥350

JALT JOURNAL

Publications of

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

The Language Teacher
A monthly magazine with features, reviews, meeting announcements, employment opportunities, etc.

JALT Journal
A semi-annual journal featuring articles relevant to language teaching/learning in Japan and Asia

Annual Membership Fees (including subscriptions to both publications):
Domestic: Regular, ¥6,000; Joint, ¥10,000; Student, ¥4,000; Associate, ¥50,000
Overseas: sea mail, US$30; air mail, US$40
Send remittance by bankers draft in yen drawn on a Japanese bank, or dollars drawn on an American bank.
The postal giro account may also be used by international subscribers.
Postal furikae (giro) account: Kyoto 15892, "JALT"

JALT International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning
An annual event featuring over 300 lectures/workshops/demonstrations.
Over 2,000 participants yearly.

November 3–5, 1989 — Okayama
November 23–25, 1990 — Tokyo area
November 2–4, 1991 — To be announced

Send requests for further information and remittances to:
JALT, Lions Mansion Kawaramachi #111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-agaru
Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan. Tel.: (075) 361-5428; Fax: (075) 361-5429

Subscription form

RELC JOURNAL

A Journal of Languager Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and a subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is twelve Singapore dollars (S$12.00) for subscription within SEAMEO countries and US$12.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and sent it to

The Publications Officer
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
RELC Building
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at S$7.00*/US$7.00+ per copy.

For the complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications Officer.

I enclose S$12.00*/US$12.00+. Please send me the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for..

Name: ....

Address: ....

....

....

* within SEAMEO countries
+ other countries

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Clarification:
The present members of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) are: Negara Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copy must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, e.g., the suffix-*s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text.

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221-222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14-16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, 221-254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC PUBLICATIONS

Monograph Series
An Introduction to Linguistics for the Language Teacher
Cultural Components of Reading
The Testing of Listening Comprehension
Problems of Learning English as a Second Language in Malaysia
Strategies for Communication between Teachers and Pupils in a Rural Malaysian School
Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in Multilingual Societies
An Historical Study of Language Planning

Anthology Series
(1) Reading: Insights and Approaches
(2) Teaching English for Science and Technology
(3) Curriculum Development and Syllabus Design for English Teaching
(4) Language Education in Multilingual Societies
(5) Papers on Southeast Asian Languages
(6) Applications of Linguistics to Language Teaching
(7) Bilingual Education
(8) Patterns of Bilingualism
(9) Language Testing
(10) Language Teaching Issues in Multilingual Environments in Southeast Asia
(11) Varieties of English in Southeast Asia
(12) Transfer and Translation in Language Learning and Teaching
(13) Trends in Language Syllabus Design
(14) Communicative Language Teaching
(15) Language Across the Curriculum
(16) Language in Learning

Occasional Papers Series
(2) Research Proposals for Studies in Language Learning
(3) Controlled and Guided Composition
(5) Group Activities for Language Learning
(6) A Handbook of Communication Activities for Young Learners
(7) Form and Function in Second Language Learning
(8) New Varieties of English: Issues and Approaches
(9) Papers on Variation in English
(10) Error Analysis and Error Correction in Language Teaching
(11) Studies in Second Language Acquisition
(12) Developing Awareness Skills for Interethnic Communication
(13) Treds in Language Teaching and Bilingual Education
(14) Approaches to Communicative Competence
(15) Contrastive Instructional Materials Development
(16) An Error Analysis of English Compositions by Thai Students
(18) Papers on Language Testing
(19) Measuring Affective Factors in Language Learning
(20) Studies in Classroom Interaction
(21) Ten Papers on Translation
(22) A Study of Hokkien-Mandarin Phonological Correspondences
(23) What Is Standard English
(24) Techniques and Approaches for Advanced ESL Students
(25) On Conversation
(26) Psycholinguistic Dimensions of Language Teaching and Bilingualism
(27) Papers on Team Teaching and Syllabus Design
(28) Papers on Translation: Aspects, Concepts, Implications
(29) Varieties of English and Their Implications for ELT in South-east Asia
(30) Concepts and Functions in Current Syllabuses
(31) Case Studies in Syllabus and Course Design
(32) Language, Identity and Socio-Economic Development
(33) Interlanguage of Learners of English as a Foreign Language
(34) On Composition
(35) Minidictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes
(36) A Quantitative approach to the Study of Sociolinguistic Situations in Multilingual Societies
(38) Studies on Sociocultural Factors Affecting Language Education
(39) Studies in Philippine English
(40) Language Attitudes
(41) Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning

Guidelines. A Periodical for Classroom Language Teachers
June 1979 No. 1 Communication Activities
Dec 1979 No. 2 Teaching Reading Skills
June 1980 No. 3 Vocabulary Teaching
Dec 1980 No. 4 Audio-Visual Aids in Language-Teaching
June 1981 No. 5 Language Games
Dec 1981 No. 6 Writing Activities
June 1982 Vol. 4 No. 1 Study Skills
Dec 1982 Vol. 4 No. 2 Group Activities
June 1983 Vol. 5 No. 1 Classroom Tests
Dec 1983 Vol. 5 No. 2 Drama Activities
1984–1986 A Periodical for classroom Language Teachers

RELC Newsletter. This publication is mailed quarterly to over 3,500 readers within and outside Southeast Asia. Each issue reports on the Centre's recent activities.

Printed by Fong & Sons Printers Pte. Ltd

RELC JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

VOLUME 20 NUMBER 2 **DECEMBER 1989**

Articles

Perkins, Kyle, Brutten, Sheila R and Pohlmann, John T	**First and Second Language Reading Comprehension**	**1**
Rubdy, Rani	**Maximizing Intrinsic Relevance in Teacher Education in ELT**	**10**
Horowitz, Daniel	**Function and Form in Essay Examination Prompts**	**23**
McBeath, N	**C-Tests in English: Pushed beyond the Original Concept?**	**36**
Supot Arevart	**Grammatical Change Through Repetition**	**42**
Cohen Y. and Norst, M J	**Fear, Dependence and Loss of Self-Esteem: Affective Barriers in Second Language Learning Among Adults**	**62**
Yolanda Beh	**Current Research in Southeast Asia**	**79**
Book Reviews:		**84**
Publications Received		**89**

396

PUBLISHED BY THE SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, SINGAPORE

Editorial Committee

Makhan L Tickoo *Editor*
Eugenius Sadtono *Review Editor*
Lim Kiat Boey
Sarinee Anivan
Yolanda Beh
Melchor Tatlonghari
John Honeyfield
Paroo Nihalani
Joseph Foley

NOTES FOR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Asia.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$18.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$18.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal*, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of the respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Regional Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization.

(Notes for Subscribers continued on inside back cover)

RELC

© REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1989
ISSN 0033-6882

RELC
JOURNAL

Volume 20

Number 2

December 1989

RELC P367-89

First and Second Language Reading Comprehension

Kyle Perkins
Sheila R. Brutten
John T. Pohlmann
Southern Illinois University
USA

Abstract

Random parallel reading comprehension tests in Japanese and English were administered to a sample of native Japanese students enrolled in intensive English instruction at three different levels of English language proficiency as assessed by an independent measure. Evidence for a threshold competence ceiling at which first language reading abilities transferred to second language reading abilities was found. At the highest proficiency level, those readers who scored high on the first language reading test also systematically scored high on the second language reading test. Pedagogical implications of the study are discussed.

This paper reports the results of a study whose purpose was to investigate the relationship between reading in the first language and reading in the second language when the same individuals are assessed in both languages. For at least twenty years the issue of whether reading proficiency in second language vitally depends upon reading proficiency in the first language has been a principal concern in the second language reading research community (for example, Alderson, 1984; Clarke, 1979, 1980; Coady, 1979; Cziko, 1978, 1980; Yorio, 1971).

Alderson's (1984) article provided the impetus for the research reported in this paper. In that paper Alderson set out the following two competing hypotheses:

1. *Poor reading in a foreign language is due to poor reading ability in the first language. Poor first language readers will read poorly in the foreign language and good first language readers will read well in the foreign language.*

2. *Poor reading in a foreign language is due to inadequate knowledge of the target language (p.4).*

Coady (1979) and Yorio (1971) provide good benchmark representations of the opposing viewpoints of this situation. Coady holds the position that second language reading is a reading comprehension problem. Coady's psycholinguistic perspective is that reading is an interactive complex of abilities/skills and knowledge, some of which has a linguistic nature. Coady lays a heavy emphasis on the readers' store of texually relevant background knowledge *and attained reading comprehension proficiency* in the first language, although he does concede that second language readers may lack attained competence in "process strategies which involve substantial knowledge of the target language." (p.8)

> *Coady's position is summarized in the following quote:*
>
> *We have only recently come to realize that many students have very poor reading habits to transfer from their first language, and thus, in many cases, we must teach reading skills which should have been learned in first language instruction (p. 12).*

Yorio's position is at the opposite pole of the continuum, or dichotomy, if one chooses to interpret this research issue as being manifested by binary positions. Yorio contends that second language readers' difficulties can be explained by second language interference and the readers' lack of sufficient second language competence.

> *Yorio's position is summarized in the following quote:*
>
> *The reader's knowledge of the foreign language is not like that of the native speaker; the guessing or predicting ability necessary to pick up the correct cues is hindered by the imperfect knowledge of the language; the wrong choice of cues or the uncertainty of the choice makes associations more difficult; due to unfamiliarity with the material and the lack of training, the memory span in a foreign language in the early stages of its acquisition is usually shorter than in our native language: recollection of previous cues then is more difficult in a foreign language than in the mother tongue; and at all levels, and at all times, there is interference of the native language (p.108).*

From the point of view of second language reading comprehension pedagogy, it logically follows that Coady's and Yorio's positions entail two different pedagogical foci: Coady's position calls for an interactive, top-down, cognition-driven orientation focussing on textually relevant back ground knowledge, psycholinguistic "guessing-game" skills, (Goodman, 1973), and global comprehension. Yorio's position seems to entail a more data-driven, bottom-up orientation focussing on the knowledge of the language, especially on the code elements or graphic cues which signal meaning in prose text; on the ability to guess, on the ability to remember previously encountered cues, and on the ability to associate the different cues.

Alderson surveyed a large corpus of published research on the question of whether reading difficulties in a second language were due to reading difficulties in the first language. In the summary that followed the review of the research, Alderson reported that (1) in the bilingual studies, there was "some evidence of transfer of reading ability from one language to another," although "only moderate to low correlations have so far been established between reading ability in first language and reading ability in the foreign language when the same individuals are studied in both languages" (p. 20); (2) "some evidence, however tentative, suggests that proficiency in the foreign language may be more closely associated with foreign-language reading ability" (p. 20); and (3) "considerable support was found for the hypothesis that some sort of threshold or language competence ceiling [Clarke, 1980; Cummins, 1976; 1979] has to be obtained before existing abilities in the first language can begin to transfer" (p. 20).

The purpose of this research was to ascertain whether readers at different proficiency strata would covary significantly on reading comprehension tests in the first and second languages. In other words, we wanted to discover whether readers who obtained low scores on a reading comprehension test in their native language would also obtained low scores on a reading comprehension test in their second language, and vice versa; and further, whether or not this covariance exists across different proficiency strata. This research was intended to continue the research paradigm presented by Alderson and, hopefully, to further inform the threshold issue spoken to by Alderson, Clarke and Cummins.

Method

Subjects

The subjects for this study were 158 Japanese students enrolled in the Southern Illinois University at Carbondale in Niigata, Japan, intensive English program. The method of selection was the natural assembly process. All students who sat for the two examinations were included in the sample: no aberrant or skewed data were purged from the data set which was analyzed and reported.

The subjects were placed into three different proficiency strata by an independent measure, the TOEFL test. Those students who scored in the 0 - 374 TOEFL interval were placed into proficiency level 1, n = 32; in the 375 - 429 TOEFL interval, proficiency level 2, n = 106; and, in the 430 - 469 TOEFL interval, proficiency level 3, n = 20. At the time of this study each student had received 5 hours of weekly reading instruction over a period of 27 weeks, or three terms.

Instrumentation

Two fifty-item random parallel reading comprehension tests were constructed as the elicitation instruments for this study. Random parallel tests are composed of items "drawn randomly from the same population of items. Tests are said to be randomly parallel when the same numbers of items with equivalent content are randomly drawn from a pool of such items" (Henning, 1987, pp. 81-82). One of the tests was translated into Japanese and is referred to as the L1 (= first language) test. The L1 test's instructions, reading passages, questions, and responses were in Japanese. The other test, the L2 test, was totally in English.

By constructing random parallel tests we hoped to hold all factors constant, in both tests, save for the language. The content of the passages in both tests reflected similar subject matter; the readability level for both tests was the same, grade 10, estimated by the McLaughlin (1969) method; the same skills were assessed by both tests (facts, inference, and generalizations); and finally, any bias in content and formal schemata (Carrell, 1987) was held constant in both tests. That is, any bias (positive or negative for Japanese readers) in subject matter and text properties remained constant in both tests.

The L1 test contained 18 fact items; 16 inference items; and 16 generalization items; the L2 test contained 15 fact items; 15 inference items; and 20 generalization items.

The fact items required the subjects to recognize and to comprehend the literal meaning of stated factual details; the inference items entailed the inferring and the interpretation of underlying relationships; and the generalization items required the subjects to evaluate and to generalize from text. The fact questions were basically *who?, what?, when?, where?* questions. The inference questions were *why?* questions. The generalization questions involved evaluative meaning.

During the testing sessions, the L1 and L2 tests were counterbalanced to preclude response set.

Procedures

The Pearson product-moment correlation procedure was utilized to analyze the data. The criterion level of significance was set at the .05 level in advance.

Results

Table 1
Percentages Correct

Prof Level	L1 Fact	L1 Infer.	L1 Gen.	L1 Total	L2 Fact	L2 Infer.	L2 Gen.	L2 Total
1 TOEFL 0-374 n = 32	x = 72.41 s = 13.66	82.00 10.77	75.34 12.79	76.31 10.81	41.47 15.23	28.71 13.80	25.91 11.45	31.56 8.76
2 TOEFL 375-429 n = 106	x = 75.33 s = 11.89	85.15 10.27	79.07 12.97	80.52 13.98	49.60 13.71	33.63 12.76	27.51 11.65	35.64 9.33
3 TOEFL 430-469 n = 20	x = 80.25 s = 7.31	89.50 8.66	84.95 8.78	84.50 6.54	58.80 14.86	36.50 12.69	33.45 13.27	42.10 8.76

Table 1 presents the mean percentages correct for the different categories of items and totals for the two tests for the different proficiency levels.

Table 2
Correlation Matrix
Proficiency Level 1

	L1 Fact	L1 Infer.	L1 Gen.	L1 Total	L2 Fact	L2 Infer.	L2 Gen.	L2 Total
L1 Fact	———	r = .6067 p = .0002	.6846 .0001	.9060 .0001	.2628 .1461	.0634 .7303	.1072 .5592	.2051 .2600
L1 Infer.		———	r = .6229 p = .0001	.8081 .0001	.2463 .1741	.2100 .2485	.1858 .3084	.2726 .1311
L1 Gen.			———	r = .8803 p = .0001	.0913 .6191	.1256 .4931	.0149 .9352	.0856 .8040
L1 Total				———	r = .2247 p = .2163	.1527 .4038	.1106 .5466	.1961 .2819
L2 Fact					———	r = -.0097 p = .9576	.2132 .2413	.6307 .0001
L2 Infer.						———	r = .3850 p = .0296	.6255 .0001
L2 Gen							———	r = .7178 p = .0001
L2 Total								———

Table 3
Correlation Matrix
Proficiency Level 2

	L1 Fact	L1 Infer.	L1 Gen.	L1 Total	L2 Fact	L2 Infer.	L2 Gen.	L2 Total
L1 Fact	—	r = .4496 p = .0001	.5412 .0001	.6497 .0001	$\boxed{\begin{array}{c}.2600\\.0071\end{array}}$	.1291 .1869	.1492 .1268	.2537 .0087
L1 Infer.		—	r = .4026 p = .0001	.5490 .0001	.2465 .0108	$\boxed{\begin{array}{c}.2084\\.0320\end{array}}$	.0320 .7445	.2030 .0368
L1 Gen.			—	r = .5343 p = .0001	.1470 .1325	.3194 .0008	$\boxed{\begin{array}{c}.1634\\.0942\end{array}}$	.2681 .0005
L1 Total				—	r = .1680 p = .0851	.1534 .1164	.2104 .0304	$\boxed{\begin{array}{c}.2413\\.0127\end{array}}$
L2 Fact					—	r = .3438 p = .0003	.3301 .0005	.7431 .0001
L2 Infer.						—	r = .3620 p = .0001	.7065 .0001
L2 Gen							—	r = .7681 p = .0001
L2 Total								—

Table 4
Correlation Matrix
Proficiency Level 3

	L1 Fact	L1 Infer.	L1 Gen.	L1 Total	L2 Fact	L2 Infer.	L2 Gen.	L2 Total
L1 Fact	—	r = .4803 p = .0321	.3441 .1373	.7373 .0002	$\boxed{\begin{array}{c}.4343\\.0556\end{array}}$	.3293 .1562	.3455 .1356	.4721 .0356
L1 Infer.		—	r = .6066 p = .0046	.8676 .0001	.4594 .0415	$\boxed{\begin{array}{c}.4384\\.0531\end{array}}$	.2960 .2051	.5678 .0090
L1 Gen.			—	r = .8094 p = .0001	.3446 .1367	.1583 .5048	$\boxed{\begin{array}{c}.5258\\.0172\end{array}}$	.4691 .0369
L1 Total				—	r = .5167 p = .0196	.4031 .0780	.4913 .0278	$\boxed{\begin{array}{c}.6408\\.0023\end{array}}$
L2 Fact					—	r = .3917 p = .0876	.0541 .8208	.7061 .0005
L2 Infer						—	r = .2153 p = .3619	.7079 .0005
L2 Gen							—	r = .6257 p = .0003
L2 Total								—

Tables 2, 3, and 4 present the correlation matrices for the different categories of items and totals for the two tests, again for the three different proficiency levels.

The columns of means in Table 1 present quite startling data. It is obvious that the three different groups of students experienced more difficulty with the L2 test than with the L1 test although the L2 test was a parallel (to the L1) test in all respects. These data lend credence to Yorio's proposition that second language reading problems are largely accounted for by the second language learners' imperfect control of the target language. An additional observation in Table 1 merits comment. As one reads from top to bottom, as the proficiency increases, as measured by the TOEFL, the mean scores increase in both the L1 and L2 categories, but our focus in this paper is not on between-group comparisons and analyses.

Our purpose in conducting this research was to investigate the extent to which our subjects' scores from the L1 test tended to covary with the scores from the L2 test. That is, we wanted to know if a reader who obtained a high score on the L1 test would also obtain a high score on the L2 test, although the scoring continuum on the L2 test might be much more restricted in range than the L1 test. For that reason we used a correlational analysis and did not concern ourselves with t-tests or ANOVA to determine if there were significant differences between the L1 and L2 scores, because the differences are almost certainly significant.

To confirm or to disconfirm Alderson's hypothesis that "poor first language readers will read poorly in the foreign language and good first language readers will read well in the foreign language," we need to observe the boxed diagonals in Tables 2, 3, and 4. The boxed diagonals are the coefficients for the L1 - L2 similar categories of items. An inspection of the boxed diagonals in Table 2 (proficiency Level 1) indicates that there was no systematic relationship or covariance between the L1 and L2 measures of reading. The L2 subtests (Fact, Inference, and Generalizations) did correlate significantly with the L2 total, but that is to be expected, and these correlation coefficients are spuriously high because they have not been adjusted for part-whole overlap.

An inspection of Table 3 (proficiency level 2) indicates that three of the four boxed diagonals contained coefficients that are significant at the .05 level: L1 and L2 Fact, L1 and L2 Inference, and L1 and L2 Total. At first blush, it appears that the 375 - 429 TOEFL interval is the threshold ceiling which must be obtained before existing abilities in the first language begin to transfer to the second language. Our reservation is based solely on the fact that the magnitude of these correlations is not very large, although they reach significance. With 104 degrees of freedom a very small coefficient reaches significance. We believe that in studies of this nature one must consider both the size and the significance of the correlation coefficient; therefore, we are reluctant to claim that a transfer of reading skills has begun at this level.

Table 4 (proficiency level 3) presents conclusive evidence that a transfer of reading skills has begun at the 430-469 TOEFL interval. The following boxed diagonals have coefficients of fairly large magnitudes, and they are significant: L1 and L2 Inference; L1 and L2 Generalizations; and L1 and L2 Total.

Had we a subject pool from the higher TOEFL intervals, 470-524 and 525-up, we think that we would have obtained high, significant correlation coefficients for all categories, given the trend established by the lower proficiency levels, but absent a data set to analyze, we treat this proposition as mere speculation.

Summary

We think that we have uncovered evidence that supports both Alderson hypotheses: "poor first language readers will read poorly in the foreign language" and vice versa, and "poor reading in a foreign language is due to inadequate knowledge of the target language." First, we found systematic variation in L1 and L2 reading skills at the 430 - 469 TOEFL interval, and at the 375- 429 interval, if one is willing to accept very small, although significant correlation coefficients. In sum, we uncovered a threshold ceiling level for transfer. Our results indicate that studies of this nature must be conducted with subjects from different levels of proficiency. Second, we found evidence that imperfect knowledge of the second language can cause difficulty in second language reading. The L2 mean scores for all categories for all proficiency levels were much lower (probably significantly lower) than the L1 mean scores, and the two tests were parallel save for the language.

Not all in-service ESL reading teachers may be keen on theoretical reading studies; therefore, we will attempt to bridge the gap between theory and practice by spiralling back to the two pedagogical foci suggested by Coady's and Yorio's positions on the second language process. We believe that the results of this study discussed above suggest that all these subjects need focussed work on the use of content and formal schemata and global comprehension, i.e., a cognition-driven, top-down orientation, and focussed work on the code elements, i.e., a data-driven, bottom-up orientation, especially at the lowest proficiency level. There is yet another reason to suggest the use of these two orientations. Rumelhart's (1977) research on an interactive model of reading has shown that proficient readers employ both top-down and bottom-up processing strategies.

References

Alderson, J.C (1934). Reading in a foreign language: a reading problem or a language problem? In J.C. Alderson and A.H. Urquhart (Eds.), *Reading In a Foreign Language*, (pp. 1-27) New York Longman.

Carrell, P.L. (1987). Content and formal schemata in ESL reading. *TESOL Quarterly, 21*, 461-481

Clarke, M.A.(1979). Reading in Spanish and English: evidence from adult ESL students. *Language Learning*, 29,121-145.

Clarke, M.A. (1980). The short circuit hypothesis of ESL reading, or when language competence interferes with reading performance. *Modern Language Journal, 64*, 203-209.

Coady, J. (1979). A psycholinguistic model of the ESL reader. In R. Mackay, B. Barkman, and R. R Jordan (Eds.), *Reading in a Second Language* (pp. 5-12) Rowley, MA : Newbury House Publishers.

Cummins, J. (1976). The influence of bilingualism on cognitive growth: a synthesis of research findings and explanatory hypotheses. *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 9, 2043.

Cummins, J. (1979). Cognitive/academic language proficiency, linguistic interdependence, the optimum age question, and some other matters. *Working Papers on Bilingualism*, 19, 197-205.

Cziko, G.A. (1978). Differences in first and second language reading: the use of syntactic, semantic, and discourse constraints. *Canadian Modern Language Review*, 34, 473-489.

Cziko, G.A. (1980). Language competence and reading strategies; a comparison of first and second language errors. *Language Learning*, 30, 101-116.

Goodman, K.S. (1973). Psycholinguistic universals of the reading process. In F. Smith (ed.), *Psycholinguistics and Reading* (pp. 21-29). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Henning G.H. (1987). *A Guide To Language Testing: Development, Evaluation, Research*. Cambridge, MA : Newbury House Publishers.

McLaughlin, G. (1969). SMOG grading — a new readability formula. *Journal of Reading*, 12, 639-646

Rumelhart, D.E. (1977). Toward an interactive model of reading. In S. Dornic (Ed.) *Attention and Performance*. Vol. 1 (pp. 573-604). New York: Academic Press.

Yorio, C.A. (1971). Some sources of reading problems for foreign language learners. *Language Learning, 21*, 107-115.

Maximizing Intrinsic Relevance in Teacher Education in ELT

Rani Rubdy
CIEFL
Hyderabad, India

Most of the in-service teacher education (INSET, hereafter) programmes in ELT/ESL[1] that I am familiar with have had remarkable success in several areas; but the one area in which they have had the least amount of success is that of bringing about improvement in the teaching of English. Thus, for example, they have succeeded in creating interest in theoretical linguistics and enthusiasm for some variety of applied linguistics, in producing spirited votaries of non-native varieties of English, in creating interest in issues concerning language planning, and even in producing ardent advocates of the newest trends in language teaching methodology. But improvement in the teaching of English is the one area in which they have had very little success. In my opinion, the reason for this is the failure to recognise that success in INSET programmes is a function of their intrinsic relevance to the trainees who undergo them.

The areas in which these programmes have had success pertain to what may be called their extrinsic relevance. While a few keen and enthusiastic trainees may have benefited from these in some ways, some of their deep rooted ideas of how the language should be taught and learned do not seem to have been affected at all. For, few of them evince any enthusiasm at the prospect of applying what they have learned on these INSET programmes to the teaching situation in their own classrooms. Often it is the one area in which you meet with cynicism and resistance. This is because they have not been able to see, nor have they been shown, the relevance to their own teaching situations of all the new content and the language skills they have acquired on these programmes.

Intrinsic versus Extrinsic Relevance

In one sense, every trainee on an INSET programme represents a pedagogical context that is unique to his situation. He brings with him to the training programme a specific perspective which is determined by this pedagogical context. What he should get primarily from a training programme is something which he feels he can take back to this context and apply there with some amount of certainty and confidence that it will work.

The trainee sees such a training programme as intrinsically relevant to him because he perceives it as an activity directly addressed to his needs as an individual teacher, and relates to it in terms of his own personal framework of thinking. If, on the other hand, what the programme has to offer is merely something that will be potentially useful to him perhaps at some future date, and constitutes a formal part of his general education, it may be said to have an extrinsic relevance for him. Seeing extrinsic relevance is often a matter of making sense of the programme as input to his general equipment as a teacher. Only when the trainee is able to see the direct relevance of the programme to his own situation and experience can it be said to have become intrinsically relevant to him.

I would further like to suggest that it is only by making a teacher training programme intrinsically relevant that we can fully achieve the broader objectives of teacher education. Of the three main objectives of teacher education, viz. knowledge, skills and attitudes, conscious attention is generally paid to equipping trainees with new knowledge and to improving their linguistic and professional skills, but the more critical objective of bringing about attitudinal changes in the trainees receives scant attention. Thus, for example, very little is consciously done to sensitize trainees to the demands made by a rapidly changing teaching context. This neglect tends to lead to the fossilization of training routines which is particularly disastrous at a time when radical changes are taking place in the paradigms [2] that govern syllabus design, and even our understanding of what language learning implies. As Britten (1988:6) rightly remarks, the problem of transfer of training can be dealt with only if, during training, the acquisition of skills goes hand in hand with the acquisition of appropriate attitudes to teacher development: "You may *know* how and when something ought to be done, but you still may never actually *do* it... if you feel no personal commitment to working that way."

The term "attitude" in relation to the teaching profession is generally used to refer to the teacher's perception of his own and his learner's roles and of the teaching-learning process as a whole. Implicit in this also is his ideology or theory of language and language learning which he adheres to. In addition, one would include an orientation toward open-mindedness, responsibility and wholeheartedness (Koskella 1985 in Zeichn[illegible] and Liston 1987:39). This entails a commitment toward self-development and growth which results from a willingness to try out new ideas, to innovate and experiment, and to initiate change.

Common experience shows us how teacher attitudes can determine teacher behaviour by influencing the decision-making process in the classroom. While it is true that the knowledge component serves to provide the grounds for teacher choices and actions, the role played by the system of beliefs and expectations that guide these choices is not sufficiently recognized. Decision-making is in one sense an act of judgement and presupposes a clear set of criteria and a value base. Again, the major reason why teachers are slow in transferring to their own classrooms the variety of innovative procedures they may have acquired on the course is their strong resistance to change, arising out of their personal prejudices and biases which inhibit them from taking risks. This has proved to be a great hindrance in bringing about reforms in teacher education and has had far-reaching consequences for curriculum development as well. In my view, therefore, it is the attitudinal dimension of teacher education which is by far the most crucial one since this determines how the trainee will put to use the new knowledge and skills he has acquired. Indeed, it is only when changes in teacher attitudes are brought about that knowledge and skill will yield their optimum benefits. What then is the most effective way of bringing about these changes through INSET programmes?

It seems to me that the most direct way of addressing issues connected with attitudinal changes is to make the training programme intrinsically relevant to the teaching situation and experience of the trainees in the sense discussed above. For while improvement in both knowledge and skills may accrue from training that is relevant either intrinsically or extrinsically, only programmes which seek to be intrinsically relevant can compel teachers to reflect upon their experiences and environment in a way that changes their perceptions.

Reflective Approach to Teacher Education

In a recent article Zeichner and Liston (1987:24) advocate a training programme which is oriented toward the goals of reflective teaching as one which promotes the full professional development of teachers vis-a-vis a programme which is oriented to routine action. While routine action is guided primarily by tradition, external authority and circumstance, "reflective action entails the active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in light of the grounds that support it and the consequences to which it leads." Underlying this distinction is the belief that learning for both trainees and trainer is greater and deeper when teachers are encouraged to exercise their judgement about the content and process of their work and to contribute to the educational environment of the situations in which they work.

One of the characteristics of a reflective approach to training is that the curriculum is not specified in advance, but makes provisions for the self determined needs and concerns of teacher trainees as well as the creation of personal meaning by participants through sharing common experience and interests. Such a curriculum, which Eggleston (1977) terms a 'reflexive' curriculum, also includes provisions for the negotiation of content among teachers (trainers) and learners (trainees).

Secondly, a curriculum oriented toward reflective action seeks to draw upon the practical knowledge of trainees and experienced practitioners, as well as upon theoretical insights and concepts generated in the field. The flow of knowledge is in both directions. While trainees are given opportunities to explicate and clarify the assumptions and predispositions underlying practical actions and assess the educational consequences toward which they lead, attempts are made to provide diverse conceptual frameworks[3] for analyzing their work. These frameworks are then employed by trainees to analyze, understand and evaluate their practical situations. They form the conceptual tools with which trainees may understand and alter their actions in the classroom and in turn react to the usefulness of the concepts for helping them analyze and interpret their situations.

A third characteristic of a curriculum conducive to reflexive action is its relatively broad scope in that it is concerned with teaching in its broadest sense (for example, with the teacher as curriculum developer) as well as with inquiry about teaching and contexts. It is not restricted to the teacher's instructional role within the classroom and the reproduction of desirable teaching behaviours.

It seems to follow from the above discussion that a reflexive curriculum, or one which makes provision for reflective action is also one which must necessarily have intrinsic relevance for trainees. For it provides trainees with opportunities for independent decision-making by enabling them to develop different criteria for choosing among alternative courses of action. In practical terms this means trainees will be consulted in the articulation of the courses that are planned for them, that the course design will be sensitive to their concerns and interests from its very inception, and that the methodology and modes of training adopted will attempt to be compatible with these throughout. Further, it implies that the trainees' contribution to the teaching-learning process will be at least as much as that of the trainers' and that both derive benefits from this two-way interchange. It implies also that trainees will be encouraged to develop, both individually and collectively, the desire and ability to assume greater roles in determining the direction of classroom and school affairs than they previously did.

A Case Study

Background

I shall describe here one such attempt at achieving intrinsic relevance when a team of CIEFL faculty had to organise and conduct in July 1987 a teacher trainers' course for senior English teachers of the Central Schools.[4] The CIEFL (Central Institute of English and Foreign Languages), Hyderabad, is a nodal institute, and the only one of its kind in the country, set up in 1958 by the Government of India to improve the standards of the teaching of English and foreign languages. It carries out these responsibilities by conducting regular teacher education programmes, organising the production of teaching materials and high level research and providing country-wide consultancy services.

The Central Schools are a network of schools, located throughout the country (and offering a uniform pattern of education) established for the benefit of the children of transferable defence personnel and other Central Government employees, and administered by the Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan, which is an autonomous body under the aegis of the Ministry of Human Resources Development, Government of India. An important feature of the Central Schools Organization has been its ability to maintain its distinctive identity as a progressive school organization in the country. Thus, whereas the 'typical' secondary school teacher in India is often over worked and grossly underpaid and is besotted with poor working conditions, inadequate facilities and a general lack of support on the part of the school management, the Central School teachers are generally better off than many of their counterparts in these respects. There are, nevertheless, certain common problems pertaining to the Indian teaching learning situation which they share, viz., constraints of syllabus, examination pressures, diversity of student abilities, lack of genuine motivation, class size, etc. In such conditions innovation and experiment are difficult, if not impossible. Furthermore, the Indian educational context offers limited opportunities for teachers to attend seminars and workshops or participate in forums for the exchange of ideas. Rarer still is easy access to academic and professional journals through which much of the latest research on teaching and curriculum innovation is disseminated. In an educational climate which is conformity imposing rather than innovative, currently developed instructional strategies such as group interaction, pair work, role play and simulation, problem-solving and task-based activities, therefore, still remain largely unknown to a great number of teachers and their potential usefulness, unexploited.

In an attempt to remedy these shortcomings and strengthen its teaching force the Central Schools Organization provides a system of internal training programmes for its faculty, on which some of their most experienced teachers often serve as resource persons along with experts from other educational institutions. The course we had been asked to organize was intended to equip the senior teachers of the Central Schools to function more effectively as teacher trainers.

The request to train these resource persons, coming to us well in advance, gave us the opportunity to attempt a need-related, specifically targeted training/programme. This was a radical departure from the usual refresher/enrichment programmes, wherein teachers are usually brought up to date with the latest developments in ELT, primarily by inundating them with information on current pedagogical practices. We felt that by virtue of having worked for the same organization, the teachers who were coming to us would share certain common problems and interests professionally. Here was a chance to develop a training curriculum that might be made directly relevant to their shared needs and experiences.

Since my purpose in this article is to highlight those features which enhance the intrinsic relevance of INSET programmes, I shall touch upon just those events in the planning and execution of the course which clearly illustrate these features.

Negotiation of Content

The first step in developing the course for these teachers was to determine in specific terms the nature of their needs and problems. This was done through a small scale needs survey with the help of a questionnaire designed for the purpose. The questionnaire itself was developed over two workshops organised several weeks before the course was to be given, and involved a small team of senior teachers of English drawn from the five local Central Schools and a few members of the CIEFL faculty. The questionnaire was to be used to elicit information on various aspects of classroom teaching from a randomly selected representative group of Central School teachers from different parts of the country. The results thus obtained would help us formulate a more reliable and relevant basis for developing the course content and methodological framework to be adopted for the training programme. The participation of the local team of Central School teachers was particularly valuable because all of them had had the experience of the Central Schools training programmes either as participants or as resource persons, and this enabled them to bring to bear on the construction of the questionnaire their valuable first-hand experience in the field. The two preliminary workshops with them thus represented a conscious attempt on our part to get the teachers themselves to determine and articulate what should form the major components of their course content.

Several points emerged from the discussions with the local team of teachers. In the main, they were critical of the general predominance of theory over practice in conventional training programmes and of the lack of integration between the two. (On most training courses theory and practice are not only kept apart but are even listed as separate components of the training curriculum.) Furthermore, there was a general consensus that some of the lectures, no matter whether they concerned theoretical principles or methodology, however impressive or interesting they might be as a body of knowledge, did not help them in their day-to-day functioning in the classroom because no attempts were ever made on the course to relate this information to their own problems and concerns in their teaching situations. Therefore, what the teachers clearly wished to see on the course were

i) an emphasis on practical applications above theoretical explanations, and
ii) an integration of the various activities on the course so that the bits fell into place as a coherent whole and were not presented as a mishmash of odds and ends.

The interaction with the local teachers helped us identify some of the major concerns that the questionnaire should address. The questionnaire evolved through this process directed attention to the various aspects of classroom teaching under 36 headings covering the following major categories: clarity in the teachers' understanding of the syllabus objectives, their priorities with regard to the teaching of the different language skills, their preferred methodology, their own self assessment in terms of both linguistic and professional/technical abilities, the specific areas of difficulty they encountered, and the nature and extent of help they would expect on short term in-service training courses.

The questionnaire was sent to some 100 Central School teachers at the primary and secondary levels in different parts of the country. The information obtained through this survey gave us a fairly clear indication of the teachers' needs. Furthermore, the following emerged as areas of specific difficulty: adequate handling of the listening and speaking skills, utilizing a variety of techniques in vocabulary teaching, the problems of selecting appropriate topics for written composition work and the treatment of errors, the teaching of grammar, the teaching of poetry at different levels, ways of coping with slow and gifted learners in the classroom, the effective use of audio-visual aids, handling supplementary readers, and organizing project work as a means of fostering language learning, creativity and independent study.

On the basis of this survey the following were identified as the central objectives of the training programme:

1. Developing the participants' competence as teachers by exposing them to developments in the field and by providing a framework for critically reviewing their own syllabuses, textbooks and teaching and testing procedures.
2. Enhancing their confidence, resourcefulness, sense of responsibility and commitment by building on their existing knowledge, experience and skills.
3. Providing them with the professional and management skills needed to function as trainers to enable them to plan, design, organize and implement in-service courses for teachers.
4. Utilizing on the present course those very modes and methodological procedures which the training programme sought to inculcate in them.

The course content covered both general concepts and principles and specific aspects of teaching particular skills. The pedagogical points which the trainees were brought to understand included the idea of learner-centredness, the concept of need, the role of assessment, self-directed learning, the relation between language as a tool of communication and language as a system, the concept of learning strategy, the concept of functional teaching, the idea that mistakes are logical, can be explained and are never haphazard, etc.

It may be pertinent to note here that the training programme was continuously monitored and assessed for the relevance of the various activities and procedures utilized on the course to the perceived needs and learning goals of the trainees. We wished to find out the extent to which our understanding of these, and our attempts to serve them, matched their perceptions. Thus identification of trainee needs did not constitute just a preliminary step in the formulation of the course curriculum but formed an integral part of it — it provided for the negotiation of content among trainers and trainees and it informed the nature of the various activities and learning experiences we tried to create on the course.

Furthermore, trainees were required to specify on a proforma at the beginning of the course their respective strengths and abilities as teachers and indicate what they hoped to acquire from the course. The course was then periodically reviewed against these expectations. Finally, an end-of-course review session helped record the extent to which trainees felt they had 'developed' or benefited from the course. All this constituted continuous assessment of the programme by the trainees themselves in terms of their individual needs.

Building on Trainee Experience and Practice

It was obvious from the outset that in order to get teachers to transfer the methodological innovations suggested on the course to their classrooms our own training methods had to reflect as far as possible the teaching methods that we wanted them to try out for themselves. They had not only to feel convinced that these classroom procedures worked before they would be willing to adopt/adapt them, but had to feel comfortable enough with the entire process to try them out with any confidence. The only way to do this most effectively was to provide them the direct experience of these procedures by conducting the training through the very same mode. In other words, we had to practise what we preached.

Two alternative ways of attempting this suggested themselves

i) Theoretical input —> application in practical work

ii) Examining data —> arriving at a set of principles —> confirming insights by looking at more data —> application/ adaptation

The latter was chosen as a more satisfactory way of relating principles to practice, primarily because it provided greater scope for trainee-initiated activities rather than trainer-induced ones: when the ideas come from the participants' own understanding of processes and problems they are found to result in a greater sense of confidence and commitment. In recent years, other innovative attempts in INSET (e.g. Ramani 1987) have also corroborated the value of encouraging teachers to conceptualize their practices, thus reducing the gap between theory and practice. Thus it was generally agreed upon to anchor the course in practical problems and extend any enquiry into theoretical issues from this base.

The mode of operation best suited to our aims and purposes was felt to be the workshop mode wherein teachers could work in small groups, discussing and evaluating ideas on their own. This had the advantage of removing the threat that performing in a large group often generates. The workshop sessions covered the following activities:

i) Developing simple tools and procedures to find out the language needs of students at the school level.
ii) Developing the participants' conscious understanding of the basic principles of language learning-teaching by examining data which is both new (e.g. looking at a set of communicative materials/tests, transcripts of lessons from classroom observation, etc.) as well as familiar (e.g. their own lesson plans and work schemes, examining scripts and composition pieces corrected by them or their colleagues).
iii) Deriving information on new developments in ELT through brainstorming sessions, group discussions of relevant concepts, excerpts and quotations supplied on handouts.
iv) Demonstrating to the participants the value of problem-solving tasks and group methods by providing first-hand experience of participating in them.
v) Developing a checklist of evaluation criteria to be used in the selection of instructional materials.
vi) Developing a framework which suggests alternatives for modification/adaptation of materials and procedure, and trying out some of these in peer/simulated situations.
vii) Developing an inventory of activities and task types for faciliating the learning of the different language skills for use in their own classrooms or on the Central Schools training programmes.

The workshop sessions did not of course preclude lectures, individual presentations, whole group discussions and plenary sessions. However, the major role of the trainer was clearly seen as that of creating an environment in which trainees would question existing practices, clarify underlying assumptions, assess their educational consequences and evaluate the various alternatives/solutions which they themselves or their tutors subsequently had to offer.

The following 'prototype' unit used for dealing with the teaching of the different language skills illustrates the approach discussed above:
1. Review of points relevant to a given skill arising from the study of general principles (language ability, language learning, curriculum construction).

2. Detailed treatment of the nature of the skill, suitable learning conditions, materials and techniques.
3. Analysis of sample materials for clarifying principles.
4. Review of further sample materials in order to select elements that can be adopted/adapted for use in their own classrooms.
5. Examining to what extent the existing syllabus, texts and testing procedures support the acquisition of the given skill.
6. Identifying desirable changes/innovations which the individual teacher has the resources and freedom to bring about.
7. Developing ideas at (6) into lesson plans for discussion and try out.
8. Planning tasks and activities that would give trainees insights into the teaching of this skill in the Central Schools training programmes.

This was not intended to be a rigid framework to be followed step by step at all times. The tutors had the freedom to move freely within this scheme choosing any one of the steps before any other depending on the trainee needs or focus of interest. What was important was the progressive movement toward the desired objectives for which the prototype was designed.

The Teacher's Expanding Role

Finally, reflective teaching is concerned with teaching in its broadest sense, which includes, besides his instructional activities, the teacher's participation in activities such as curriculum development, student evaluation and classroom research.

An awareness of this expanded role of the teacher in education, often totally absent in trainees undergoing initial training, was surprisingly not difficult to bring home to this particular group of teachers. This may be because they were aware that they were going to be called upon in the near future to organize as well as teach on some of the in-service training courses of the Central Schools organization.

Though more progressive than most schools, the Central Schools have a rather rigid curricular framework with a set of guidelines which teachers are expected to follow. Many of the teachers expressed their dissatisfaction with the present system and felt the need for reforms but were unclear yet as to what form these should take. The task before us was to get them to critically appraise their own situation and sensitise them to available alternatives. This involved getting them to articulate the assumptions underlying the curriculum and instructional materials, to analyse aspects of classroom interaction which would help identify relevant classroom process variables, and to develop criteria for evaluating their own and their colleagues' performance.

The reflexive approach to teacher education that our training programme had adopted seemed to appeal to the teachers because they felt that the work being done had direct practical applications to their own teaching situations. Thus in evolving the content of the programme their needs and teaching problems provided the basic frames of reference; their own insights and practical classroom experience were used to formulate and validate theoretical hypotheses about language education; and finally, they were constantly being challenged to assume responsibilities for the educational process as a whole. Thus they were made the very focus of the entire training programme at every stage. In other words, they were active participants in the training programme as a whole and not just its passive consumers. Basic to all this was their realisation that the training programme was intrinsically relevant to their teaching situations.

Before I conclude I would like to refer to two other features of the training programme which in their own ways enhanced its appeal to the trainees. One of them is the undertaking of small-group projects and the other is the organisation of reading tasks.

Early on the programme trainees were asked to form themselves into a number of interest groups and start working on projects related to specific areas. These small group projects enabled the teachers to work in a cooperative effort on topics of their own choice and of immediate relevance to their situations. For the most part, the interest groups met informally after class, working through the various stages with the help of a set of guidelines. By the end of week two they had gathered enough material to prepare preliminary outlines to present to the rest of the groups for discussion and feedback. The discussions helped them devise improvements in their original formats. The trainees felt involved in this activity because it called for the exercise of their critical and evaluative faculties. There was enough evidence to suggest that the teachers found working on these projects a creative and rewarding experience.

As Ramani (1987) has pointed out, a major problem in teacher training is that of getting teachers to read. Most training programmes prescribe a list of books for compulsory reading, but very rarely are these books actually read or discussed. She rightly suggests that "if trainees are encouraged to see reading as a search for answers to questions that interest them, then their reading is likely to be motivated and meaningful" (Ramani 1987:8). The engaging of teachers in specific reading tasks was not just a means of updating their knowledge. Reading was given a special place on the timetable as a linking device at several points — through a set of pre-course materials introducing current concepts in language teaching to be picked up for further discussion and follow-up on the course, through self-directed reading sessions in a 'class library hour', and through reading seminars organized at the end of every week. The pre-course reading materials were accompanied by a set of questions which the teachers were required to respond to on the basis of their teaching experience and their understanding of the concepts discussed.

For the library hour, some 200 articles from current ELT literature were made available to the teachers in a self-access corner. Since the trainees were school teachers, what they primarily needed were materials that would cater to their immediate classroom needs. We therefore felt that secondary sources might prove to be of greater use to them. Also included were several articles containing practical tips and 'dos and don'ts' for day-to-day teaching. Teachers could browse through these, take down notes and references and borrow a few items for overnight reading. This reading material became a valuable resource for the projects that the groups were working on.

The weekly reading seminars aimed not only at training the teachers to read through professional articles in a systematic and disciplined way, but also to get them, through interpretation and discussion, to arrive at a clear understanding of some of the basic assumptions and implications underlying current ideas in the field. The trainer's role throughout was to consolidate their efforts by clarifying concepts poorly understood, sensitising teachers to viable alternatives, and relating these to specific applications for their own classrooms.

Our experience of this course suggests that an INSET curriculum which welcomes trainee initiative and builds on their contributions serves not only to extend their professional skills by stretching them to the maximum but also enables them to acquire a sense of confidence in using practical skills not previously tried out. What is more, an INSET curriculum of this type which is sensitive to concepts of relevance, flexibility and adaptability is likely to offer a unique combination of advantages which can develop commitment to change on the part of the teachers.

Notes

[1]. I use the term INSET broadly to refer to both long term and short duration orientation courses, traditionally conducted for school and college teachers of English by national and state level agencies in India such as the CIEFL, the NCERT, the ELTIs/RIEs, the SCERTs. These are generally characterized by a standardized, pre-determined training syllabus.

[2]. For a detailed discussion, see Michael P Breen's state of the art article, 'Contemporary Paradigms in Syllabus Design, Part II, in Language Teaching Abstracts (1987:157-174).

[3]. As indicated by Widdowson (1984:88), a 'framework' is to be differentiated from a set of fixed formulae in that the former is flexible and allows modification to accommodate new insights and experiences in teaching. The frameworks employed by trainees are therefore open to constant renewal and reshaping in the light of fresh understanding and experience.

[4]. In more recent years, other teacher educators in other contexts (Ramani

1987, Kennedy 1987, Parish and Brown 1988) have also reported positive results on similar programmes that have sought to introduce innovation in INSET.

Acknowledgements:

I am very grateful to my colleagues, Jacob Tharu and Rama Mathew for the help they gave me in writing this paper, which benefited greatly from their constructive criticism and friendly encouragement.

References

Breen, M.P. 1987. *'Contemporary Paradigms in Syllabus Design', State of the art*, Language Teaching 20/3:157-174.

Britten, D. 1988. *'Three Stages in Teacher Training'.*

ELT Journal. 42/1:3-8

Eggleston, J. 1977. *The Sociology of the School Curriculum.*

London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Parish, C. and R.W. Brown. 1988. *'Teacher Training for*

Sri Lanka: PRINSETT'. ELT Journal. 42/1:21-27.

Ramani, E. 1987. *'Theorizing from the Classroom'.*

ELT Journal. 41/1:3-11.

Widdowson, H.G. 1984. *'The Incentive Value of Theory in*

Teacher Education', ELT Journal 38/2:86-90.

Zeichner, K.M. and D.P. Liston. 1987. *'Teaching Student Teachers*

to Reflect'. Harvard Educational Review. 57/1:23-48.

Function and Form in Essay Examination Prompts

Daniel Horowitz
International Christian University
Tokyo, Japan

"Explain, describe, define, discuss advantages/disadvantages, compare and contrast or reply in whatever manner seems appropriate to display your understanding of the concepts listed. Remember, this is a course on retailing and your answers should apply to the field of retailing...."

(an essay prompt from this study)

Abstract

A genre analysis of 284 essay examination prompts reveals specific discoursal characteristics which function to communicate what type of response will be considered legitimate. The main pedagogical implication is that for test takers to the able to decode prompts, they must draw upon the same functional/linguistic knowledge of genre that the test constructor did. This suggests that academic writing teachers should familiarize their students with the discoursal characteristics of examination prompts.

Introduction

Two or more times each year, students at almost every English-medium university take midterm and final exams. Although some of these exams are "objective," a great many of them require students to display their learning by writing essays. This fact alone justifies taking a close look at essay examinations, especially since performance on these tests often counts heavily toward a student's final grade. Add to this the fact that time pressure places a greater burden on a foreign student than on a native writer, that essay exams differ from one educational system to another, and that there is at least some evidence that foreign students have trouble understanding examination prompts (Swales 1982), and it becomes clear that essay examinations are indeed worthy of the attention of EAP teachers and researchers.

Most previous research on essay examinations has focused on the discourse structure of examination prompts. Mallows (1979) counted how many times each instructional verb (such as *discuss, calculate, examine, etc.*) was used in examination papers for mechanical engineering students at Oxford Polytechnic. Swales (1982) took a somewhat different tack because he found that there was no one-to-one correspondence between the instructional verbs in his sample and the rhetorical signaling functions they performed in the prompts. Accordingly, he formed the verbs in his study into "a limited set of superordinate groups" based on the overall rhetorical pattern they signaled.

This practice was followed by Horowitz (1986a), who created a taxonomy of prompt types based on 284 prompts from Western Illinois University.

Another important contribution to the study of prompts was Johns' (1976) distinction between "primary" and "secondary" instructions. She gave the following example:

> Discuss x with particular reference to the following situation:...(p. 3)

"Discuss x" is the *primary* writing instruction. The rest of the prompt contains *secondary instructions*, which indicate "how [students] should interpret the questions, and how [they] should limit [themselves]" (p.3). Finally, Hamp-Lyons divided prompts into four parts — topic, comment, focus, and perspective — in order to explain "some of the key linguistic variables influencing writers' responses" (p. 347).

The studies mentioned thus far, by virtue of their careful examination of large numbers of actual prompts, have yielded interesting and pedagogically useful insights and generalizations. However, in concentrating wholly on *description*, they have left open the question of *why* prompts take the form they do. The present study, based on the same 284 prompts from Western Illinois University mentioned above, offers a preliminary answer to this question. Its method is to merge the tradition of discourse analysis of prompts (discussed above) with recent work on genre analysis. The argument will be that essay examination prompts constitute a genre — "a rhetorical means for mediating private intentions and social exigence" (Miller, 1984, p. 163) — and can thus be seen as the rhetorical means by which teachers who operate within an educational system where achievement is often assessed through writing solve some of the major problems inherent in that method of testing.

Prompts as a Genre

The first question to be considered is whether prompts do in fact constitute a genre. According to Swales and Horowitz (1988), a genre is "a class of communicative events" with "tendencies toward stable structure and style" and "a shared set of communicative purposes" (p. 1). By this definition, the question must be answered "yes". Prompts are indeed recognized by the academic community as a communicative event with a common purpose, namely, to give writing instructions on tests of achievement. Their stability of structure and style is attested to by the studies mentioned above, all of which have demonstrated important shared discoursal characteristics.

"Outcome Space": The Prompt Writer's Point of View

A useful starting point for understanding the relationship between the discoursal characteristics of prompts and the needs of the prompt writer is the concept of "outcome space" (Pollitt et al 1985). As Hamp-Lyons (1986) explains:

> When the constructor of a writing test designs a question, he has clear ideas about the kinds of responses he expects and those he is prepared to accept as legitimate; this is the test constructor's outcome space..... (p. 349).

There are, however, strong forces at work in the opposite direction, threatening to scatter responses more widely than most prompt writers would consider "legitimate". Since reading is a "constructive" process, it is natural that different readers, based on the varying background knowledge they bring to the text, will assign different meanings to the same prompt (Ruth and Murphy, 1984) and it is just as natural that, having interpreted the prompts differently, they will respond (as writers) in even more diverse ways. These problems together threaten to make grading an essay test a tremendous problem, because all grading implies a comparison and ranking of the examinees' responses, and too much diversity makes comparison extremely difficult or even impossible.

This is the central problem of essay test construction, one that test constructors continually struggle with, and their struggle is the key to understanding the structure of prompts, for as Swales points out, "discourse communities develop discoursal characteristics that are deemed to suit the management of the community's affairs" (Swales, 1988, p. 5). In this case, test constructors' desire to constrain responses is clearly reflected in the way that the various parts of a prompt function to specify the type of answer required and thus to create as much standardization of response as possible.

More specifically, I found that everything contained in the 284 prompts on which the present study is based could be subsumed under one of seven micro-functions, which, taken together, defined the "outcome space" of those prompts. These functions are arranged below on a continuum, the poles of which are "content focus" (the macro-function *telling the writer what to write about*), and "form focus" (the macro-function *telling the writer how to write about it*):

content focus	1. identify the topic 2. provide background information about the topic
	3. specify required content 4. specify rhetorical structure 5. specify the writer's persona 6. specify sources to be drawn upon
form focus	7. specify the length of the essay

The remainder of this paper will examine each of the seven micro-functions in more detail, answering, as appropriate, some or all of the following questions about each one:

1. How often is that function realized within the corpus of 284 prompts?

2. How predictable is the position in which the function is realized?

3. How predictable is the wording by which the function is realized?

4. What features of the linguistic realization might present special difficulties for test takers?

Micro-function #1: Identify the topic

It is difficult to imagine an essay prompt which does not identify the topic for the writer, and in fact all but one of the 284 prompts in this study did so. The one which did not was from a freshman sociology course, and its careful wording, full of advice and admonition, reveals it as "the exception which proves the rule".

> Ex. 1: Write an essay on any topic of your choice. Write in such a way as to display as much use of the concepts and data from the textbook and lectures as you are able to manage. You may use examples from your own experience. The purpose of this question is to allow you to show the depth of your understanding on some sociological material, so choose a topic you know well.

The overwhelming majority of topic-identifiers came after an instructional verb, most commonly as its object, or after a *wh*-question word, as illustrated respectively in the following examples:

> Ex. 2: Define the "police personality"

> Ex. 3: What is a ziggurat?

Multiple topics governed by one instructional verb are illustrated in the following examples, the first of which gives writers some leeway in choosing their topics, and the second of which does not:

> Ex. 5: Define four (4) of the following terms: appellee; arraignment; brief; declaratory judgement; civil contempt; deposition.

> Ex. 6: Summarize the biological, mechanistic, and functional theories that explain how children acquire knowledge.

Other prompts were much more complicated. In the following example, 5 topics are governed by 4 instructional verbs and *wh*- question words:

Ex. 7: Name at least five sedimentary structures, tell how (and where) they form, and what they can tell us about the sedimentary environment in that place at that time.

The last example illustrates one type of complexity that might cause confusion for writers, a type that comes from the permutations of topic and instructional verb or *wh*-question word. The following two examples illustrate a more subtle type of complexity:

Ex. 8: In what kinds of societies do we find headmen, how do they get their positions, and how do they behave?

Ex. 9: What is history? What are its characteristics? Why do people study history?

Example 8 clearly consists of three different questions, but the relationships among the questions in example 9 are more ambiguous. While the third question is clearly different from the first two, it is not immediately clear whether the second is meant to clarify/restate the first or whether it constitutes a separate question. A second problem is even more subtle: it appears that some instructors expect students to integrate the various parts of their answer and that they take off points when students fail to do so (Johns, 1988). How prevalent this tendency is — and whether we should recommend to our students that they always write one "whole" essay even when faced with multiple questions — remains a topic for future research.

Micro-function #2: Provide background information about the topic

In 46 of the prompts (16%), the main writing instruction came after at least one complete sentence of background information, as illustrated in the following examples:

Ex. 10: In 1776, Adam Smith published *The Wealth of Nations*, in which he argued that the wealth of any nation consisted of its goods and services, not its store of gold and silver. He also held that economic relations were governed by natural laws of supply and demand and that free trade among nations was best. Compare this concept to that of mercantilism. Be sure to consider the Navigation Acts, bounties, restrictions, trade patterns, and other pertinent aspects of the colonial economy.

Ex. 11: Some organs of the reproductive system of digenetic trematodes and cestodes have been misnamed according to recent evidence. Two of these are the shell gland (Hehlis' gland) and yolk glands (vitelline glands). Describe the probable function of each of these in egg formation and indicate why the names in each case are not entirely appropriate.

As expected, background information appears at the beginning of the prompt in nearly all cases, although the following example provides some "free" information at the end as well:

> Ex. 12: Between 753 B.C. (the traditional date for the founding of the city of Rome) and the end of the Roman Republic near the end of the first century B.C., the Romans enjoyed a remarkable period of expansion and cultural development. Write an essay in which you identify at least five of the internal and external developments that took Rome from an obscure group of Latin tribes to a major imperial power and the master both of Italy and overseas territories.

While it seems clear that prompt writers provide background information as an aid for students — the "c'mon, you remember" function — it does pose two potential problems. First, students must be able to distinguish the writing instructions from the background information, a task somewhat complicated by the fact that prompts which use instructional verbs lack telltale question marks. Second, and perhaps more important, as students rush through background information in search of the "real thing," they may disregard important clues to the question writer's intent, because the background information sections of prompts provide essential information about outcome space.

Micro-function #3: Specify required content

35 of the questions (12%) contained specific instructions about what to include or not to include in the answer. Most of these instructions came after the main writing instruction, as in example 10 above, and in the following:

> Ex. 13: Is it probable that one day machines will be smarter than men? Include a discussion of expert systems in your answer.

A participle was sometimes used to realize this function before the main writing instruction:

> Ex. 14: Using the Yanomamo as an example briefly explain Marvin Harris's theory of primitive warfare.

The examples up to this point have been "prescriptions," but there were a number of "proscriptions" as well:

> Ex. 15: What factors other than innate intelligence contribute positively to cognitive development and success in school?

Although content specifications took a wide variety of grammatical forms, the words "include" and "use" were especially common, as was the phrase "Be sure...":

Ex. 16: Include a discussion of ... in your answer...

Ex. 17: Make sure your explanation includes....

Ex. 18: Your essay might include....

Ex. 19: Using....as an example....

Ex. 20: Using either....or...as your focus...

Ex. 21: Be sure to consider/take note of/explain/adequately stress.....

Parentheses were also used to the same effect:

Ex. 22: Explain Enlightenment ideas (John Locke, etc.)

Ex. 25: Make a general statement (do not name countries) about....

Ex. 26: ...Construct an argument for or against this contention. (Realize that any argument requires..)

Ex. 27: Clearly explain what... is all about (its assumptions, what it illustrates,...)

The main point to stress here is that these content specifiers are fully as important as the main writing instructions which (usually) precede them. Even though they may appear to be parenthetical (literally or figuratively), any student who ignores these essential clues to the prompt writer's outcome space does so at great risk.

Micro-function #4: Specify rhetorical structure

All of the prompts in the sample specified the rhetorical structure, some through instructional verbs (as in Ex. 2), some through *wh*-question words (as in Ex. 3), and a very few through yes-no questions (as in Ex. 13)

In 12 of the prompts there were two instructional verbs linked by and; Ex. 26: List and explain.....

Ex. 27: List and define.....

Ex. 28: Identify and explain...

Ex. 29: Define and distinguish among these concepts...

Ex. 30: Define and describe the relationship between...

Ex. 31: Discuss and illustrate....

These double instructional verbs pose a problem similar to the one posed by multiple questions. Although it would be possible, for example, to first *list* and then *explain*, it is doubtful that this is expected. There appear to be cases, then, when two instructions are meant to be construed and carried out as one, and others where they signal the need for two separate discourse moves. Needless to say, the distinction between these two types may cause problems for writers.

In some cases, the instructional verb was quite vague, the vaguest being "Write an essay on/in which....." These vague instructions were always followed by very specific content specification, as in the following:

Ex. 32: Write a comprehensive essay on fiscal policy — what it is, why it is used, the tools of fiscal policy, how they work, the different types of fiscal policy, the problems with fiscal policy....

The sample also provided evidence in support of Swales' (1982) contention that the same instructional verb can signal different rhetorical structures in different prompts. Consider the following three examples:

Ex. 33: Describe the causes of the War of 1812.

Ex. 34: Describe the technologies associated with horticulture and also those associated with agriculture.

Ex. 35: Describe the relationship between population growth, urbanization, and the demographic transition.

Example 33 requires a discussion of historical causes; example 34, a listing and perhaps a physical description, with an implied comparison; and example 35, a much more abstract description of the interrelationships among concepts. This suggests that students who were taught that *describe* corresponds to one fixed rhetorical structure would be hard put to interpret these prompts successfully. *Explain* and *discuss* are two other instructional verbs which were multi-functional and could thus be interpreted only in the context of the whole prompt.

Many examples of predictability in the wording of rhetorical specifiers are given in Horowitz (1986a). The two main conclusions of that study can be summarized as follows:

1. There is no one-to-one correspondence between rhetorical outcome space

and rhetorical signals (including instructional verbs, *wh*-question words, and yes-no questions); in other words, there were many examples where the same rhetorical signal specified different rhetorical structures, and many others where different rhetorical signals specified the same rhetorical structure.

2. There is, on the other hand, a strong tendency for some rhetorical structures to be signaled in a small number of ways.

Two examples will perhaps be representative of the data which led to these conclusions:

1. The rhetorical structure "description of differences" was most commonly signaled by various forms of the word *differ* and by the instructional verbs *compare* and *contrast*, but there was also one prompt which used the verb "distinguish" and one which asked "What is peculiar about...?"

2. Although there were 12 prompts which signaled the rhetorical structure "physical description," there were only the following three linguistic realizations (p.111):

Ex. 36: Describe a....

Ex. 37: Give a description of....

Ex. 38: What is/are....?

Thus, with micro-function #4, as with most of the micro-functions, there is a strong "tendency toward stable structure and style," which nevertheless falls far short of a deterministic relations between function and form.

Micro-function #5: Specify the writer's persona

In a small number of questions (7), the writer was asked to assume another persona or to imagine being in a different time and/or place. This was almost always signaled at the beginning of the prompt and took only two forms, "Assume that you are..." and simply "You are....":

Ex. 38: Assume that you are a police chief....

Ex. 39: Assume that you are able to visit ancient Greece...

Ex. 40: Assume that you are a Pope in the 13th century...

Ex. 41: You are a parasitologist....

Ex. 42: You are the third member of a 3-person team...

Although this type of question was relatively rare, it may be worthwhile to make students aware of its existence because of its specific demand on grammar (the use of the conditional) and the need to maintain a consistent point of view throughout the answer.

Micro-function #6: Specify sources to be drawn upon

In 18 of the prompts (6%), writers were told which source(s) of information to use in their answers. These instructions came both at the beginning and end of prompts, and, not surprisingly often contained words which referred to class activities and readings:

Ex 43: Of the Criminal Justice standards discussed in class.....

Ex. 44: In class, we discussed....

Ex. 45: Use any example.. that is found in your textbook...

Ex. 46: Use specific examples from your book or from class lectures...

Ex. 47: In your answer, draw upon the article by....

Ex. 48: ...according to the article by....

As with most writing instructions, these are a double-edged sword: they serve both as a helpful reminder of where relevant material can be found and as a warning to students that they are being asked to display familiarity with a specific part of the course syllabus.

Micro-function #7: Specify the length of the essay

A small number of prompts included information about the length or degree of comprehensiveness expected in the essay. Some specified the actual length:

Ex. 49: Limit your answer for each to one-half of one side of the essay paper.

Ex. 50: You have one-half page for each answer...

Others used the words "brief" or "complete":

Ex. 51: Briefly describe the Iconoclastic Controversy.

Ex. 52: ...write a brief essay....

Ex. 53: Give as complete and integrated a geographic description of China as you can....

Ex. 54: Give a complete definition of culture.

Many test writers realized this function non-verbally through the amount of space they provided for students' answers. Whichever way it is indicated, however, students who fail to heed these instructions run the risk of either wasting time by writing too much or receiving a low grade for writing less than was expected.

From the Students' Point of View: Pedagogical Implications

In order for a test taker to assign the correct function to the forms encountered in a prompt, s/he must draw upon the same functional/linguistic knowledge of genre that the test constructor did. And since there is no reason to assume that foreign students have this knowledge — since test taking takes different forms and serves different purposes in different cultures — one of the main functions of the EAP teacher should be to see that students acquire it.

Teachers who want to prepare their students for essay examinations should, first of all, make them aware that there are no mechanical formulae for interpreting prompts and that studying instructional verbs in isolation from actual prompts is of little value. And because in many cases the rhetorical "outcome space" is not fully specified within the prompt itself, but is inherent in the subject matter of the course and the way a particular professor approached that subject matter, it follows that essay examination skills are best taught in a content-oriented program (Shih, 1986) which simulates an academic course, complete with lectures and readings of various kinds.

In addition, teachers should make every effort to help students understand the "hidden agenda" of essay examinations, the "rules of the game" which only a few prompts make explicit. The first rule is that students must write about what they have learned, not what they know before they entered the class. Essay examination writing is, indeed, a "display" for the purposes of evaluation, a time to show that one has studied hard, not that one is especially clever or possessed of broad general knowledge.

A corollary of this rule is that students must express personal opinions and moral judgments only when asked to. Some questions do ask for critical thinking and the expression of reasoned opinion, but most do not. Students must learn the difference. As for moral judgments, they are rarely appropriate in American universities, and students from cultures where essays normally end with broad moral generalizations must learn this. In sum, it is worth repeating the wise words of the teacher who wrote the prompt with which this essay began: "Remember, this is a course on retailing and your answers should apply to the field of retailing...."

The second commandment of essay examinations is that students must pretend that their teacher doesn't already know the answer. This goes against what some students are taught about gauging the background knowledge of their audience, and it provides one more example (see Horowitz 1986b and 1986c for others) of how broad generalizations about the writing process often turn out to be wide of the mark when the demands of specific genres are more closely examined.

Conclusion

EAP teachers have an obligation to familiarize their students with the demands of the various genres they will encounter both as readers and writers, especially since it is only "within a genre [that] language is sufficiently conventionalized [and the] range of communicative purpose sufficiently narrow to establish pedagogically useful generalization about relationships between function and form" (Swales, 1985, p 212-213). In this article, I have tried to compile a preliminary discourse grammar of one such genre, essay examination prompts, by relating common discourse features (form) with their role as delineators of outcome space (function). Though further study is surely needed to see whether these relationships hold for prompts collected in other universities, in graduate level courses, and in English-medium universities in countries other than the United States, this work provides information which should be of use for teachers of academic writing design courses, materials, and writing assessments.

References

Johns, A.M. 1988. Using schema-theoretical principles to teach the summary. Presentation at the 22nd annual TESOL Convention. Chicago.

Johns, C.M (1976). Examination questions. Students handout, University of Aston, Birmingham.

Hamp-Lyons, L. 1986. *Assessing Second Language Writing in Academic Settings.* Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. University of Edinburgh.

Horowitz, D. (1986a). Essay examination prompts and the teaching of academic writing. *English for Specific Purposes Journal 5,* 107-120.

Horowitz, D. (1986b). What professors actually require: Academic tasks for the ESL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly 20 (3),* 445-462.

Horowitz, D. (1986c). Process, not product: Less than meets the eye (in The Forum). *TESOL Quarterly, 20,* 141-144.

Mallows, D. (1980). Instructional verbs used in examination papers set in 1979 for students taking a higher national diploma in mechanical engineering at Oxford Polytechnic. Mimeo.

Miller, C.R.(1984). Genre as social action. *Quarterly Journal of Speech 70,* 151-167.

Pollitt, A., Hutchinson, C., Entwistle N. & DeLuca, C. (1985). *What makes exam questions difficult?* Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press.

Ruth, L. & Murphy, S. (1984). Designing topics for writing assessment: Problems of meaning. *College Composition and Communication 35(4),* 410-421

Shih, M. (1986). Content-based approaches to teaching academic writing. *TESOL Quarterly 20,* 617-648.

Swales, J. (1982). Examining examination papers. *English Language Research Journal* 3, 9-25.

Swales, J. (1985). *Episodes in ESP.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Swales, J. (1988). A genre-based approach to ESL materials. Unpublished manuscript.

Swales, J. and Horowitz, D. (1988). Genre-based approaches to ESL and ESP materials. Handout from a presentation at the 22nd Annual TESOL Convention, Chicago.

C-Tests in English: Pushed beyond the Original Concept?

N. McBeath
SOAF
Sultanate of Oman

Abstract

This article is written in response to Cleary's contribution in RELC Journal 19/2 December 1988. It surveys the literature on C-Testing and points out that all the present literature has been influenced by Klein-Bradley's original research in Duisberg. This research is then scrutinized, and the conclusion is reached that while C-Testing may be a legitimate device of L1 testing, it lacks a theoretical basis for application with FL learners. It is demonstrated that Cleary has deviated from procedures thought by Klein-Bradley to be crucial to the validity of C-Testing, and caution is urged in the adoption of this method.

In his recent article on left-hand deletions in the C-Test in English, Cleary (1988) states that "no systematic critiques of the C-Test have appeared in the literature." This paper is not intended as such a critique, but rather as a word of warning. The present literature on C-Testing (Klein-Bradley 1984, 1985; Cohen, Segal and Weiss 1984; Strawn 1985; Cleary 1986, 1988) is written by enthusiasts for the method, but it draws its inspiration almost entirely from Klein-Bradley's original research at Duisberg. I would argue that the interpretation of this research is open to criticism, and that Strawn and Cleary have both made alterations which take their use of the C-Test beyond the limits of that research. In other words, they are basing their use of C-Tests on a theory which is relatively untested.

To begin with, both Strawn and Cleary have applied C-Tests to EFL situations, Strawn with university level Koreans and Cleary with Omani servicemen, despite the fact that the bulk of construct validation carried out by Klein-Bradley was not conducted in this area. Klein-Bradley sought to establish the validity of four separate hypotheses:-

1. If the same C-Test is administered to subjects at different stages of language development, then the C-Test scores will become successively higher as the subjects become more proficient in the language.

2. Subjects learning a language "naturally" will exhibit similar behaviour on C-Tests in that language.

---

* *[See Christopher Cleary: The C-Test in English Left-hand deletions].*

3. If texts have an inherent "C-Test processing difficulty" which is independent of the subject groups involved then it will be possible to discover characteristics of the texts which can be used to predict the rank order of difficulty of texts, possibly even the actual empirical difficulty levels, for specific subject groups.

4. Learners with more efficient language processing strategies will make higher scores on C-Tests.

In the case of Hypothesis 1, data was gathered from an unknown number of L1 speakers of English aged nine, eleven and thirteen, who were given an English C-Test and from 398 L1 German speakers who were administered a German C-Test. These German L1 speakers were attending secondary schools at Gymnasium, Realschule and Hauptschule level, presumably in the area of Duisberg, which is significant factor as in this area of North Rhine-Westphalia it is unlikely that adolescent students will suffer from non-standard dialectal interference (Clyne 1984).

The evidence produced by Klein-Bradley validate Hypothesis 1, but only so far as it applies to L1 learners studying their own language. The data is confined to children and adolescents from a Western European background and thus may not be applicable to adult learners, L2 learners or FL learners.

Hypothesis 2 was checked with data gathered from 197 German L1 learners, 203 Greek speaking and 186 Turkish speaking learners of German as L2, all at primary school level. The evidence validated the hypothesis, but only with regard to children, and children learning German in a host environment. Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) analyse the results from a number of child studies and adult studies in acquisition order, and declare that "children of different language backgrounds learning English in a variety of host country environments acquire eleven grammatical morphemes in a similar order" and "the contours for the acquisition sequences of children and adults studied are very similar." Whether Klein-Bradley's findings can be similarly extended from their undoubtedly valid German conclusions to encompass English L2 learners, adult learners and EFL learners, on the other hand, is another matter, and one in which research has not been attempted.

Hypotheses 3 was tested with data drawn from three different groups. 276 German speaking L1 students at two different primary school levels were given sixteen different texts, eight of which were common to both groups. English texts were tested using 67 German university students of English, and the third group consisted of "Finnish FL learners", Finns who were in fact learning English, as they were used to check the texts used with the German university students.

Once again the hypothesis was validated with regard to the German L1 students at primary school level, leaving no doubt that C-Tests are valid assessments at L1 level.

With regard to L2 or FL learning, however, the position is more complicated. Klein-Bradley's use of a sample of German and Finnish speakers means that the hypothesis was tested with people whose native languages are marked by a high degree of internal cohesion. Both Finnish and German inflect in number, gender and case, depend heavily on agreement, and use case-governing prepositions (Hajdu 1975; Crystal 1980). Their speakers are therefore likely to approach a test using a reduced redundancy format in the same way, and hence this choice of sample is more likely to produce a higher correlation than, say, the choice of Greek and Turkish speaking children to test the validity of Hypothesis 2.

On Klein-Bradley's own admission, the fourth hypothesis has not been fully validated, although Raatz discovered a correlation between C-Test scores and a non-verbal intelligence test conducted with, again, L1 German speaking children. A subsequent test with a slightly more advanced group of similar children produced a rather higher correlation, which is further evidence in support of Hypothesis 1, but Hypothesis 4 cannot be regarded as proven on the strength of so small a sample.

Of Klein-Bradley's four hypotheses, therefore, the first is validated by L1 speakers in childhood and adolescence only; the second is validated by L1 speakers in childhood, and L2 speakers in childhood in a German host environment; the third is validated by L1 speakers in childhood and adult FL learners from highly inflectional L1 backgrounds; and the fourth remains to be proven. The only feature common to the four hypotheses is that each has been validated with L1 speakers in childhood, suggesting that C-Tests are almost certainly an excellent method of assessing the competence of German speaking children studying German in an L1 environment, and that their validity may well be extended to adolescent and adult learners, and possibly also to L2 learners of German living in the host environment.

This is a long way from suggesting that the same technique is immediately applicable to FL situations in Korea and Oman, but it is interesting to note that both Strawn and Cleary have adapted the C-Test format before claiming that it gives valid results.

Strawn takes a sample passage from *Modern Freshman English II*, published by the Yonsei University English Department, to demonstrate how a C-Test avoids the disadvantages inherent in the random N-th word deletion found in conventional cloze, and while in this instance he leaves blanks of equal length in the mutilated words, he also suggests that a way of simplifying the test would be to leave blanks which indicated the number of letters deleted from each word.

There are two points here. In the first case, the use of a specifically written in-house text as the source of the C-Test violates Klein-Bradley's insistence that C-Tests use authentic texts as the basis of text construction. The second is that the examination of data on Hypothesis 4 leads Klein-Bradley to the conclusion that the subjects who perform best on C-Tests are those who can appreciate the syntactic cohesion of the text and simultaneously understand the semantic relationships at work within the syntax. This is a far more sophisticated thought process than Strawn envisages, for where good subjects can "chunk" the text to complete the C-Test, Strawn reduces the exercises to a guessing game, focussing attention on individual words.

Cleary also cites a passage which was purpose-written "so as to sample the course of study that the subjects had followed at SOAF language schools" and which "resulted in a passage that was undoubtedly artificial and not altogether coherent above paragraph level". This again violates Klein-Bradley's ruling on the use of authentic material and it is hard to understand how Cleary can claim that such a passage cannot be "taught to". Indeed, overall experience on the use of C-Tests in Oman has led to an awareness that increased practice is likely to produce better scores, and the C-Test is now "taught to" like every other component of the students' examination.

It is, of course, difficult for the class teacher to decide the extent to which teaching is "teaching to" a topic, and the extent to which it provides familiarisation in a new assessment technique. The complete artificiality of C-Tests and their, at present, limited use make it highly unlikely that the average student will have encountered the format before, and the initial reaction is likely to be one of total bewilderment. Cleary claims that the high ratio of test items to length brings a C-Test below students' fatigue level, but produces no evidence to support this. Anderson (1971), on the other hand, reports that students who scored 44% or less on an exact-word cloze passage had reached such a "frustration level" that they were unable to make sense of the passage even when they were given help by the teacher. As in a C-Test the rate of deletion is automatically higher than in a cloze, the threshold of frustration is lower and it is not unknown for Omani students to abandon C-Tests when they are only half completed.[1]

Zeidner (1988) has pointed out that most student examinees regard testing as a meaningful experience, and so a total rejection of this sort is a powerful statement of the examinee's affective disposition. The feedback, though negative, is an indication that, for the examinee, the C-Test lacks face validity, for the FL student is immediately placed in a disadvantageous position.

An L1 student, faced with a C-Test, can bring socio-cultural knowledge to bear on the initial sentences, and this will assist in bottom-up processing to reach a composite meaning for those sentences. This composite meaning, in turn, will be combined with socio-cultural knowledge to construct conceptual dependencies to help predict the meaning of the next sentence, and so on. FL students lack the socio-cultural knowledge to construct conceptual dependencies in this way, and hence are less able to frame the textual context or script the text's continuation. This model explains why Klein-Bradley's researches with L1 German speakers validated her hypotheses in every case, but her poor sampling proved nothing with regard to FL learners. Strawn and Cleary both side-step this issue by using purpose written texts to cue a frame, but the success which they claim to have achieved stems from their adaptation of the C-Test method, and not from an inherent validity of the C-Test when used with FL learners.

Note.

[1]. Dr. J. Andrewartha, English Language School (South) SOAF, Salalah Personal communication.

Bibliography.

Anderson, J. 1971 "Selecting a Suitable 'Reader'; Procedure for Teachers to Assess Language Difficulty" *RELC Journal* 2/3

Cleary, C. 1986 *The C-Test at Lower Intermediate Level; An Appraisal* SOAF Mimeo.

1988 "The C-Test in English: Left-hand Deletions" *RELC Journal* 19/2 Pp. 26-28.

Clyne, Michael 1984 *Language and Society in the German Speaking Countries. Cambridge:* Cambridge University Press

Cohen, A., Segal, M. & Weiss, R. 1985 "The C-Test in Hebrew" in Klein-Bradley and Raatz (Eds).

Crystal, David 1984 *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics.* London: Andre Deutsch

Culhane, T. Klein-Bradley, C. & Stevenson, D.K. (Eds) 1984 *Practice and Problems in Language Testing* University of Essex Department of Language and Linguistics Occasional Papers 29 Colchester University of Essex.

Dulay, Heidi, Burt, Marina; & Krashen, Stephen 1982 *Language Two* Oxford, University Press.

Klein-Bradley, Christine 1984 "Advance Prediction of Difficulty with C-Tests in Culhane, et al. (Eds) 1985 "A Cloze-up on the C-Test: A Study In Construct Validation of Authentic Tests".*Language Testing 2/1* Pp. 76-102.

Klein-Bradley Christine & Raatz U. (Eds) 1985 *C-Tests in der Praxis. Fremdsprachen und Hochschule 1* Bochum AKS

Strawn Dwight J. 1985 "The C-Test: Another Choice" *AETK News* 4/4 reprinted in English Teaching Forum XXVII 1 1989 Pp. 54.

Zeidner, Moshe 1988 "Classroom Testing: The Examinee's Perspective" *Studies in Educational Evaluation* 14/2 Pp. 215-233

Grammatical Change through Repetition

Supot Arevart
Sawee Witaya School
Chumporn, Thailand

This article reports on the effect of repetition on grammatical change in an unrehearsed talk. It presents a case study based on a single learner. (The case study was part of a wider research project which is not reported here in full.) It was hypothesized that the repetition of the talk would result in improvement in accuracy of the language used in the talk. Contexts which occurred in two or more deliveries of the same talk were investigated. It was found that repetition allows for accuracy monitoring, in that errors committed in repeated contexts undergo correction. The article ends with a discussion of the findings with reference to (a) the possible implications for teaching and (b) the need for further research.

Introduction

As Goldman-Eisler has observed, spontaneous speech is "a highly fragmented and discontinuous activity" (1968: 31). The speaker does not have everything planned before the message is delivered. Planning what to say, what to omit, what to include or how to convey the message usually begins at the time the speaker is about to speak. In the executing process, the speaker hesitates and pauses a great deal.

This study investigates a technique for improving speaking. Because the technique involves the repetition of the same unrehearsed talk, it allows investigation of the effects of repetition upon the delivery of the talk and on hesitation phenomena.

Most previous investigations of spontaneous speech have relied on data from a single delivery. However, by observing the changes undergone by the contexts of hesitation phenomena through *repeated* deliveries it is possible to say with more certainty why speakers, particularly language learners, hesitate, and to describe the effects of repetition and hesitation phenomena on spontaneous speech. Since the most significant data about the effects of repetition are obtained when the same information occurs in one or more deliveries of a talk, the 4/3/2 technique (Maurice, 1983) was employed.

The 4/3/2 Technique

In the 4/3/2 technique, first, the speaker is given a topic and spends a few minutes deciding what to say and how to say it without making notes. Then the speaker pairs up with three listeners, one at a time. Each listener is only required to listen to the talk. The listener neither interrupts the flow of the talk nor asks questions. The speaker talks about the topic for four minutes to the first listener, and then gives the same talk to a new partner in three minutes. Finally, the speaker pairs up with the third listener, and talks again on the same topic for two minutes.

The 4/3/2 techniques, which aims at helping intermediate and advanced students improve their abilities to speak as fluently as possible in the target language, has four fundamental features. First, the task is meaningful to the learners in that, (a) the speaker has a different audience each time, and (b) the listener has a chance to hear the same topic from different points of view from several speakers (Maurice, 1983). Secondly, the repetition provides an ideal opportunity to develop *fluency* (Nation, in press). It allows the speaker to develop confidence through using ideas previously planned and expressed. Moreover, the familiarity of content and ideas means that each time the speaker struggles less with linguistic resources. Thirdly, the shrinking time frame encourages fluency because it makes the speaker focus on the main ideas of the talk while not allowing the speaker to think of new ideas to fill up the limited time available (Nation, in press). Finally, the repetition of the talk permits the speaker to improve the accuracy of language in the talk and convey the content more accurately.

Review of the Literature: Hesitation Phenomena and Speaking Performance

Hesitation phenomena are language devices that are embedded in ongoing communication. Hesitation phenomena have been used in studying the complicated process underlying the final output of speech production for the last five decades. However, the significance of hesitation has not been well-established, as pointed out by Leeson (1975). It is associated with cognitive activities (Henderson et al, 1966; Goldman-Eisler, 1967) and may serve several functions. First, hesitation is associated with anxiety (Mahl, 1956; Mahl and Schulze, 1964). Secondly, it is a function of planning and selection at the level of novel construction (Temple, 1985). Thirdly, it is a means used by the speaker to produce well-planned and high quality utterances (Hieke, 1981a). Finally, hesitation is perhaps correlated with individual styles of speakers (Duez, 1982).

Hesitation phenomena can be grouped into two main types: silent or unfilled pauses, and lapses. Each of these types possesses its own features. Hesitation phenomena will vary in type depending on the speaker (Maclay and Osgood, 1959) and type of task (Goldman-Eisler, 1968).

Unfilled pauses have been found to occur much more often at clause boundaries than elsewhere. However, while the location of unfilled pauses has been well studied, there is no general agreement about their function.

Lapses, commonly accompanied by kinesic phenomena (i.e. body movements) (Ragsdale and Silvia, 1982; Butterworth and Beattie, 1978), consist of a wide range of different categories. The most frequent lapses include filled pauses of *ah*-phenomena, which occur more often than any other type (Ragsdale and Sisterhen, 1984), and are connected to uncertainty at lexical selection (Maclay and Osgood, 1959; Goldman-Eisler 1961). Also frequent are repetitions, sentence changes (referred to as *repairs* in this study) and stutterings (Ragsdale and Sisterhen, 1984; Ragsdale and Silvia, 1982), which are associated with anxiety (Mahl, 1956; Mahl and Schulze, 1964; Ragsdale, 1976; Siegman and Pope, 1965). Their functions may overlap with one another. For example, those occurring at the beginning of a phrase, a clause or a sentence may serve the same functions as those occurring within phrases, clauses or sentences.

Lapses may consist of a sound, a syllable, a word, or a stretch of words. They are tied up with meaning units or pauses in the continuous flow of speech, each of which has its own characteristics. Loban points out that lapses do not "constitute a communication unit and are not necessary to the communication unit" (1966:8). He argues that when a lapse is left out from such a unit, "the remaining material always constitutes a straightforward, acceptable communication unit" (Loban, 1966:8). Different types of lapses may occur at the same position, and the functions of lapses probably overlap.

The studies mentioned above were all based on native speaker performance. The present study looks at second language performance in the production of unprepared monologue. With the speaker of a second language, there is likely to be more uncertainty and difficulty in speech production and so hesitation phenomena may play an even more important role than they do with native speakers. The investigation of this role is a major aim of this study.

The Effect of Repetition on Speaking Performance

The study of the effect of repetition on spontaneous speech can be traced back to an experiment conducted by Goldman-Eisler (1968). In the experiment, the subjects were asked to describe and interpret given cartoons. With unlimited time, the speakers were asked to talk six times. Goldman-Eisler found that the duration of pauses gradually decreased from the first to the sixth repetition. She also counted the number of words, but the details given only relate to pauses. No other details, such as the number of words said in each version, or discourse organization, are given.

Hicke (1981b) developed a technique called Audio-Lectal Practice (ALP), and conducted a study to investigate the effect of repetition on fluency. In the technique, graded texts of increasing length and complexity in both vocabulary and sentence structure are recorded at normal native speed. First, learners listen to a recording of a text while silently reading the text given. Secondly, while listening to and looking at the text, they simultaneously speak onto the tape in an imitative fashion. Thirdly, they listen to their own versions, comparing them with the model and jotting down phonological errors and all other deviant features. Finally, learners repeat step 2, but at this stage they must reduce errors and deviations. Repetition continues until their version matches the model as much as possible.

In the Hieke study (1981b), tests were given before and after twelve sessions of training to twenty-nine intermediate to low-advanced students studying English as a foreign language. The format of each test was identical. In the first part of each test, the subjects were asked to listen to a five-minute short story once. They were not allowed to take notes. Then they had to paraphrase the story in three minutes. In the second part of each test, the subjects' task was to tell a story based on a series of cartoons. The recordings were transcribed and analyzed. Fluency was measured in terms of speech rate. It was obtained by calculating the number of syllables spoken divided by total speech time. Hesitation phenomena were also counted. The comparison between the results of the pre- and post- tests for each test showed that the speaking rate increased and the number of hesitations decreased. Further, Hieke pointed out that amongst hesitation phenomena, *ah*-phenomena tended to decrease much more than repeats and false starts. However there was no attempt to investigate the control of content and functions of hesitations in this study.

A study involving the effects of repetition on the control of content was carried out by Brown et al. (1984). Their subjects were asked to work on two types of tasks, namely a *static task* and a *dynamic task*. In the static task, the speaker had to provide the hearer with sufficient instructions on how to reproduce a diagram, rearrange a particular model, or put parts of an object together. In the dynamic task, the speaker had to describe pictures so that the hearer could either choose the correct picture, or identify persons or things appearing in the pictures. Two types of study were conducted, each of which consisted of two sessions one week apart. In the first study, the subjects were given practice in speaking on the task. In the second type, the subjects experienced the hearer's role immediately prior to performing the task as the speakers. Learners' talks were analyzed for the amount of detail they contained.

Brown et al.(1984) found that the amount of required information given by the speaker increased in the second session of each study. Further, it significantly increased if the subjects had been in the hearer's role before they performed as the speaker. Brown et al. concluded that speakers performed better when offered prior experience in speaking on the task, and even better if they had experience in taking the hearer's role.

An examination of the effect of repetition on speaking performance was investigated again by Nation (in press). Following the claims of Maurice (1983), that with the 4/3/2 technique there was (a) a decrease in hesitation phenomena, and (b) an increase in fluency, Nation (in press) carried out a case study to observe what the speaker actually does while participating in the 4/3/2 technique. The talks of six learners were recorded and transcribed. The recordings were then analyzed to see the effects of the technique on fluency, grammatical accuracy and control of content. Nation found that first, the 4/3/2 technique affected fluency, in that, (a) there was an increase in speed of speaking, and (b) a decrease in the number of false starts, hesitation items like *um, er,* and *ah,* and repeated words. Secondly, while there was not much improvement in grammatical accuracy during the activity as measured by the number of errors per 100 words, Nation did notice that there was an increase in grammatical complexity in contexts which were repeated.

The Present Study: Procedure

The full study involved intermediate level students. Prior to the study, they were given three tests (dictation, vocabulary and cloze) which were aimed at discriminating the learners according to their level of proficiency. Then 20 students were selected to participate in the study. The present article, however, gives details for only one subject in the form of a case study.

The recordings were made in a sound-proofed recording room. In each session of the recording, when the speaker delivered a talk to the first listener, the other two subjects were sitting in a separate room so that they could not hear the talk. As soon as a listener finished listening to the talk in each turn, the listener had to leave the room and tell the next listener to enter.

The talks were recorded and transcribed. Everything said in the talks was written down. Where necessary, the subjects were also asked to identify items which were unintelligible. A full example of a talk (from the case study subject) is given in the appendix.

Hesitation phenomena were transcribed. These include *unfilled pauses, filled pauses* (... I spent seven days *ah* for my holiday), *repairs* (... you you had hadn't *you had never* met before...), *sentence incompletion* (...people that live inside the city were evacuated to live at the countryside eh *before they said that the* it mean that in 1975 when eh Cambodia was over...), *repetition* (...if anyone don't go to work they *they they* accuse that...), *stutterings* (...at/f /.../f /... first day I went to Napier...), *omissions* (...as so after seven o'clock as *ju:s/* other boys and girls I go to primary school...), *tongue-slips* (... I want to get organized...), *intrusions* (..um I'm I was a tutor *throat clearing* in my in my university for half a year...), *markers of correction* (... when I was born about five years or sorry about five year or seven year....), *interjections* (..went to see the ah *oh* sorry to Taupo Lake...).

Hesitation Phenomena in the Repeated Talks

As noted above hesitation phenomena are made up of different subcategories. However, there appears to be little value in looking at the causes of particular kinds of hesitation phenomena because it seems that all hesitation phenomena occurring in spontaneous speech can share similar causes, that is, they signal some form of planning, editing or searching for information. If one closely investigates the output of spontaneous speech, the distribution of hesitation phenomena shows how learners creatively handle such a task under time pressure.

In the present study (full version), speakers produced the same information three times. As a result, we were able to see the relationship between hesitation phenomena and change in the presentation of information. The observation of these changes suggests a three step model of correction involving hesitation phenomena. First, the speaker becomes aware of an error in production. This awareness may be indicated by hesitancy. Secondly, correction takes place, but there is a lapse accompanying it since there is conscious monitoring on the part of the speaker. Finally, the correction occurs without hesitation phenomena. At this stage, the standard of correction depends on the current state of the speaker's interlanguage. The procedure described above can be schematized as in Figure 1.

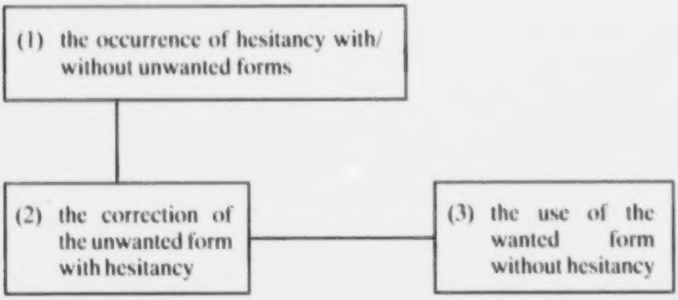

(1) the occurrence of hesitancy with/without unwanted forms
(2) the correction of the unwanted form with hesitancy
(3) the use of the wanted form without hesitancy

Figure 1: Model of Correction

In the 4/3/2 technique, the [1],[2],[3] sequences (see Fig. 1) could correspond to repetitions of the talk, that is [1] may occur in the 4-minute delivery, and [2] may occur in the 3-minute delivery, and [3] may occur in the 2-minute delivery. But in practice, the distribution of these sequences is unpredictable. In some cases, [1] may occur in the 4-minute delivery, the target information is omitted in the 3-minute delivery and [2] may occur in the 2-minute delivery. In other cases, the sequence may go [1],[2],[1] or may stop at [1].

There are several reasons for this. First, the utterances produced are not syntactically and semantically correct. For example, the selected construction may fail to convey the actual meaning the speaker intended. Utterances may contain misplaced items, wrongly-inflected items and so forth. Also, the speaker may say something that she does not mean to say. Secondly, the speaker is unable to obtain the wanted outcome from the initial attempt to correct recognized errors committed. Finally, repetition without any attempt at correction or reconstruction of the previous utterance may reflect that (a) the speaker is unable to correct errors committed, or (b) the speaker may have reached her communicative goal, in that the way the information is arranged represents the speaker's intent.

To tackle the unpredictable sequences described above, patterns of correction are divided into 4 main categories, namely *editing, searching, abandoning, and elaborating.* These four categories represent typical responses to difficulty in spoken language production. Editing is a largely successful correction strategy. Searching is an often unsuccessful attempt to find a wanted item. Abandoning is an unsuccessful attempt, or in some cases the surrender of an attempt, to find a wanted item. Elaborating is an immediate attempt to strengthen the meaning unit which has just been said. It yields an outcome in the same delivery.

In the examples given below, the numbers : [1],[2] and [3] are placed at the end of each utterance. Number [1] represents the occurrence of hesitancy with or without an unwanted item, [2] the correction of the unwanted item with hesitancy, and [3] the correction of the unwanted item without hesitancy.

The Case Study

The following sections report on a case study of a second language learner, one of the subjects in the wider study referred to above. The case study was carried out to see how the learner used hesitation phenomena and correction through repetition.

B, a native Swiss-German speaker, is a 24-year old housewife who started learning English when she was 30 at a language centre in Switzerland. She has never lived in any other English-speaking country before coming to New Zealand, but English is often used at home as well as Swiss-German and German. She has never studied at a university. When the study began, she had been in New Zealand for about 4 months.

Her talks about the festival called *Fastnacht* (see Appendix), were given to three listeners from different language backgrounds: Japan, Taiwan and Samoa. She is a conscientious speaker, that is, she spends time getting her message right, and checking the understanding of the listener. She makes good use of body movements or gestures, such as head, hand, and arm movements and body shift. B spoke at a rate of 88, 92 and 104 words per minute in the first, second and third deliveries. She made 14 lapses per 100 words in the first delivery, 13 in the 3-minute turn, and six in her third. A large number of hesitation phenomena occurred in her speech and these had four functions, which of which is discussed below.

Editing

Here the speaker picks up and corrects a unit which seems erroneous. Editing may involve (a) substitution of one item for another for semantic and syntactic accuracy, (b) the attempt to make a unit which has already been produced more specific or more explicit, and (c) omission of unnecessary elements where possible. Editing always yields a successful outcome, in that the target error is changed and is produced without lapses. In other words, the speaker reaches the third stage in the model of correction. The inspection of three talks by subject B reveals that a large proportion of all the types of hesitation phenomena she makes (almost 90%) are associated with editing. There are seventeen examples of editing in B's pattern of correction. Most commonly, B reaches a solution which satisfies her immediately following the lapse. The clearest examples of this are:

(1) "...it's called eh/kə/ eh Fastnacht it's in English means carnival..." [1]/[2](1st delivery)
"...it's called Fasching or carnival..."[3](3rd delivery)

In the example given, two categories of hesitation phenomena occur, namely *ah*-phenomena and an omission. The first "eh" indicates that the speaker has a word in mind which she is about to say. The /kə/ following clearly illustrates such a conclusion because the wanted word "carnival" is partly said. Examination of the following part of the utterance shows what the speaker meant to say. After the speaker is unsuccessful, she uses a mother-tongue word. The second "eh" gives the speaker time to select the right English word. So in the first delivery, the problem perceived is solved without having to carry the problem over into the second and the third deliveries.

(2) "...you can have eh hot sausage they make hot sausages and you can buy them and eat them..." [1]/[3](1st delivery)

In (2), first of all, what has been said does not satisfy the speaker's main intention. The "eh" preceding "hot sausage" indicates that there is uncertainty on the part of the speaker about how to express this idea. The speaker then repeats "they" which allows her to reconstruct the information. Once again she solves her problem in the same delivery in which the problem occurs.

(3) "..and then they walking during the day through the street..."[1] (1st delivery)
"...and they walking to the through the street..."[2] (2nd delivery)
"...and they are walking during the day through the street..." [3] (3rd delivery)

Example (3) involves a more complex process of correction used by the speaker. In the first delivery, a piece of information is planned and executed although the speaker obviously knows that it contains some mistakes, such as the omission of "are" before "walking". In the second delivery, apart from making a repair by using "to the", "during the day" is omitted. In the third delivery, as far as her level of language allows the information is refined. Final correction takes place and there are no hesitation phenomena. This example differs from the previous two examples in that changes occur in the same piece of information over three talks.

Searching

In searching, the speaker first repeats the utterance from the previous turn. Secondly, semantically and syntactically unacceptable items are picked out and corrected. However, a successful outcome is unobtainable. Correction procedures may involve (a) substituting a new selected item for the problematic one, and (b) reorganizing the sentence construction or the constituent containing errors. B made six examples of searching. We can see that the trouble source is grammatical because (a) the speaker uses the same pattern, and (b) the same lexical items are re-used, when the same piece of information is repeated. Furthermore, in some cases a word or a group of words is not repeated from the previous talk because of difficulty in fitting it into the pattern. This type of correction clearly displays uncertainty on the part of the speaker. Examples follow.

(4) "..then eh make this ball goes on till 2 o'clock in the morning..." [1] (1st delivery)
"..and it's it's going on till 2 o'clock in the morning..."[2](3rd delivery)

In example (4), the same piece of information occurs in the first and the third delivery. In the first delivery, attention is focused on "make this ball goes". The "eh" shows that there is an uncertainty associated with it. Perhaps due to a lack of certainty, this information does not occur in the second delivery. In the third delivery, it is refined and restated. However, a repetition still indicates uncertainty.

(5) "...(laughter) oh it's it's very funny..."[1] (1st delivery)
"...it's a very funny eh event..."[2] (2nd delivery)

Example (5) involves laughter, an interjection "oh", a repetition and an "eh". In the first delivery, laughter and the interjection "oh" reflect the happy and relaxed state of the speaker. A repetition is used to fill the gap while she is searching for wanted information. Such information does not satisfy the speaker, so in the second delivery it is made more specific. The article "a" is added, and "eh" is used as a device which allows the speaker to select the right word.

(6) "..eh this eh festivity means they would like to throw away the winter..."[1](1st delivery)
"...these events means the the spring or summer should come very soon because they don't like the winter..." [2](3rd delivery)

In example (6), in addition to the changes in the grammatical pattern, the speaker seems to refine the information which has been presented earlier. Such an attempt is made because the information itself does not serve the speaker's intention. Two *ehs* and a repetition of *the* may involve (a) planning where to introduce a new idea, and (b) back-focusing, where she recalls a previously presented idea, and simultaneously make changes where necessary.

Abandoning

In spontaneous speech, since the speaker has a limited amount of time for planning, organizing and presenting the message to be conveyed, she sometimes stops in mid-utterance. Abandoning always results in a content repair. Further, the information which precedes the abandoning is omitted in the later deliveries. There may be several reasons for abandoning.

1. The global form of a sentence which the speaker needs to convey the right message is not known to the speaker.

2. The speaker has difficulty finding the right words, phrases, idioms, etc. to fit into the selected pattern.

3. The speaker has difficulty finding the piece of information needed, such as an example to support her generalization.

4. The idea does not fit into the main theme or plan of the talk, so that further attempts become unnecessary.

5. The speaker simply forgets what to say.

6. The speaker does not want to retrace what was said in the previous turn.

There is a wide range of phrases a speaker can use to signal abandonment, i.e. "what would I say","I don't know","that's all", etc. In abandoning, a piece of information may be semi-articulated and then interrupted. It sometimes occurs in a complete sentence pattern. In most cases, the speaker explicitly indicates that she has difficulty in getting it right. Here are examples of this phenomenon.

(7) "...and they make also make some wagons carriage with eh eh events who happens during the year you know like political (3 secs) events or or I I don't know and then after then when you watch them..." [1]/[2] (1st delivery)

Example (7) illustrates that the speaker has difficulty using the word "events". First, the speaker makes use of "eh" to gain time to select the right word for the pertinent information. Secondly, she stops for three seconds to search her memory. Unfortunately, this time, she is unable to add details to the notion of "political events". She gives up by declaring "I don't know". Finally, her attention is focused on the way in which the people participate in the festival. The entire utterance does not occur again in the later deliveries, indicating that abandonment may be a form of avoidance.

(8) "...so after twelve o'clock they they mask their face so the pe the people know them with whem *(sic)* they enjoy the evening (2 secs) um (3 secs) it's very cold what would I say and it's it's going on till two o'clock..."[1]/[2](3rd delivery)

The flow of utterance breaks down in (8) because the speaker is running out of relevant information to support a unit which has already been stated. Pauses and an *um* signal difficulty. Moreover, the sentence "what would I say" signifies that the speaker genuinely does not have more to say about it. However, she continues by adding another feature of the festival to the talk.

Elaborating

In an elaborating pattern of correction, the speaker has a definite goal to accomplish in that the desired content is selected and expressed but she tends to ramble on since she appears dissatisfied with what has been said. The speaker stays at the second stage in the correction model. She is likely to pick out either a part or an entire statement and then elaborate it or even reform it. In so doing, the speaker occasionally hesitates in order to select either the right lexical item or an appropriate construction. She sometimes stops to plan what to say next, and to retrace what has been said in order to correct it or check whether it is understandable. Typically, the information communicated in a procedure of this type is omitted in later deliveries.

There are only two examples of this from the Swiss speaker and they differ from abandoning, in that elaborating does not involve immediate omission of the problematic utterance. Elaborating more or less reflects the attempt at making the desired context as comprehensible and grammatically correct as possible. For example, to fulfill her intention, first B adds further information to the unit which has already been delivered, and searches for a grammatical construction appropriate to it (examples 9, 10). Finally, she checks if what has been said is comprehensible (example 10).

> (9) ".. but it's very cold because it's winter time do you know the winter time in eh do you have winter in in Japan winter winter it is very cold and snow so sometimes we have to go in a restaurants to warm up us to get warm you know..." [1]/[2] (1st delivery)

Example (9) involves an effort to confer with the listener. Initially, the listener, a Japanese, is told about the features of the festival. Since the speaker does not know much about Japan, when she mentions "the winter time" in her country, two repetitions with highly-articulated stressed tones are used to check the listener's understanding. When the listeners responds, the talk is carried on, but at a slow speed. This might be due to the fact that the speaker needs time to re-organize the global construction and the target information which she intended. Furthermore, she appears to make the content more understandable by adding "it is very cold" to the preceding information unit.

> (10) ".. children are also involved in these events they dress up also sometimes the most of them are clow clowns you know nice faces and and they have pipes to make noise and (2 secs) there are some people they watch them when they go through the street (2 secs) um..." [1]/[2] (2nd delivery)

In (10), attention is called to "the most of them are clow clowns", which is done with falling intonation at a slow rate. This probably signifies that B is unsure of the word "clowns" or thinks that the listener might not understand "clowns". However, the intruding speech item "you know" which is stressed indicates that the speaker intends to use such a word to identify the role of the children who "are also involved in this event". She then begins elaborating "clowns" by adding "nice faces and...make noise and" to it. Before the second elaboration begins, B pauses for 2 seconds simply because (a) she requires time for her encoding operation, and (b) she intends to allow the listener to decode what has been said. However, another long pause and an "um" occur once more. At this point, these hesitation phenomena perhaps indicate that (a) B may realize that the listener may not understand what she meant to say, and (b) she runs into difficulties with her encoding operations.

Discussion

B's patterns of correction indicate that hesitation phenomena play an important role in producing a message which is as correct as possible and which is accessible for the listener. The great majority of her hesitations relate directly to correction or finding the correct form and in most cases this is successful. Her talks include many examples of hesitancy accompanied by correction which is followed in later talks by the use of the corrected form without hesitancy. In this way, she shows very clearly the value of repeated talks as a means of raising the level of spoken performance.

There are indications that this correction is as much a result of the speaker's concern for the listener as of a concern for correction for its own sake.

The preceding examples show that difficulties in speech production can arise from both content and form. The speaker makes use of hesitation phenomena as devices to gain time while speaking, because they facilitate speech production and the gathering of ideas.

The present study looked at the relationship between hesitation phenomena and the presentation of information. It is suggested that most hesitation phenomena result from difficulties with forms rather than meanings. They are associated with errors. The process of correction have been grouped into four types, namely, editing, searching, abandoning, and elaborating, each of which has its own characteristics. However, abandoning and elaborating share a similar feature, that is, the entire utterance introduced in each of these two types does not occur in a later delivery. Each of them requires a different level of processing. In abandoning, the phenomenon seems to be related to a lack of information with which to complete the topic. In elaborating, the speaker faces the problem of gathering and organizing the intended meaning unit.

These four pattefns of correction demonstrate the related but different functions of hesitation procedures. The occurrence of a particular pattern depends upon conditions arising in the delivery, but other case studies carried out by the present writer (but not reported here) suggest correction patterns may be the result of personal choice arising perhaps from a speaker's attitude to error and degree of proficiency with the language.

Conclusion

This study has looked at the effect that repetition and time pressure have on subsequent deliveries of a talk. It employed the 4/3/2 technique which gets learners to tell the same story three times to different listeners with decreasing time for each retelling.

In the wider study (not reported here in detail), learners' performances were recorded, transcribed and analyzed. A quantitative analysis of the data revealed that, first, repetition results in an improvement in fluency as measured by speech rate (the number of words spoken divided by total speech time), and hesitation rate (the number of lapses per 100 words). There was a mean improvement from the first delivery to the third delivery of 18.14 words per minute (W/M) (from 84.44 W/M to 102.58 W/M) (Arevart and Nation, in preparation). There was also a mean decline from the first delivery to the third delivery of 3.41% lapses per 100 words (L/W)(from 16.26 L/W to 12.85 L/W) (Arevart and Nation, in preparation). Second, repetition leads to the development of awareness of grammatical accuracy, in that 77% of errors committed in the repeated contexts underwent some form of correction. Lastly, non-native speakers, appear to use hesitation phenomena, such as *ah*-phenomena, repetition, repairs and stutterings frequently.

Research conducted with native speakers show that hesitation phenomena are a normal part of speech production. However, the precise role of hesitation is not well understood. Further, most of the data collected in native speaker studies do not allow for any further investigation into the subsequent effect of hesitation on spoken discourse as they do not deal with data which the speaker repeats.

In the present study, each non-native speaker talked about the same topic three times. Repeated talks enable one to look at the changes occurring in the repeated items and to see their relationship to the hesitations.

Thus, it is possible to make well-supported generalizations about the causes and the functions of hesitations. It was found that the occurrence of hesitation phenomena relates to correction, and hesitation phenomena form an integral part of well-controlled speech. The speaker hesitates in order to gain time to formulate and consolidate the message and retrieve linguistic resources so far acquired. In this way hesitation phenomena facilitate speech production and communication by increasing accuracy.

When a learner communicates, she uses whatever language items are available. The language used is also constrained by time and task complexity (Brown et al., 1984). Thus, learners often make errors. In the present study, it is evident that when an error is committed, the learner may be conscious of it and bother to correct it even though she wants to get on with what she wishes to say. However, not all errors are corrected. Those beyond the learner's current linguistic capacities are sometimes either repeated, or that part of the talk is omitted. Omission takes place because a learner may not want to run into a serious failure of communication. Repetition may result from the fact that, because of limited knowledge of the target language, the learner does not know how to correct those errors or perhaps does not know that those errors exist.

An attempt at correction may result in hesitations, in that the speaker tends to hesitate when correction is made to the unwanted item. The speaker uses hesitations to buy time, to search for acceptable forms to convey the intended meaning. Hesitations, therefore, are an index of monitoring. Hesitancy, on the one hand, decreases the rate of speaking, but on the other hand, it facilitates communication by increasing accuracy.

Krashen and Terell (1983) point out that monitoring results in hesitation and impedes fluency. However, in practice, where the aim is to allow learners to experience how language works, monitoring is beneficial, particularly when communication is achieved, the message is comprehensible, and the speaker is able to convey thoughts and purposes efficiently and coherently. In the study, there is evidence that hesitations tend to be omitted and the speed of speaking increases as familiarity with content and language increases. Furthermore, monitoring is normal when learners are not well-equipped with linguistic knowledge or not fluent, i.e. knowledge is there but speed of access is not.

An important point to emerge from this study is that if learners are given a chance to act upon hesitancy, in this case through repetition, then significant improvement occurs.

Learners should be encouraged to stop feeling embarrassed by hesitations. First, it should be made known to the learners that hesitations are universal. They are truly a part of speech production just as errors are, and secondly, using hesitations is one of the strategies that could directly contribute to accuracy of output. In conversation, hesitations can be used to control the floor. The speaker may hesitate in order to retrieve language resources, or to formulate and consolidate her thoughts. The present study confirms that repetition also results in improvement in the accuracy of the language used in a talk. The case study shows that the learners correct grammatical errors previously committed while speaking. They set out a discourse plan, formulate utterances, establish language rules and try them out. Due to the fact that (a) there is success in previous performance, (b) the content is known, and (c) familiarity with the task is high, repetition permits learners to focus on forms.

Suggestions for Future Research on the Role of Repetition

The present study focused on three crucial issues: (a) the role of hesitations in speech production delivered by non-native speakers learning English as a second language, (b) repetition and grammatical accuracy, and (c) fluency. In this final section, some suggestions will be made for future research on the role of repetition.

The first suggestion is that it is possible for one to investigate the control of content by examining how much information is included or even omitted. One way of doing it is to ask the learner to describe a diagram, a concept map or picture. The density of the information existing in the talk can be scored and compared to the details already set out by the teacher.

Secondly, investigation could examine grammatical complexity. For example, one may look at embedding, t-units and clause types to see if more complex constructions are used when the learners become more familiar with the talk. Other possible aspects which are worth investigating are improvement in vocabulary used and the exactness of content, as seen in the example below.

(11) "..I realize that I have to go back to my country and hope that I will be able to finish the first year in the university..." (1st delivery)
"...so I realize that I'll have to go back to my country to continue my studies..." (2nd delivery)
"...so I decided to go back to my country and finish my study..." (3rd delivery)

In (11), we can see two kinds of improvement as a result of repetition. First, vocabulary items like "decide" and "study" are used to describe more accurately what the speaker wants to say. Second, the speaker is able to express the message more concisely.

Acknowledgements

This article is based on an M.A. thesis completed at Victoria University of Wellington in 1989. I would like to thank Paul Nation, my supervisor, and the staff of the English Language Institute for all the assistance they have provided. I would also like to thank Anna Adams, Alison Hoffmann and Maria Verivaki who gave invaluable assistance and support.

References

Arevart, S., and Nation P. (in preparation) "Fluency, Lapses and Accuracy".

Brown, G., Anderson, A., Shillcock, R., and Yule, G. 1984. Teaching Talk: Strategies for Production and Assessment. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Butterworth, B., and Beattie, G.W. 1978, "Gesture and Silence as Indicators of Planning of Speech". In R. Campbell and P. Smith (eds.), Recent Advances in the Psychology of Language: Formal and Experimental Approaches. (pp. 347-369). New York: Plenum.

Deuz, D. 1982. "Silent and Non-Silent Pauses in Three Speech Styles". Language and Speech, 25, 1, 11-28.

Goldman-Eisler, F. 1961. "The Significance of Changes in the Rate of Articulation". Language and Speech, 4, 171-174.

Goldman-Eisler, F. 1967. "Sequential Temporal Patterns and Cognitive Processes in Speech". Language and Speech, 10, 122-131.

Goldman-Eisler, F. 1968. Psycholingistics: Experiments in Spontaneous Speech. New York: Academic Press.

Henderson, A., Goldman-Eisler, F., and Skarbek, A. 1966. "Sequential Temporal Patterns in Spontaneous Speech". Language and Speech, 8, 207-216.

Hieke, A. E. 1981a "A Content-processing View of Hesitation Phenomena". Language and Speech, 24, 2, 147-160.

Hieke, A. E. 1981b. "Audio-Lectal Practice and Fluency Acquisition". Foreign Language Annals, 14, 3, 189-194.

Krashen, S. D. and Terrell, T.D. 1983.The Natural Approach. Oxford: Pergamon/Alemany Press.

Leeson, R. 1975. Fluency and Language Teaching. London: Longman.

Loban, W. 1966 Language Ability. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Maclay, H., and Osgood, C.E. 1959. "Hesitation Phenomena in Spontaneous English Speech". Word, 15, 19-44.

Mahl, G.F. 1956. "Disturbances and Silences in the Patient's Speech in Psychotherapy". Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 53, 1-15.

Mahl, G.F., Schulze, G. 1964. "Psychological Research in the Extralinguistic Area". In T.A. Sebok; A. S. Hayes and M.C. Bateson (eds.), Approaches to Semiotics (pp. 51-124). The Hague: Mouton.

Maurice, K. 1983 "The Fluency Workshop". TESOL Newsletter, 17,4,29.

Nation, P.(in press). "Improving Speaking Fluency". System.

Ragsdale, J. D. 1976. "Relationships Between Hesitation Phenomena, Anxiety, and Self-Control in a Normal Communication Situation". Language and Speech, 19, 257-265.

Ragsdale, J.D., and Silvia, CF. 1982. "Distribution on Kinesic Hesitation Phenomena in Spontaneous Speech". Language and Speech, 25, 2, 185-190.

Ragsdale, J.D. and Sisterhen, D.H. 1984. "Hesitation Phenomena in the Spontaneous Speech of Normal and Articulatory-Defective Children". Language and Speech, 27,3, 235-244.

Siegman, A.W., and Pope, B. 1965. "Effects of Question Specificity and Anxiety Producing Messages on Verbal Fluency in the Initial Interview". Language and Speech, 2, 4, 522-530.

Temple, T, 1985. "He Who Hesitates Is Not Lost: Fluency and the Language Learner". Revue de Phonetique Appliquee, 73, - 74, -75, 293-302.

Appendix

The transcript of the three talks given by a native Swiss-German speaker

The four-minute delivery

"Hallo Hiro I would like to tell you about eh events the traditional events who happened in Switzerland it's called eh/kə/eh Fastnacht it's in English means carnival it happens eh in the month of the February and it's goes it happens one month the whole February and it is some people they dress up in fancy clothes long clothes coloured clothes and also they paint their face so you can't eh recognize them or sometimes they put on masks and then sometimes they wear big hats or without hats and then they walking during the day through the street and make noise with drums or they blow eh in... in... instruments and a lot of people watch them it ah all people are included or involved in this eh events also children they do the same and (2 secs) you can watch them and if you stand in the street and you hear the music you get very warm you know exciting because it's a very ah exciting but it's very cold because it's winter time do you know the winter time in eh do you have winter in Japan winter winter it is very cold and snow so sometimes we have to go in a restaurants to warm up us to get warm you know and they make also some wagons carriage with eh eh events who happen during the year you know like political (3 secs) events or or I I don't know and then after then when you watch them you can have eh hot sausage they they make hot sausages and you can but them and eat them it's very funny and there in the evening there are are some balls you know for dancing the meet the people meet each other to dance by music also in these fancy clothes and you can't see the face before 12 o'clock after twelve o'clock they eh they they mask off their faces and then you can see who with who you enjoy the whole evening (laughter) oh it's it's very funny and shshsh then eh make this ball goes on till 2 o'clock in the morning then they go home you know also lots of alcoholic eh consumed consumed because eh it's ah ah happy things eh this eh festivity means they would like to throw away the winter thus the summer should come very soon so they like to have the time the warm time the the summer"

The three-minute delivery

"Hello Sherry em I would like to tell you about a traditional events who occur in Switzerland and in the during the month of February it's eh nice events people they dress up ah in fancy clothes long cloth long long clothes coloured clothes in eh different kinds of shape and also they paint their eh faces in many colours and sometime thick colour you know and also all mask them so you can't recognize them and they wear also big hat and they walking to the through the street um they sometimes they have instruments like drums or um to blow in...blow in... instrument children are also involved in these events they dress up also sometimes the most of them are clow clowns you know nice faces and they have some pipes to make noise and (2 secs) there are some people they watch them when they go through the street (2 secs) um (4 secs) after sometimes it's very cold because it happens in the winter if you get cold you have to go inside to have eh some drink but if you stand outside if the people walk through the street and with this music you get very exciting you know there is a lot of fun (3 secs) um after the af in the evening there are some balls you know people they go in these dresses for for dancing eh and also their faces eh with colour or masks and they dance the whole evening with somewhere maybe with different people and then after twelve o'clock they they mask and eh also put the eh paint always so the people can recognize with whom she they enjoy the evening it's a very funny eh event and it is a lot of fun I I was also sometimes clown eh dressed up and and you can make joke with people you you never done before (3 secs) and (2 secs) it it's eh go"

The two-minute delivery

"So I talk you about the events who happen in Switzerland It's called "Fasching" or Carnival people they dress up in fancy clothes coloured clothes in different shapes also they colour their face or mask their face and wear hats they have also some music instruments like drums or blow instruments and they are walking during the day through the street some people watch them also little children are children are involved in this a um events (2 secs) it's very cold at this time it's winter time and it happens during the whole February in the evening people meet each other in in for a ball for a dancing also in these fancy clothes in these fancy ah coloured face or mask and after twelve o'clock (3 secs) eh they make joke with people you know but they don't know them so after twelve o'clock they they mask their face so the pe the people know them with whom they enjoy the evening (2 secs) um (3 secs) it's very cold what would I say and it's it's going on till two o'clock in the morning and it means because it's winter time they would like to come very soon the spring and summer these events means the the spring or summer should come very soon because they don't like the winter"

Fear, Dependence and Loss of Self-Esteem: Affective Barriers in Second Language Learning Among Adults

Y. Cohen and M. J. Norst
Macquaire University
NSW, Australia

Abstract

The authors wished to monitor the attitudes of adults required to undertake the study of a foreign language. The requirement was part of a postgraduate degree. The subjects were virtual monolingual English speakers, with one exception. They were adult professional petople taking a part-time Master's degree in Migration Studies. They were required to take two semesters of a foreign language of which they had no prior knowledge.

Using the notions of affective filter, ego boundaries and ethnocentrism, the authors examined the students' diaries, which students had been requested to keep for each of thirty lessons. The diaries showed a degree of fear and anxiety at having to perform semi-publicly (before peers and teacher), which was quite unexpected in its intensity and vehemence, only partly alleviated by a caring, non-threatening teacher. Words used to describe emotional response to their situations included: embarrassment, trauma (the favourite), unnerving, frightening, resentment, frustration, anger, paranoia, victim, guilt. Physical responses included: blushing, trembling hands, pounding heart, headache, coronary (hyperbole, fortunately).

It became clear that, although there is a strong tendency for adults to respond to classroom language learning in the above manner, nevertheless the teacher's unfailing caring, support, positiveness, encouragement, kindness and patience can help to overcome anxiety *in time*, and that these attributes are actually more important than technical knowledge or skill.

The diaries also suggest that there is something fundamentally different about learning a language, compared to learning another skill or gaining other knowledge, namely, that language and self are so closely bound, if not identical, that an attack on one is an attack on the other.

Much interest has been focussed on affective factors, both as aids and as barriers to second-language learning. Particularly, the latter, broadly subsumed under the rubric "affective filter", has exercised the minds of applied linguists and teachers, who have been concerned to identify these factors with a view to reducing them, and thus enhance the efficiency with which learners might approach their goals.

The material presented here has to do with the problems of fear/anxiety, dependence and loss of self-esteem, as well as a brief excursion into ethnocentrism, experienced by individuals faced with the task of learning a new language in a classroom situation. In particular, the fears seem to be partly derived from learners' fears of the foreign and unfamiliar, but especially the fear of having what they perceive as their inadequacy exposed, resulting in loss of self-esteem, of being placed in a dependent and "inferior" position before their peers, a position in which they lose command and control of their situation. If the hypothesis of the affective filter is accepted, then what we have called "language fear" is most certainly a manifestation of this filter. The affective filter sees

> the learner's emotional states or attitudes as an adjustable filter that freely passes, impedes or blocks input necessary to acquisition. The Affective Filter Hypothesis states that acquirers with a low affective filter seek and receive more input, interact with confidence, and are more receptive to the input they receive. Anxious acquirers have a high affective filter which prevents acquisition from taking place. It is believed that the affective filter (e.g. fear or embarrassment) rises in early adolescence, and that may account for children's apparent superiority to older acquirers of a second language [1].

In any work on affect, the words of Dulay, Burt and Krashen should be borne in mind:

> In the last analysis, the precise manner in which human beings learn languages remains invisible. It takes place inside the mind of the language learner, where researchers can follow in only the most rudimentary manner [2].

Research on affect in the study of language learning has tended to focus on *attitude* and *motivation* leading in turn to the notions known as the *instrumental* and the *integrative* factors, that is, whether the primary motivation is for vocational related purposes, or other forms of advancement, success or public activity; or whether the learning of a language is predominantly inspired by the desire to integrate into an admired society/culture/language group. Burstall et al.[3] have expressed doubts about polarising these factors. Both may be at work in an individual, e.g. the case of a person emigrating to an admired culture and who wishes to be vocationally or otherwise publicly successful there. On the other hand, it is easy to imagine the business manager strongly motivated to learn the language of a country which is an important customer, while he nevertheless dislikes the culture and language of that country. The need to pass an examination imposed by an academic requirement (the situation of our study group) may be seen as instrumental, although some had integrative motivation as well.

Thus it is clearly possible to be motivated to learn the language because of one's (uncritically?) positive attitude towards the language and culture, but it is also possible to be motivated to learn the language *despite* one's negative attitude.

Introversion and extraversion are also factors which may influence second language acquisition. These concepts, associated with C.G. Jung, have been measured by H.J. Eysenck[4]. Pritchard[5] supports the notion that the good language learner is likely to be an extrovert, but on the other hand, introversion may well favour the systemic study of a language, as opposed to the performance aspects. In Richards' terms, the extrovert may develop proficiency in the pragmatic mode at the expense of the syntactic mode, while the introvert does the reverse[6].

A further concept, that of empathy, has also been used to explain proficiency or lack of it in second language acquisition. Empathy, the willingness and capacity to identify with others is allied to the integrative orientation mentioned above. Guiora has linked the concept of empathy, as it relates to second language acquisition, to the psychoanalytic interpretation of ego development. Guiora's hypothesis of a language ego parallels the Freudian notion of body ego. This latter is seen as the developmental acquisition of a body image by a child, in which the child recognises its bodily boundaries, and distinguishes itself from the world around it. The language boundary is similar, the notion being, that as general ego development proceeds, language, which is an inseparable part of ego and the concept of self, becomes defined and limited, its boundaries become firm and increasingly difficult to transcend.

> It is our contention that second language learning in all of its dimensions exerts a very specific demand with regard to self-representation. Essentially, to learn a second language is to take on a new identity [7].

Schumann elaborates:

> The notion of ego permeability may offer another explanation for successful second language acquisition which might serve to complement Guiora's ideas. Guiora suggests that ego permeability permits the language learner to partially and temporarily give up his separateness of identity from the speakers of the target language [8].

Our examination of our respondents' diaries has suggested that the intuitive appeal of Guiora's hypothesis is supported, and that ego boundaries in several of our students were firm and not very permeable. The assault on their egos, in both the Freudian and the lay sense of the word, by the demands of a new language in a classroom situation, both in a supportive and non-supportive atmosphere, was deeply distressing.

Scovel has examined the phenomenon of anxiety in second language learning. He reports that some studies have given contradictory results in attempts to correlate anxiety with measured proficiency in an isolated language skill such as pronunciation, and further, the results *within* studies have been contradictory. He suggests that to a point, anxiety can have a facilitating effect and beyond that point a debilitating effect [9].

A further aspect of anxiety which seemed to apply to our students, is the "double bind", elaborated by Bateson, quoted in Clarke. On this view, a double bind exists in situations where the individual will be punished whatever action he takes, even if the alternatives are opposed, or if he takes no action at all. He uses the example of the Zen master leading his pupil to enlightenment:

> The Zen master holds a stick over the pupil's head and says fiercely, "If you say this stick is real I will strike you with it. If you say it is not real I will strike you with it. If you say nothing I will strike you with it." [10].

The language learner in class is in an analogous situation. If he speaks he risks being publicly wrong and thus humiliated before teacher and peers. If he remains silent, when asked a question, he also risks embarrassment, gets no practice and possibly earns the disapproval of the teacher.

Ethnocentrism may also play a role as a barrier to language learning: it may be a reaction to the threat posed by another language to one's own linguistic identity. Although bilingualism is generally regarded positively, the idea of "subtractive" bilingualism vs. "additive" language learning has been proposed by Lambert [11] and by Gardner [12]. "Additive" language learning occurs when a member of a high status language group adds another language at no cost to his first, whereas for individuals whose language is under threat or is of lower status that the L2, becoming bilingual or trying to learn another language can be a subtractive process. Also, the fear ot assimilation can be accompanied by a negative motivation. We found one student in our group who seemed to suffer in this way to a high degree.

The material which follows derives from a small group of students enrolled in a Master's degree in Migration Studies at Macquarie University, Sydney, in 1983. The course was part-time over three years and admitted students who already had at least a first degree and were all adult members of the community in professional employment, and who had, or wished to have some vocational involvement with immigrant communities.

One of the requirements of the degree was that students must study a language entirely new to them. For convenience, most chose to take the language within Macquarie's own adult education program in languages. This is open to the general public on a fee-paying basis (although our group did not pay any fee). Two students commenced the study of a language outside this program but were later taught by a member of the University's attending staff, on an individual basis. As well as attending classes, students were required to maintain a diary of their language learning experiences during the whole course, and were encouraged to be as frank as possible, both about themselves and all other aspects and persons with any impact on their learning. These diaries are the source of the material quoted below.

Some basic data about the participants:-
7 f., 2m.
Ages: 25, 35, 37, 37, 41, 45, 48, 53, 55.

Their previous language learning was largely confined to high school, which in Australia mostly meant French, and a lesser degree, Latin, until recent years. One student from the U.S.A. had a high school Spanish (all except one were Anglo-Celtic native English speakers, and of this latter group only one was educated outside Australia). In fact, all but two had taken French as an academic subject for between three and five years and five had Latin for between three and five years. Other languages taken as academic subjects were Spanish (see above), five years and German (one person), seven years. Several had attempted languages in adulthood, mostly for very short periods, some in class and some in the target language country. One student had lived in New Guinea for ten years and had acquired three of the local languages in a non-classroom environment.

Asked to assess their proficiency in any of these languages, they could choose from the categories: great fluency; with ease; average; with difficulty; hardly or not at all.

No-one marked "great fluency". Only one marked "with ease" (the student who was in New Guinea for ten years). The most heavily marked category was "hardly or not at all", marked 50% more than "with difficulty", which in turn was marked 100% more than "average".

In the following we attempt to give an overview of the diaries, which of course are lengthy and comprehensive, covering, as they do, thirty weeks of classes. The extracts we quote are therefore representative only, but are nevertheless selected with a view to indicating the tenor of the whole and linking them to the hypothesis and experimental work discussed earlier.

Broadly, it does appear that an integrative motivation is an indication of less language fear, *provided* that the classroom experiences are supportive and non-threatening. We examined two students with integrative motivation who experienced opposite kinds of classroom atmosphere.

It is beyond the scope of this study to enter into a discussion of definitions of introversion and extraversion, or indeed into the individual psychology of the participants in our study. We can only report that in seminar sessions and social contacts our group was generally outgoing, articulate and socially competent; in fact one student actually describes herself as extrovert in her diary, although she found the prospect of public performance (in class) of a foreign language especially terrifying. Her behaviour was typical, if not universal, and leads us to speculate, that even for adults such as those in our group, professional people in command of themselves and their situation, "language fear" is a phenomenon to which insufficiently close attention has been paid. The loss of control, of self-esteem involved seems to be of a different order than in the case of other fields requiring cognitive and/or performance effort. The work on anxiety in language learning to date, is in the experimental mode, and has displayed a tendency to regard students as experimental material, rather than as individuals with something to say and the ability to say it with force and clarity.

An example of a student with an integrative motivation (he took Arabic to help him work and interact with the Arabic-speaking community in Sydney) in a supportive class shows little apparent fear and a desire to use the language in public. This was the same student who had lived in New Guinea and learned three languages for use while there. After initial doubts ("Am I going to be able to cope with this language?") he stresses the supportiveness of the teacher.

> "The approach of the lecturer puts everyone at ease and he attempts to encourage even poor attempts at pronunciation — people do not give up."

Although he expresses frustration, it is with structural matters, his memory, the need to refer back to rules constantly (a common preoccupation with all students; they frequently bemoan the absence of rule learning in the communicative approach used in classes, rules appear to give them a sense of security, perhaps harking back to earlier school experiences), the lack of opportunities to meet Arabic speakers and try himself out.

> "I miss out on being in an environment in which Arabic is spoken... in contrast to other languages I have learned."

He was eager to use the language rather than fearful of *having* to use it. If he expresses a fear, it is of uncorrected mistakes in use:

> "I miss the opportunity to practise - with correction of mistakes - for I fear an error in pronunciation or stress, unless corrected, may remain an error, and I will always have a pronounced Australian Arabic accent." (fear of *non*-integration)

By way of contrast to a student we report on later, this student's experience of working in a group containing an advanced speaker of the L2 is very positive:

> "Placing students in small groups to practise...enabled us to realise we were all in the same position — with the conclusion, if it came to the crunch, we would heavily depend on the most fluent among our number to get out of trouble."

This points to a further contrast with other students in the study; the sense of cooperation and mutual support expressed by this student, even when friends or acquaintances are in the class. This sense of isolation and *competition*, we hypothesise, is a partial explanation of languge fear.

Another contrast we noted in this student was his attitude to a missed class caused by illness:

> "I feel reassured that 'everyone has problems — keep working on it'. I am doing just that."

In other students, we noted expressions of guilt and anxiety, a sense of failure and a desire not to return to face the class, even when the student had done the homework and prepared the next lesson.

A student with a purely instrumental motivation (she had originally wanted to take a different L2, a language of which she had had a brief experience in the country itself, but was prevented from doing so) was subject to a most pronounced level of anxiety, despite her admiration for the teacher, whom she constantly praised in her diary. Her motivation was thus purely that of fulfilling the requirements of the course. She expressed her fear of individual performance:

> "I've always been a person who likes to be 'part of the group' in school work and university, I hate being called upon to talk in front of a group, although I am extravert by nature... I like the teacher very much, but I thought it was embarrassing to be singled out... I find it very, very embarrassing to be asked a question and not understand it or not know the answer... I panic when I think about the time I may be asked to do that. I find that sort of thing traumatic, even though the teacher and students are very supportive."

After taking part in a language game in which participants are progressively eliminated, she expresses fear and loss of self-esteem.

> "Well diary, between you and me I'm feeling pretty scared. I've always been up the top of classes and tonight I proved what a dunce I am, everyone laughed at me when I made a really dumb mistake first off in

the game..."

Her self-esteem is further lowered by competition with a friend in the same class:

> "I blushed with embarrassment every time I was asked a question and I couldn't answer one question. X got everything right and understood everything and that did nothing for my self-esteem."

When the teacher played an L2 tape in class the student

> "...had the most frightening experience in (L2)... I found it completely unnerving... When I was asked to repeat and translate I was dumbfounded and shook my head."

Ironically, she remarks that she uses the same technique as a teacher of English as a second language (playing a tape in class). She goes on to describe her physical symptoms when asked a question in L2 in class (the description is impressionistic — she is not a physiologist):

> "....my heart starts pumping really fast, and the adrenalin running. Then I feel myself start to go red... and by the end of the ordeal — for it *is* — I am totally red, my hands shake and my heart pounds... If anyone laughs at my mistake I feel really embarrassed and foolish, and the physics of my body don't return to normal for ten minutes or so... it's pure trauma for me."

Contemplating the prospect of standing before her fellow-students and speaking in L2, she remarks:

> "...if I'm ever asked to do that I'll probably have a coronary."

In view of this situation it was decided to facilitate the students's [illegible] to the L2 she originally desired to do, and for which she expres[illegible] motivation in contrast to the L2 she was currently learning. The ou[illegible] unexpected. She was so disappointed and enraged by the poor perf[illegible] of the teacher of the new L2 class that she returned to the first class an[illegible]ired teacher. This seemed to be the turning point and she writes:

> "I can honestly say that tonight has been the first time I have actually enjoyed the class and felt a little confident. (The teacher) praised me at the end of it and my ego did backflips."

In the following week she writes:

> "I actually answered a couple of questions correctly and felt very pleased with myself. Mind you, I'm still very nervous and breathe a sigh of relief when my turn is over, but I am not experiencing that blind panic and physical trauma now when I'm asked to speak."

She attributes her changed attitude solely to the qualities of the teacher:

> "I'm sure my changed attitude is a direct result of (the teacher's) winning my confidence and my absolute faith in her as a teacher."

Her realisation of the critical role played by the teacher occurred when the latter was replaced due to illness.

> "I felt quite traumatised by the change in teachers, because as I realise now, I have developed a relationship with (the first teacher)... The experience which stands out as the most valuable in terms of learning (the L2) was the empathy (the teacher) developed with me."

She summaries the stations of her cross:

> "The emotional pattern I've been through — anger → and resentment frustration → paranoia → more frustration → acceptance and willingness to learn → increasing eagerness and confidence in self and teacher."

The anxiety and suffering she endured can only be suggested in the diary extracts, but the chief elements are her extremely reduced control over her situation and resulting fear and loss of self-esteem:

> "I think the trauma was caused by the smashing of a well-developed positive self-concept, and for me to suddenly find myself lost and like a blithering fool was a sudden and unexpected change."

The critical role of a teacher attitude is highlighted by the diary of a student with integrative motivation exposed at first, to a teacher who was unsympathetic, and who used ridicule, even physical abuse on adult students:

> "Kept trying to think up excuses all day for not going to class and by 5 p.m. had a terrible headache... I didn't feel I learnt a thing... Feeling more and more this is a complete waste of time... I just don't want to go to any more lessons with (the teacher)... All I've experienced... is what it's like to be *a victim* in a language class."

Fortunately, she was able to change to a skilled, sympathetic and encouraging teacher. However, considerable damage had been done from which she was not able to easily recover:

> "I still feel very silly and inadequate for not knowing (L2)."
> "I can't cope and feel depressed at my own inability."
> "(The teacher) is always so positive and I'm always so depressed about it."
> "I still feel very embarrassed at every attempt to make a (L2) sound. I believe that (the first teacher) has seriously and adversely affected my confidence."

On her relationship with a fellow-student who has a somewhat competitive attitude:

> "I don't want to be reminded of my own inadequacies... I'm not competitive. That's probably why I roller skate, rather than play tennis or squash."

By the ninth lesson with the new teacher, the student is able to write:

> "I'm getting to know (the teacher) more and therefore feel more relaxed in the learning situation."

She is able to report of the next lesson, that it was the first lesson she actually enjoyed, and by the next, that although she feels her pronunciation is "appalling",

> "... my attitude has changed in as much as I don't feel so self-conscious."

Nevertheless, facing a short oral test, *in camera*, but in the presence of her fellow students (the competitive, isolating aspect of public performance), she writes

> "I am very nervous... The very idea of testing... traumatises me."

Finally she writes:

> "What have I learnt? I think more about myself than (L2). My relationship and respect for the teacher seems paramount in facilitating my learning. I need positive encouragement, something which (the teacher) gave me and made me regain confidence in myself."

Both she and the previous student expressed a desire to continue learning the language.

Another student, unable to take the language for which she had integrative motivation (relating to an immigrant community with which she works), was obliged to take another L2 instead. Her responses to the classroom situation support the impressions already reported earlier, e.g.:

"I was embarrassed when called on."

Practising privately with a native speaker of the L2 she reports she:
"... was very inhibited about attempting to pronounce the language with him."

Another student, in the same class as the second student reported on in his study, although not subject to the same degree of terror, nevertheless repeatedly stresses similar reactions:

> "... it's ridiculous for someone of my age and language background, but I am still very, very shy when it comes to speaking in front of a group of people my age or older... I'm too 'hung up' with making mistakes in public... I'm envious of people who are fluent in other languages."(self-esteem)

In a group exercise with other students she reported:
"The three fellows I interviewed were 'uptight' to the point of trembling."

This fear of the unknown in language learning seems to be common to the students:

> "I feel so uncomfortable because I didn't know the numbers and I felt really worried that I would be asked for something involving numbers and I wouldn't know the answer."

Another behaviour feature we observed was the strong feeling of guilt leading to anxiety about missed classes, despite the fact that as responsible adults they were absent only due to causes such as illness, demands of work, etc.:

> "I missed class this week... I'm feeling unusually uncomfortable... although I couldn't have attended... I felt guilty because I didn't understand (despite having obtained the homework and completing it)... I was relieved when class was over... I had been tense... as I had missed last week's lesson... I felt I was on tenterhooks.. It was really a groundless fear, but I was really feeling that missing one class could 'make or break' my progress... Now I'm really worried about the next lesson... There's really a feeling of guilt and complete insecurity when you have to go back to a class after missing a lesson. I'm almost tempted to miss the next lesson, but that's only putting off the agony." (c.f. the first student reported on)

The notion of *dependency* is mentioned by a student, in this case, the need to rely on written supports in L2 learning:

> "... this makes me *very* dependent on everything except my own ability." (emphasis by student)

> "It frustrates me - as soon as we move away from whatever is directly linked to the exercises... I'm lost. This is really quite upsetting for me... my expectations of myself are too high... I'm disgusted with myself." (dependence, loss of self-esteem)

We now report on a student whose affective barrier appears to lie in a degree of ethnocentrism, combined with some humiliation and loss of face. He was very strongly attached to the language and culture of his native land, indeed his native city (he refers to himself as a "pure" member of this ancient city), and was obliged by circumstances to take a language to which he exhibited a considerate amount of antipathy (although he had previously commenced the study of another language, for which he had strong sympathies, but had simply ceased attending classes and so had not passed the degree requirement).

Of the second L2 to study he writes:

> "The sounds are obsessing me. How can you possibly reproduce sounds which come from the far end of your intestines? Correction. Some of them can just come from your throat.. providing you are willing to make it bleed... What a collection of cacophonous sounds."
> "Second day with this barbaric language I hate."
> "These damned drill exercises have let me suffer a remarkable degree of mental and physical stress."

He constantly refers to the teacher by an ironic honorific title in the L2 although he is aware that the teacher is not a native L2 speaker, in fact, he is a native speaker of a language of the same language group as the student's L1. On his relationship with the teacher, while not antagonistic, he regards him as a representative of the L2 and therefore suspect. He refers to the teacher as a "nice guy", yet lacking in "human contact."

> "Somehow he seems to be programmed, but nice. Today is a hot day; he sweats, but he doesn't complain. He keeps smiling, he always smiles; it is a stereo-typed smile... Professionally he gives the impression of being more systematic than other language teachers I have come across."

Clearly, while some grudging respect is evident, there is none of the rapport that other students stressed with their teachers.

It must be noted here, while on the subject of ethnocentrism, that is student's relationship with his fellow-students (all of whom were native English speakers belonging to the dominant language/culture) were fraught with severe frictions, and appear to have exacerbated his difficulties and focussed his attitudes:

> "Three long years of hostility... arrogance, stupidity, narrowmindedness, presumptuousness... racialism."

External factors, such as a robbery at his home (in which the cassette recorder he used to practise the L2 was also stolen) did nothing to improve his attitude. Nevertheless, and perhaps despite himself, he begins to see light at end of the tunnel:

> "Last night I studied vocabulary till very late. This morning I felt better. Yes, just a bit."(the last three words in L2)

There is a hint of evidence, that although the student was unable to develop a warm relationship with the teacher, the teacher's non-threatening and generally positive attitude, as well as the skill the student reluctantly credits the teacher with, were instrumental in the change.

> "(honorific title) encouraged me to concentrate my efforts on vocabulary. I am doing this."
>
> "During drill time — an endless one — today, I didn't feel cut off... on the contrary! This is the first time, I think. Have I been lucky? Or is this a real improvement? I don't know. Even more, it is nice to feel relaxed and comfortable."
>
> "I am still up and above. What is happening to me? Even the lecturer over the last few days appears to be pleased with me (absence of ironic honorific title)."
>
> "I am still a bit tense in classes overall, today has been another 'good' day."

Despite the student in his final remarks describing this particular language learning experience as "nasty", he insists that he does not regret "having gone back to school, as a disciple, with modesty". He himself concludes that his complete lack of motivation for learning this particular language was the reason for his antipathy towards it. He contrasts this with his positive attitude towards the first L2 he commenced learning with this program, an L2 closely related to his own. A close examination of his diary reveals however a deep antipathy to the L2 he was obliged to do, which was related to unfortunate encounters with the users of that language in his youth. Moreover, despite his professed motivational interest in the earlier L2, he did in fact abandon it after very few lessons. Finally his strong feelings about his fellow students were based on his belief in their hostility towards him (not together without foundation). They, of course, represented the dominant culture, and he felt that they were responsible for his being forced to take the disliked L2.

> "Why am I here?... somebody will be happy to know I have been penalised."

He writes of "overt hostility and racialism" and attributes his difficulties to the fact that he is "not an Anglo-Saxon". It becomes clear that his difficulties in confronting the L2 have a great deal to do with his (apparently well-founded) antipathy towards the speakers of that language, of the position he found himself in due, in his view, to the representatives of *another* group of language speakers (English speakers representing the dominant culture), and his strong alliance to his own native culture and language, which he saw under threat from these two sources.

We have attempted to report on specific aspects of the affective filter, in L2 learning; 'language fear', loss of self-esteem, instrumental vs. integrative motivation and enthnocentrism. We are aware of the substantial research on affect, and grateful to it. However, it seemed to us that the traditional experimental, controlled methodology, while essential, nevertheless needed to be supplemented by something more, namely, the direct, real and painful experiences of individuals, related in their own words. Diary studies have gained ground as a qualitative investigative method in recent years, as Bailey and Ochsner have shown[13].

Our own approach has been influenced by Rivers[14], Stern[15] and Cohen and Hosenfeld[16] i.a.

Rivers, a language researcher and teacher of long standing, kept a diary while learning her *sixth* language. She discovered, among other things, that interference came not from her first language (English), but from her fourth fluent language (German), and was even told she had a German accent in Spanish!

> Stern (p. 289), looking at introspective approaches to discovery writes:
> "In explaining this area (psychological approaches in language learning) it is useful to begin with introspection, retrospection and observation and to think about ourselves as language learners and our... students in that role."

Stern asks us to recollect how we tackled language learning, whether it was easy or hard, were we successful or unsuccessful, whether our view of language learning changed, how we explained our learning experiences, and what we learned from them about language learning.

> "In a similar way we can attempt to observe language learning among our students and ask why some are successful and others seem to struggle rather helplessly."

Cohen and Hosenfeld distinguish between "introspection" (immediate inspection of mental state), "retrospection" (recollection after the event) and "delayed retrospection" (anything from several hours up to a week after the event — we have relied on delayed retrospection in our study). (p. 286).

Cohen and Hosenfeld suggest that rigorous self-observation can be a useful tool in understanding how a second language is learned and how insights gained can be used to help improve second language learning. They conclude that a combination of empirical and mentalistic approaches may provide a more complete picture of what it means to learn a language. While experimental work has identified problems, it usually leaves us unaware of how that problem manifests itself in an individual. Thus, while experiment has made us aware of anxiety in language learning, we hope our approach has exposed just *how* terrifying, humiliating and painful trying to learn a language can be. This of course lead to the question of what to do about it. Clearly, individual personality traits make universal panaceas dubious, but equally clearly, techniques, methods and approaches which deal directly with students as sensitive individuals, and take account of fear, humiliation and loss of self-esteem are central to language teaching and learning.

Lozanov's Suggestopedia and Curran's Counselling Learning approach are genuine attempts to meet this problem. They, of course, require institutional leadership and specially trained stuff. Our own observations, both from the above, and from a survey we conducted of adult language teaching institutions in Sydney[17] had led us to the view that a critical factor, if not *the* factor, is the warmth, friendliness, empathy and personal commitment of the teacher to the students as people rather than as pupils. This was repeatedly stressed by our subjects. In our earlier survey, we found that such personal qualities of the teacher were ranked first, above professional skill and knowledge of L2. Typical of the responses of the present group were

> "The experience which stands out, as most valuable in terms of learning (L2) was the empathy (the teacher) developed with me... Many times I became despondent, but she always came to the rescue with... an understanding smile which made me want to reward her by achieving."
>
> "She is quite amazing. No matter the hour or the response, she is always supportive and encouraging. She corrects in a manner that is always pleasant and supportive... often I feel she is the only one who keeps the class going... it's almost a pleasant social evening coming to class."
>
> "She told me I was making good progress, so I was feeling really positive."
>
> "She is so lively and enthusiastic."
>
> "She is a very animated, dramatic teacher - very supportive and not at all threatening."

The importance of this aspect of teaching/learning a language can be gauged by the fact that even those who felt that they had been forced to take the language and therefore lacked any integrative motivation, were able to accept and even enjoy their language experience.

The diaries do suggest, however, that there is something fundamentally different about the performance aspect of language learning, and the fear it engenders, compared to other knowledge + skill-based subjects. We hypothesise that language and self/identity are so closely bound, if indeed they are not one and the same thing, that a perceived attack on one is an attack on the other.

REFERENCES

[1] Richards, J.C. & Rodgers, T.S., *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986, p. 133.

[2] Dulay, H., Burt, M., Krashen S., *Language 2*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1982, p. 45.

[3] Burstall, C., Jamieson, M., Cohen S., Hargreaves M., *Primary French in the Balance*, NFER Publishing, Windsor, 1974.

[4] Eysenck, H.J., *Readings in Extraversion-Introversion I. Theoretical and Methodological Issues*, Staples Press, London, 1970.

[5] Pritchard, D.F., "An investigation into the relationship of personality traits and ability in modern language", in: *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 22, 1952, pp. 157-8.

[6] Richards, J.C., *The Context of Language Teaching*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, p. 152.

[7] Guiora et al., 1972, p. 422, quoted in Schumann, J.H. 1975, p. 223.

[8] Schumann, J.H., "Affective factors and the problem of age in second language acquisition." *Language Learning*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 1975, p. 223.

[9] Scovel, T., "The effect of affect on foreign language learning: a review of the anxiety research.", *Language Learning*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 1978, pp. 129-142.

[10] Clarke, M.A., "Second language acquisition as a clash of consciousness.", *Language Learning*, Vol. 26, No. 2, 1976, p. 379.

[11] Lambert, W.E., "Culture and language as factors in learning and education" Wolfgang, A., (Ed.), *Education of Immigrant Students*, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, 1975.

[12] Gardner, R.C., "Social psychological aspects of second language learning" in: Giles, H., & St. Clair, R.N., (Eds), *Language and Social Psychology*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1979, pp 193-220.

[13] Bailey, K.M. and Ochsner, R., "A methodological review of the diary studies: Windmill tilting or social science?" in: Bailey, K.M., Long, M.H. and Peck, S. (Eds), *Proceedings of the Second Los Angeles Second Language Research Forum*, Rowley, Mass. 1982.

[14] Rivers, W.M., *Communicating Naturally in a Second Language*, Cambridge, 1983, Ch. 13.

[15] Stern, H.H., *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching*, Oxford, 1983.

[16] Cohen, A.D. and Hosenfeld, C., "Some uses of Mentalistic Data in Second Language Research", in: *Language Learning*, 1982, Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 285-313.

[17] Cohen, Y. and Norst, M.J., "Emerging patterns in the needs of adult language learners in Sydney: results of a survey.", *Babel*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1985, pp. 3-7.

Current Research in Southeast Asia

Yolanda Beh
RELC

The aims of this article are to encourage the exchange of information between researchers and to reduce the possibility of duplicating research. Thus reports on research related to language and linguistics and relevant to the Southeast Asian region are included for the benefit of researchers as well as educators, policy makers, curriculum developers, teachers and others involved in language education.

To enable the RELC Library and Information Centre to provide an effective service as a clearing-house of language-related research information for the region, the cooperation of researchers is earnestly sought in supplying such information. A form is obtainable form the following address.

Librarian and Head of Information Centre
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore.

If preferred, however, researchers may send write-ups on their work to the same address under the headings: Title, Description, Principal researcher, Sponsoring or financing body (if applicable).

MALAYSIA

Title:	**From English as a Subject in Schools to English as a Medium of Instruction**
Description:	This research project investigates a new development in Malaysia where "twinning programmes" with foreign universities have become an important alternative in tertiary education. Since these programmes operate in English, the question arises whether or not there is adequate preparation for the students who were taught English as a subject in schools and would now use English in their academic, affective and emotive domains. A group of students who participated in the "twinning programmes" is being studied. A number of variables has been identified to establish what factors should

be considered to ensure proficiency in the English language which is required in such programmes. It is hoped that the outcome of the project will indicate what constitutes adequate ESL preparation for students who may wish to undertake these programmes.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Principal Researcher:
Habibah Bte Dato Dr Mohd Salleh
Principal Lecturer in English
Institut Teknologi MARA
Shah Alam 40450
Selangor Darul Ehsan
Malaysia

Title: **A Teacher's Use of Language in Two Lower Secondary EFL/ESL Classrooms.**

Description: This study will first describe a teacher's language choice in the teaching of English as a foreign or second language in two English language classes in the Islamic Academy and then compare and contrast the alternations in the two classes. The teacher's choice in alternating between English and another language such as Bahasa Malaysia is to facilitate the teaching of the English language in a low English proficiency class.

An obseravational approach to describe the teacher's language alternation in his repertoire of speech will be used. Verbal communication found in the data will be coded using classroom interaction analysis. The qualitative and quantitative data obtained will enable the researcher to determine the distribution and patterns of language alternation and the possible underlying reasons for the use of, for example, Bahasa Malaysia in the English as a second or foreign language classroom.

Thesis (M.Ed.) — University of Malaya.

Principal reseacher:
Tam Shu Sim
Pusat Bahasa
Universiti Malaya
Lembah Pantai
59100 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia

SINGAPORE

Title: **The Organized Management of the Tamil Language in Singapore.**

Description: The aim of the research is to find out how the Tamil language as one of the official languages in Singapore is being managed at the institutional level by studying the use of the language in education, the media and in social organizations. Interviews have been conducted with key personnel in the three areas and reference made to published works such as books, articles, journals and seminar proceedings. The specific aim of the research is to establish whether the organized management of the Tamil language in Singapore is geared towards the propagation of its use among the Tamils, and on a broader level, the Indians in general. In this connection, the language-culture-identity relationship model, quite often quoted by the policy makers of Singapore, is being used to establish its validity in this particular context.

Thesis (M.A.) — National University if Singapore.

Principal reseacher:
Radhika d/o Ramakanthan
Instructor
RELC Language Teaching Institute
30 Orange Grove Road
SIngapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

Title: **Standardizing Texts**

Description: This thesis analyses the total correction behaviour of respondents according to Bartsch's six types of correctness: orthographic, lexical, syntactic, textual, semantic and pragmatic.

Twenty-three respondants (6 Singaporeans working in the media, 8 British expatriate teachers and 9 Singapore teachers) have been asked to correct and comment on three Singapore texts. The three texts comprise one from a local magazine and two students' essays. The general correction behaviour of the respondents has been studied and a comparison made of the different groups.

The general findings show that respondants not only reacted to syntactic and lexical correctness but also to the other four types of correctness. Thus, a study of correction behaviour cannot be complete without studying all six types of correctness. The concept of correctness is not fixed, and although there are many areas where people normally agree in their correctness judgements, what is considered correct still varies among individuals and between participant groups.

Thesis (M.A.) — National University of Singapore

Principal researcher:
Tan Kim Lian Elaine Sharon
14 Kovan Road
Singapore 1954
Republic of Singapore

Title: **Discourse Strategies Used in Cross-Cultural Business Negotiations with Reference to Singapore and British English**

Description: This research aims to identify different discourse strategies used by speakers of different varieties of English in cross-cultural encounters and to discover whether the differences cause less than effective communication.

The methodology involves collecting simulated data from role-play negotiations, using contrastive pairs of role-players e.g. Singaporean negotiating with Briton, Singaporean negotiating with Singaporean and Briton negotiating with Briton. The data will be analysed from a pragmatic perspective using a speech-act framework.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — Aston University

Principal Reseacher:
Lim Cheng Geok
Lecturer
English Language Proficiency Unit
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
SIngapore 0511
Republic of SIngapore

THAILAND

Title: **Assessment of English Language Needs in Computer Science: a Survey in Thailand**

Description: A survey of the English language skills most needed by the computing professional in the Thai context has been undertaken. The purpose was to obtain empirical information to validate the types of language use and skills emphasized in the existing commercial ESP materials in the area of computer science as well as to generate implications for language pedagogy in this specialized discipline with regard to course/ syllabus design, materials development, and teacher training. Structured interviews with the use of questionnaires constructed for the study have been conducted with 25 subjects (22 firms), all but three holding managerial positions in computing firms in Bangkok. Data obtained from the interviews have shown consistency in the subjects' answers on the most needed skills: speaking skills are of great importance in almost all positions, followed by reading and writing respective. Practical suggestion about the direction of language pedagogy for students in computer science have also been given by the personnel interviewed.

Principal reseacher:
Ruja Pholsward
Dean, School of Graduate Studies
University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce
126/1 Vibhavadee Rangsit Road
Bangkok 10400
Thailand

Other researcher:
Sangrawee Chaopricaa
Chulalongkorn University Language Institute
Phyathai Road
Bangkok 10500
Thailand

Sponsoring or financing body: **SEAMEO RELC**

Book Review

The Pronunciation of English: A Course Book in Phonology by Charles W. Kreidler. Basil Blackwell. 1989.

Reviewed by David S. Taylor, Overseas Education Unit, School of Education, University of Leeds.

There are many books on the pronunciation of English and on the phonetics and phonology of English, so many in fact that the appearance of another automatically gives rise to the ritual cry, 'Why another book on this subject?' It is certain that a new book in this area needs to consider very carefully indeed its aims and objectives. According to the author's preface the book under review 'is intended as a text for students being introduced to linguistics and to the sound system of English'. According to the publishers' blurb, however, it is intended both for teachers and prospective teachers of English who require a full understanding of the sound system of English and for students of linguistics who know English and need to acquire an understanding of phonology'. There is thus a double set of aims and objectives and a double audience. Here no doubt is the origin of many of the difficulties the book presents.

It is also claimed that this is 'the most comprehensive introductory guide to the pronunciation of English today', specifically because it deals with not just the varieties of American and British English, but also other widespread variants' (cover blurb, but also in the first chapter). In fact, however, the book deals mainly with American English, and the information given about other varieties is often misleading or inaccurate. Another difficulty is with the claim that this is an 'introductory guide'. But it is not always clear what level of knowledge is assumed in the reader, and often quite technical terms are suddenly introduced with little or no explanation or information. Examples are the use of the term *reflex* on p. 62 and the term *locus* and *clitic* on p. 174. Even the terms *paradigmatic* and *syntagmatic*, introduced on p. 163 and p. 165 respectively, and important in Kreidler's treatment of accent, are not fully explained, although there is a note on pp. 319-20.

More fundamental questions arise, I think, from the actual title of the book, *The Pronunciation of English: A Course Book in Phonology*. But pronunciation involves much more than phonology. It is also at least equally concerned with phonetics. Although the distinction and the relationship between phonetics and phonology is made clear in the first chapter (p. 5), the bias throughout is heavily towards phonology, as one might expect from the subtitle. As a result, however, the phonetics explanations are often inadequate and sometimes misleading (we shall look at some examples later). This is disappointing to this reviewer who strongly feels that most treatments of English pronunciation are too heavily biased towards *phonetics*. The danger of course is that one ends up with a confusing picture of English pronounciation, together with an equally confusing picture of English phonetics and phonology, and this, I fear, is what has happened with this book. An example of confusion is to be found on p. 294, in a discussion of 'the IPA device of Cardinal Vowels'. It is stated that 'The Cardinal Vowels are reference points in phonological space (the inside of a speaker's mouth).' But the Cardinal Vowels are nothing if not phonetic, and it is difficult to see how the space inside a speaker's mouth can be described as phonological. Phonology after all deals in abstractions, as Kreidler himself points out (p. 9, pp13-14, p. 98), and the inside of a speaker's mouth is anything but abstract! We are of course dealing here with the articulation of very particular sounds, with phonetic entities in other words.

As an example of the neglect of the phonetic side of English pronunciation, there are no consonant articulation diagrams, and in the chapter on consonant articulation it is difficult to get an idea of what actually happens when you make a consonant sound. There is a diagram of the organs of speech on p. 21 but it is not related to the consonant articulations. Kreidler (p. 41) criticizes the normal approach to the classification of consonants, in terms of points of articulation (the more usual term is *place* or articulation), on the grounds that this neglects the role of what he calls the articulators. But this is to misunderstand the place of articulation approach, which makes a distinction between active and passive articulators (Abercrombie 1967:43-7). The description in terms of place or articulation (the passive articulator) implies the use of a corresponding active articulator according to well-understood conventions.

The phonetic descriptions of the English vowels (pp. 56-61) are also insufficient. There is not enough explanation of the phonetic chart given on p. 57 and indeed the descriptions given are not very meaningful without a considerable phonetic background, certainly more than is provided in this book.

Another example of the phonological bias of the book is provided by Chapters 13 and 14, which deal with phonological processes in speech and in the lexicon. These are two very interesting chapters, but they tell us more about phonology than they do about English pronunciation.

The book is unfortunately marred by a large number of errors. Some of these are of a mechanical nature, such as the mention on p.295 of 22 vowel units, where in fact only 20 are mentioned (21 if ə is counted). On p. 295 it is stated that 'The chart shows 14 such vocalic elements...' but only 12 are to be found. On pp. 58-61 there is a discussion of an inventory of 24 vowels but only 23 appear (the SPA vowel is left out). On p. 298 a discussion of Gimson's vowel transcription is rendered meaningless by the omission of length marks (/i/ is printed for /i:/). On p. 300 reference is made to a book by Victoria

Fromkin and Robert Redman called *An Introduction to Linguistic Science*, (third edition) published in 1982. The title of the book is An Introduction to Language. The co-author is Robert Rodman, and the *second* edition was published in 1983. On p. 119 / c / and / j / are printed for / č / and / ǰ /. (Incidentally, this error would not have occurred if the standard IPA symbols / tʃ / and / dʒ/ had been used.). On p. 120 a # symbol is omitted. On pp. 154-5 there is misnumbering of the feedback for the exercises. On p.146 / ɛntrans / is printed for / ɛntərd /. On p.164 an item is omitted from Exercise 9B(b). On p. 172 there is confusion in the transcription of the word USIS. On pp. 245-6 is printed for ϕ several times. On p. 247 / ju / is printed for / juu / or / jʋ /. (Kreidler does not in fact use this ʋ symbol, but something resembling the IPA μ, itself a possible source of confusion). On p.116 the heading 6K FEEDBACK is missing. On p. 267 there are two apparently extraeous μs in the palatization rule and also an instance of / c / for / č / and / j / for / ǰ /.

There are also a number of errors of fact. On p. 294 it is stated that Daniel Jones taught at the School of Oriental and African Studies, whereas of course he taught throughout his career at University College, London. On p. 60 the Australian (and London and South African) version of the TIE diphthong is described as similar to [a:]. A truer characterization would be more like [oi]. The same is true of London and South African speech, where the first element of this diphthong is also very retracted. On p.114 it is stated that 'In Ireland and Scotland clear articulation (of the /l/ phoneme) is the rule in all positions.' This is true for Ireland, but the rule for Scotland is just the opposite (dark articulation in all positions for this phoneme). There is some confusion between aspiration and release of stops in final position. It makes little sense to speak of aspiration in terms of Voice Onset Time (VOT) (p. 36), and then later to refer to aspiration of stops in final position(pp. 106-7, p. 116), since by definition a stop in final position is not immediately followed by a voiced segment to which Voice Onset Time can apply. This confusion could have been avoided by using the distinction between fortis and lenis articulation of consonants, which is not covered here and which is also helpful in dealing with the variation in length of vowels, and with distinguishing voiceless from devoiced consonants in final position. On p. 129 pairs such as *disperse/ disburse, discussed/disgust* are mentioned and it is said that 'it is still a fact that any speaker can make the distinction and another speaker will perceived it.' I cannot speak for American English, but this is certainly not true in my experience for British and British-related varieties of English. This last point is one of a number of examples of where universality across all varieties of English is implied in cases where the phenomenon in question seems to be limited to American English. Another example is to be found in the treatment of intonation where the difference between the long fall and the short fall (high fall and low fall) discussed on p. 184 would seem to be confined to some varieties of American English. Or, perhaps, to put it a little more accurately, in other varieties, the difference between the long fall and the short fall goes far beyond what is mentioned here.

These shortcomings are a great pity, as there are many good things in the book which is written in a clear easy style that manages generally to put things quite lucidly. There is an admirable explanation of phonemes and allophones on p. 98, for example, and there are many excellent and helpful formulations such as 'Stress is the property of a word just as accent is the property of a tone unit.' One should also mention the many helpful exercises, which in many ways are the heart of the book.

I enjoyed most the excellent discussions of syllables and stress which are both interesting and helpful. There is a most valuable discussion of syllable division on pp. 84-6. Similarly, there is a very useful distinction made between strong and weak syllables. It is not clear whether these can be equated with stressable and unstressable syllables, as seems to be implied at some points ('a strong syllable is potentially a stressed syllable' p. 81), as two examples of strong syllables given on p.81, the third syllables of *architecture* and *caterpillar* are not stressable. There is some ambiguity here, as there is with the question of whether or not there can be post-accentual stress, as in the examples given on p. 226.

Here we find

I was ˈlookingˈ at them,

I was ˈlooking atˈ them,

ˈWhat are you ˈlookingˈ at?

ˈWhat did they ˈlistenˈ to?

where the bold syllable carries the the accent (or is the tonic syllable, to use what is perhaps more familiar terminology). To mark these post-tonic syllables as stressed seems almost to be equating the presence of an unreduced vowel with the presence of a stress. This surely cannot be the case, as we can see from Kreidler's own example (p. 239) such as *ˈliving room, ˈbus driver,* etc. There is a further ambiguity here which remains to be resolved. The discussion of stress also gives the impression at one time that the nature of the vowel depends on the stress, while at other times it seems that the place of the stress depends on the vowel. There is clearly some risk of circularity here, but the discussion raises these points in a useful way and provides a valuable basis for further pursuit of these matters.

Chapter 11 offers an interesting treatment of stress rules, which is very illuminating, although perhaps a little complicated for pedagogical purposes. Chapter 21 on prefixes, compounds and phrases is also fascinating. Both chapters are a mine of useful information.

Space does not permit discussion of many other interesting questions raised in the book. Suffice it to say that there is unusually full treatment of phonotactics, and a good chapter on 'The Rhythm of English Speech', which has, however, more to do with accent placement than rhythm.

On balance, nevertheless, the shortcomings clearly outweigh the good points. Although it attempts to deal with pronunciation, phonetics and phonology in an integrated way, it ends up by dealing with none of them very satisfactorily. The lack of clear direction, the double set of aims and objectives mentioned earlier, and the numerous errors make it difficult to recommend it for any particular audience. One cannot help feeling that the author has been badly served by his editors. A clearer focus and a tighter control would have improved the book greatly.

Reference

Abercrombie, David. 1967. Elements of General Phonetics. Edinburgh University Press.

Small Talk — Analysing Phatic Discourse

Klaus P. Schneider
Hitzeroth: Marburg, 1988, 352 pp.

Reviewed by David Marsh, University of Jyvaskyla, Finland.

'Small Talk' is a term that is commonly used and yet surprisingly difficult to define. This may be because the extent to which a person thinks of any stretch of language as small talk depends largely on his/her intuition. It is a peculiar phenomenon, widely used, despised, and often misunderstood. Over the years dictionaries have defined small talk as a type of conversation which is light, trifling, unimportant or insignificant. This may be true when one considers its subject matter but such definition neglects the importance of its social function in communication.

There are many myths which surround our understanding of small talk. For example, it is sometimes seen as a particularly British phenomenon and in North American dictionaries it has been defined as synonymous with gossip. Some see it as talking about the weather and little else whilst others regard it as something which only takes place between people who do not know each other. And recently a French newspaper went so far as to refer to small talk as an English Language phenomenon synonymous with defective and unconstructive communication.

Although the content of much small talk is about general and non-threatening matters, those of us interested in teaching a first, second or foreign language within a communicative framework, are aware of how important its use is in much face-to-face interaction.

Small talk is frequently used in spoken interaction by people who may be relative strangers or who know each other well. It functions in many languages and cultures to often highly specific rules, the breaking of which can sometimes reflect badly on a speaker's personality. It may stretch over a considerable amount of time as in some African speech communities, or very little, as with the Kiranti of Eastern Nepal.

It clearly functions in a variety of ways which appear to serve two crucial features of interpersonal politeness, namely, expressing politeness and friendliness. The inability for a person to express him/herself appropriately in terms of either defusing potentially embarrassing situations or establishing and developing social contact is a serious pitfall for the second, foreign language learner engaged in cross-cultural talk. Although it has been argued that within Southeast Asia there are observed similarities in the politeness systems of different communities, different understanding of small talk rules could seriously affect speakers engaged in cross-cultural communication with those from more distant speech communities. Hence its importance in a communicative language teaching syllabus.

Klaus Schneider's publication is a refreshingly coherent and accessible review of what small talk is and how it functions in spoken language. It fills a gap created by speech act theorists who have concentrated on describing language which is action oriented, that is, which is directly aimed at changing existing reality. Small talk is fundamentally identity oriented and is instrumental in establishing and maintaining social contact.

Schneider reviews what research in discourse analysis and pragmatics tells us about small talk. He also introduces observations from nonlinguistic fields such as anthropology and philosophy. The general approach of the publication is empirical and based on conversations recorded in Britain, but Schneider writes with the nonlinguist in mind and his description and observations are accessible to, for example, the language teacher interested in cross-cultural communication. For those with a more theoretical interest in this area, Schneider presents a discourse model of small talk and a review of the interdependent discourse levels (situation, organization, interaction, intention, maxims and topics) which have to be considered in any model of spoken discourse. However, throughout this book the overall emphasis is towards extending a learner's socio-pragmatic competence in the target language.

The result is a comprehensive publication which could serve as an excellent source for the development of teaching materials on interactional aspects of spoken language which are often lacking in even some of the more pragmatically advanced textbooks. Finally, for those interested in computer-assisted learning, this book discusses what is already available on the market and what could be done to produce a programme for small talk simulations.

In the Oxford English Dictionary 'small' is paraphrased as 'of little or minor consequence, interest or importance." But the significance of 'small talk' in cross-cultural communication should not be underestimated. It is an essential politeness feature of many speech communities which can determine whether the outcome of a communication is to be successful or not. And if the preliminary approach to the development of acquaintanceship by our language learners results in misunderstanding through mishandling of small talk procedure then we, as language teachers, are doing them a disservice by not actively teaching it mechanics.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

1 ABBS, Brian and Freebairn, Ingrid. 1989. Blueprint. Intermediate student's book. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

2 ARDO, Zsuzsanna. 1988. English for practical management. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

3 ATKINSON, Martin, Kilby, David and Roca, Iggy. 1988. Foundations of general linguistics. 2nd ed. London: Unwin Hyman.

4 ASTON, Paul and Edmondson, Elizabeth. 1989. English now. Intermediate plus: Student's book. — Teacher's book. — Workbook. Upper Intermediate: Student's book. — Teacher's book. — Workbook. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

5 BELL, Jan. 1989. Soundings. (Longman intermediate listening skills) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

6 BENITEZ, L. and others. 1988. Reading tasks. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

7 BOLTON, David, Oxenden, Clive and Peterson, Len. 1989. OK. — Book 1: Student's book. — Teacher's book. — Workbook. — Book 2: Student's book. — Teacher's book. — Workbook. — Book 3: Student's book. — Teacher's book. — Workbook. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

8 BROMHEAD, Peter. 1988. Life in modern America. New edition. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

9 BYRNE, Donn. 1988. Focus on the classroom. Oxford: Modern English Publications.

10 ________. 1988. Garibaldi: the man and the myth. Oxford: Modern English Publications.

11 ________. 1988. Just write!: visual material for project work. Student's book. — Teacher's book. London: Macmillan.

12 ________. 1988. Roundabout. Activity book. — Teacher's guide. Basingstoke, Hamps.: Macmillan.

13 DALZELL, Sally and Edgar, Ian. 1988. English in perspective. Student's book 1. — Teacher's book 1. — Workbook 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

14 DEAN, Michael. 1988. Write it: writing skills for intermediate learners of English. Learner's book. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

15 DOFF, Adrian. 1988. Teach English: a training course for teachers. Teacher's workbook. — Trainer's handbook. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press in association with The British Council, 1988.

16 DUFF, Tony (ed.) 1988. Explorations in teacher training: problems and issues. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

17 EASTWOOD, John and Mackin, Ronald. 1988. A basic English grammar with exercises. Without key edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

18 ECKSTUT, Samuela. 1989. Widely read. (Longman intermediate reading skills) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

19 ________ and Lubelska, Diana. 1989. Beneath the surface. (Longman pre-intermediate reading skills) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

20 ________ and Parker, Sue. 1989. First impression. (Longman elementary reading skills) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

21 FOLEY, Joseph (ed.) 1988. New Englishes: the case of Singapore. Singapore: Singapore University Press.

22 FORRESTER, Anthony. 1988. Frontiers: an intermediate course in English. Student's book. — Teacher's book. London: Collins.

23 FUCHS, Marjorie, Fletcher, Mark and Birt, David. 1986. Around the world: pictures for practice. Book 2. White Plains, New York: Longman.

24 GRAVES, Kathleen and Rein, David P. 1989. East-west 2. Student's book. — Teacher's book. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

25 GREENWOOD, Jean. 1988. Class readers. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

26 HARMER, Jeremy. 1988. Meridian plus. Teacher's guide 3. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

27 HEATON, J.B. 1989. Longman texts in context book. Book 1. — Book 2. — Book 3. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

28 HOLDEN, Susan (ed.) 1988. English at the primary level. Oxford: Modern English Publications in association with The British Council.

29 ________. 1988. Language and literature. Oxford: Modern English Publications in association with The British Council.

30 ________. 1988. Literature and language. Oxford: Modern English Publications in association with The British Council.

31 HOPKINS, Andy. 1989. Perspectives. (Longman intermediate writing skills) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

32 ________ and Tribble, Chris. 1989. Outlines. (Longman pre-intermediate writing skills) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

33 HOPWOOD, Frances. 1988. Companion English grammar. London: Macmillan.

34 HORNBY, A.S. 1989. Oxford advanced learner's dictionary. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

35 HUIZENGA, Jann. 1987. Preparing the way: beginning listening. White Plains, New York: Longman.

36 JONES, Leo and Alexander, Richard. 1989. International business English: communication skills in English for business purposes. Student's book. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

37 KEELER, Stephen, 1988. Listening in action. (Longman pre-intermediate listening skills) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

38 KERRIDGE, David. 1988. Presenting facts and figures. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

39 KINGSBURY, Roy. 1988. Longman first certificate. New ed. Coursebook. — Teacher's guide. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

40 ________ and O'Dell. 1989. Using grammar. (First certificate skills; paper 3) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

41 KITAO, Kenji and Kitao, S. Kathleen. 1989. Colonial days. Tokyo: Gaku Shobo.

42 KITAO, S. Kathleen and Kitao, Kenji. 1988. Writing English paragraphs. Tokyo: Eichosha Shinsha Co Ltd.

43 LEECH, Geoffrey. 1989. An A–Z of English grammar and usage. London: Edward Arnold.

44 LINDOP, Christine and Fisher, Dominic. 1988. Something to read 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

45 LOW, Ona. 1986. Grammar for everyday use. London: Collins.

46 MULLEN, Norma D. and Brown, P. Charles. 1987. English for computer science. New ed. Student's book. —. Answer book. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

47 MURPHY, Raymond and Altman, Roann. 1989. Grammar in use: reference and practice for intermediate students of English. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

48 MUSMAN, Richard. 1989. Britain today. New edition. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

49 The NEW Oxford picture dictionary. Student's book. — Beginner's workbook. — Intermediate workbook. — Teacher's guide. 1988. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

50 NOLASCO, Rob and Arthur, Lois. 1988. Large classes. London: Macmillan.

51 NOLASCO, Rob. 1987. Success at first certificate: the interview. Video guide. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

52 O'NEILL, Robert and Mugglestone, Patricia. 1989. Fourth dimension. Course book. New edition. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

53 ________. 1989. Third dimension. Course book. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

54 PHILLIPS, Deborah. 1989. Longman practice tests for the TOEFL. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

55 ________. 1989. Longman preparation course for the TOEFL. Text. — Tapescript and answer key. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

56 RABLEY, Stephen. 1988. The gold lasso. (Longman structural readers, stage 2) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

57 RAMSEY, Gaynor. 1987. Images. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

58 ________. 1989. Plenty to say. (Longman elementary speaking skills) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

59 ________ and Rees-Parnall, Hilary. 1989. Well spoken. (Longman pre-intermediate speaking skills) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

60 REINECKE, John E. 1969. Language and dialect in Hawaii: a sociolinguistic history to 1935. Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii and University of Hawaii Press.

61 RENFREW, Colin. 1989. Archaeology and language: the puzzle of Indo-European origins. London: Penguin Books.

62 RIXON, Shelagh. 1988. Successful listening for first certificate. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

63 ROBINSON, Pauline C. (ed.) 1988. Academic writing: process and product. (ELT document; 129) Basingstoke, Hamps. Macmillan.

64 ROSENTHAL, Marilyn S. and Freeman, Daniel B. 1987. Longman photo dictionary. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

65 SEAL, Bernard. 1987. Vocabulary builder 1. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

66 SPRATT, Mary. 1989. Tuning in. (Longman elementary listening skills) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

67 STRONG, Michael. 1988. Language learning and deafness. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

68 TAFNER, Meg and Williams, Tony. 1988. Intensive English. Higher intermediate level — Student's book. London: Macmillan.

69 TRIBBLE, Chris. 1989. Word for word. (Longman elementary writing skills) Harlow, Essex: Longman.

70 VELAYUDHAN, S. [1988?] A centenary tribute to Michael Philip West: selections from his writings with an introductory essay by M.L. Tickoo. Bangalore: Regional Institute of English.

71 WARD, Ann and Lonergan, Jack. 1988. New dimensions. Student's book 3. — Teacher's book 3. — Workbook 3. — Testbook 2: Student's book. — Testbook 3: Student's book. London: Macmillan.

72 WELLMAN Guy. 1989. English grammar made simple: a first reference and practice grammar for learners of English. Basingstroke, Hamps.: Macmillan and English Language Arts.

73 WILLIS, Jane and Willis, Dave. 1988. Collins COBUILD English course. Student's book 1 — Practice book 1. London: Collins.

RELC

ANNOUNCEMENT

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

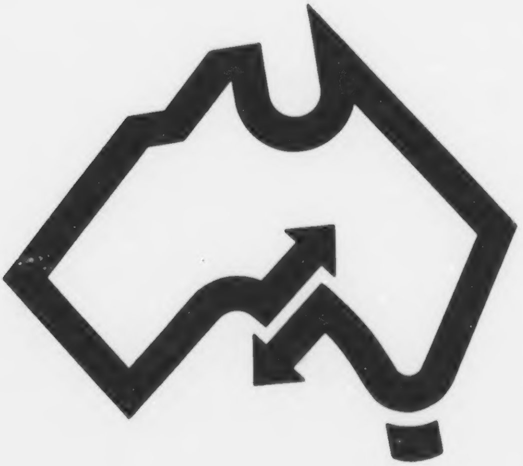
Language Testing and Language Programme Evaluation

9–12 April 1990

For more information, please contact:
CHAIRMAN,
SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE,
SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
30 ORANGE GROVE ROAD
SINGAPORE 1025

PROSPECT

THE JOURNAL OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM



Prospect is the national professional journal of the Australian Adult Migrant (Immigrant) Educational Program (AMEP). This Commonwealth-funded program offers English as a Second Language and Orientation tuition to approximately 100,000 adult immigrants to Australia from all over the world each year.

Jill Burton, Editor

Reference Panel includes
Professor J. Anderson
Flinders University of S.A.
Professor H. Holec
Universite de Nancy 11
Dr. D. Ingram
Brisbane College of Advanced Education
Mr. H. Nicholas
La Trobe University
Dr. M. Pieneman
University of Sydney
Professor J. Richards
University of Hawaii

It publishes articles, notes, reports and reviews on applied linguistic and teaching concerns related to the adult E.S.L. field. Prospect is published three times a year by the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research. Information about subscription rates and advertisements can be obtained from:

GERD S. STABLER
SALES AND MARKETING MANAGER
NCELTR ◆ SCHOOL of ENGLISH and LINGUISTIS ◆ MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY ◆
SYDNEY ◆ NEW SOUTH WALES 2109 ◆ AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE (02) 805 7673 TELEX MACUNI AA122377 FACSIMILE (02) 805 7849

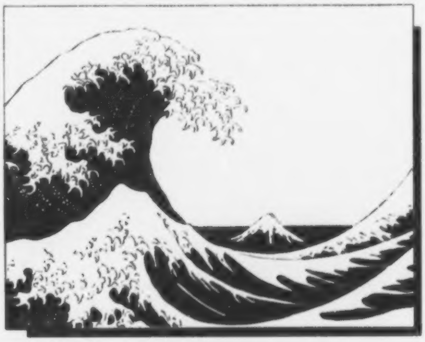
CROSS CURRENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Cross Currents is a semi-annual publication of the Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) which provides a forum for the interdisciplinary exchange of ideas within the areas of cross-cultural communication and language skill acquisition and instruction. At _Cross Currents_, we are particularly committed to issues concerning both the theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, English language teaching as it applies to Japan, and English as an International Language.

Recent contributors to *Cross Currents* include:

Robert O'Neill
Braj Kachru
Alan Maley
Walter Hirtle
Richard Via
Larry Smith
Paul LaForge



SUBSCRIPTIONS	**Single issue**	**1 year**	**2 years**
Inside Japan*	¥1,300	¥2,600	¥5,150
Outside Japan — Individual Subscription	$8.00	$15.00	$25.00
Outside Japan — Institutional Rate		$19.50	$35.00

* *Special rates available for JALT members. (See postal form in the Language Teacher.)*

- ***Japan Subscriptions***:
School Book Service
FI Building 4F
1-26-5 Takadanobaba
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
03-200-4531
(By postal transfer to Tokyo postal account No 9-86192, or cash delivery - Genkin Kakitome.)

- Current Issues are also available in major Japanese bookstores through YOHAN in Japan.

- Back Issues are available from Cross Currents.

- ***Outside Japan***:
Cross Currents
Language Institute
of Japan
4-14-1 Shiroyama
Odawara, Kanagawa 250
Japan
(Make checks payable to *Cross Currents* (LIOJ) drawn on a U.S. bank.)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ARE THESE ON YOUR READING LIST?

ISSN 0289-7938
全国語学教育学会
NOVEMBER 1988
VOL. XII, NO. 12
THE Language Teacher
THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS
JALT
¥350

JALT JOURNAL

Publications of

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

The Language Teacher
A monthly magazine with features, reviews, meeting announcements, employment opportunities, etc.

JALT Journal
A semi-annual journal featuring articles relevant to language teaching/learning in Japan and Asia

Annual Membership Fees (including subscriptions to both publications):
Domestic: Regular, ¥6,000; Joint, ¥10,000; Student, ¥4,000; Associate, ¥50,000
Overseas: sea mail, US$30; air mail, US$40
Send remittance by bankers draft in yen drawn on a Japanese bank, or dollars drawn on an American bank.
The postal giro account may also be used by international subscribers.
Postal furikae (giro) account: Kyoto 15892, "JALT"

JALT International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning
An annual event featuring over 300 lectures/workshops/demonstrations.
Over 2,000 participants yearly.

November 3–5, 1989 — Okayama
November 23–25, 1990 — Tokyo area
November 2–4, 1991 — To be announced

Send requests for further information and remittances to:
JALT, Lions Mansion Kawaramachi #111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-agaru
Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan. Tel.: (075) 361-5428; Fax: (075) 361-5429

Subscription form

RELC JOURNAL

A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and a subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is twelve Singapore dollars (S$12.00) for subscription within SEAMEO countries and US$12.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and send it to

The Publications Officer
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
RELC Building
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at S$7.00*/US$7.00 + per copy.

For the complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications Officer.

I enclose S$18.00*/US$18.00 + . Please send me the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for..

Name:..

Address: ....

....

....

* within SEAMEO countries
+ other countries

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Clarification:

The present members of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) are: Negara Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

GUIDELINES

A PERIODICAL FOR CLASSROOM LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Every issue of *Guidelines* is a unique collection of practical ideas that have direct usefulness for the classroom teacher. Articles are written in a simple, readable style.

• Vocabulary Teaching	June 1980	• Drama Activities	Dec. 1983
• Audio-Visual Aids	Dec. 1980	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No. 1)	June 1984
• Language Games	June 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No 2)	Dec. 1984
• Writing Activities	Dec. 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 1)	June 1985
• Study Skills	June 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 2)	Dec. 1985
• Group Activities	Dec. 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 8 No. 1)	June 1986
• Classrooms Tests	June 1983	• Classroom Interaction	Dec. 1986

From the June 1984 issues onwards each issue covers a variety of topics in its selection of articles.

Guidelines is published twice a year, in June and December.
Individual copies can be ordered for S$7.00/US$6.00. Reserve future copies with the detachable money-saving coupon below. The annual subscription is S$14.00 (within SEAMEO countries) and US$14.00 for other countries.

Please begin my subscription for Guidelines with the issue for

(month) ____________________ 19 ____________________.

Enclosed is S$/US$ .... (Bank draft/Money order)

Name .... (Block letters)

Address (in full) ....

....

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copy must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, e.g., the suffix-*s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221-222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14-16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, 221-254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

VOLUME 21 NUMBER 1 **JUNE 1990**

Articles

Rolf Palmberg	**Improving Foreign-Language Learners' Vocabulary Skills**	**1**
Annette Visser	**Learning Vocabulary Through Underlying Meanings: An Investigation of an Interactive Technique**	**11**
Cynthia D Melton	**Bridging the Cultural Gap: A Study of Chinese Students' Learning Style Preferences**	**29**
Roger Griffiths	**Facilitating Listening Comprehension through Rate-Control**	**55**
Ken Hyland	**A Genre Description of the Argumentative Essay**	**66**
Leah D Miller and Kyle Perkins	**ESL Reading Comprehension Instruction**	**79**
Yolanda Beh	**Current Research in Southeast Asia**	**95**

Book Reviews

Kazunori Nozawa	**Intercultural Communications between Japan and the United States**	**101**
Karl Koch	**Cultural Studies in Foreign Language Education**	**106**
Publications Received		**108**

500

PUBLISHED BY THE SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, SINGAPORE

Editorial Committee

Makhan L Tickoo *Editor*
Eugenius Sadtono *Review Editor*
Lim Kiat Boey
Thomas Khng
Yolanda Beh
Melchor Tatlonghari
John Honeyfield
Paroo Nihalani
Joseph Foley

NOTES FOR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Asia.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$18.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$18.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal*, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All [illegible]ons expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of the respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Regional Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization.

(Notes for Subscribers continued on inside back cover)

© REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1990
ISSN 0033-6882

5·1

RELC JOURNAL

Volume 21

Number 1

June 1990

RELC P373-90

512

Improving Foreign-Language Learners' Vocabulary Skills

Rolf Palmberg
Department of Teacher Education
Abo Akademi
Finland

Introduction and aim

Færch, Haastrup and Phillipson define vocabulary knowledge in a foreign language (FL) as a "continuum between ability to make sense of a word and ability to activate the word automatically for productive purposes" (Færch et al. 1984:100). As discussed elsewhere (Palmberg 1987, 1988), this definition suggests that for each particular learner there may be a varying number of FL words which are found at each specific point on the continuum at any given point in time. Thus, at one end of the continuum we find words that the learner has not come across before either in speech or in writing, but which he can nevertheless understand when encountered. Such *potential vocabulary* (Berman, Buchbinder and Beznedeznych 1968; cited in Takala 1984:68) is based on the learner's ability to make lexical inferences using *interlingual, intralingual* or *extralingual* cues to meaning (Carton 1971; Haastrup 1985). Towards the other end of the continuum we find what Berman et al. refer to as *real vocabulary*, which includes the words that the learner has already been confronted with during the learning process, and that he can either only understand (*passive real vocabulary*) or both understand and use (*active real vocabulary*; Berman et al. 1968; cited in Takala 1984:68). The latter distinction has been frequently referred to as *receptive* versus *productive vocabulary* in the literature (see e.g. Melka Teichroew 1982).

The growing interest in FL vocabulary learning has brought with it a number of unanswered questions. Are there, for example, transitional stages of learning through which foreign words pass? If so, is it possible to identify these stages (Levenston 1979, Meara 1980)? Assuming that such transitional stages exist, because, as Sharwood Smith puts it, "it seems quite implausible that learners should switch from alpha to omega in their lexical abilities" (Sharwood Smith 1984:238), are there any clear thresholds of the type "active threshold and passive" as suggested by Sharwood Smith (Levenston 1979:154) that the words must cross before they can be considered to be properly learned (Meara 1980)? Do all words, given time, pass from recognition knowledge to active production, or do some words remain forever passive (Levenston 1979)? Do words become fully integrated into the learner's mental lexicon only gradually (as implied in Meara 1980:227), or can they also jump straight into active

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

production from having been encountered and correctly understood by the learner for the very first time (cf. Madden 1980:113)? If so, under what conditions is this possible?

The aim of this paper is twofold: firstly, to discuss the ways in which foreign words are stored in learners' mental lexicons, and secondly, to present a series of activities and exercises based on this discussion, that aim at the improving of learners' receptive and productive vocabulary skills.

FL learners' mental lexicons

Relatively little is known about how FL learners' mental lexicons are organised. According to Meara, the mental lexicon comes in two major parts, with a phonological/orthographical code that identifies the basic form of a word and a semantic entry that specifies its meaning (Meara 1984:231). Forster, on the other hand, sees the mental lexicon as "a large master file" which consists of a number of "peripheral access files" where information about the spelling, phonology, syntax and semantics of each incorporated word is stored (Forster, as reported in Gairns & Redman 1986:88).

In the theoretical model described in Bialystok and Sharwood Smith (1985), the authors introduce two concepts that are central to all FL vocabulary learning and use: *lexical knowledge* and *lexical control*. In this model, lexical knowledge has been defined as "the way or form in which words are represented or stored in learners' mental lexicons" (Sharwood Smith 1984:239). Lexical control, on the other hand, is "the processing system used by learners for controlling that knowledge during actual performance" (Bialystok & Sharwood Smith 1985:104).

There are, obviously, differences between FL learners and native speakers as far as lexical knowledge and lexical control are concerned. One does not, for example, expect the mental lexicon of a learner to enable him to use FL words with the kind of fluency that characterises the words he uses in his mother tongue (cf. Meara 1982; Wallace 1982:27; Færch et al. 1984:98-99). The reason is that in practice, foreign words are typically stored in learners' mental lexicons in incomplete ways with, for example, half of the entry blank or with parts of the word missing (see e.g. Meara 1984:231). Yet psycholinguistic experiments show that learners too, like native speakers who cannot produce a certain word at will although they know that they "know" it, can often remember the initial or final letters of the required word, or they can fairly accurately state the number of syllables it contains (see e.g. Melka Teichroew 1982). For such tip-of-the-tongue words that are sometimes available for pro-

5·14

ductive purposes and sometimes not, Levenston introduced the term *threshold vocabulary* (Levenston 1979:154).

There are strong reasons to assume that semantically related words are stored together in the mental lexicon. Evidence supporting this assumption can be seen for example in the word-association experiments carried out in the Birkbeck Vocabulary Project in London (see Meara's papers) and in the findings of a research project on vocabulary learning and teaching at Åbo Akademi (see Palmberg's papers). The Åbo Akademi project concentrates on elementary-level Swedish-speaking learners of English as an FL (EFL). In one of the experiments requiring learners at two-week intervals to produce English words beginning with given letters, it was found that one major type of words produced were words that clustered around specific language areas or topics. The production of a name of a rock group, for example, tended to trigger in the learners the production of names of other rock groups (Palmberg 1987).

The findings of the Birkbeck experiments indicate that there exist systematic differences between the associations produced by FL learners and those produced by native speakers, i.e. that learner associations tend to be more varied, less homogenous and often quite unexpected. One reason could be that learners seem to have a tendency towards producing *clang associations*, i.e. responses which are primarily influenced by the form of the stimulus word, rather than by its meaning (Meara 1983:82). Yet many of such seemingly bizarre associations could often be explained by assuming that the stimulus word had been mistakenly identified by the learners as another word of a similar orthographical or phonological shape (Meara 1978; Meara & Ingle 1986), or that there had been influence from patterns of semantic networks in the learners' mother tongue (cf. Piper & Leicester 1980).

In a recent report, Gairns and Redman state that *word frequency* and *recency of use* are two of the most important factors that affect the storage and retrieval of FL words in a learner's mental lexicon. They compare the organisation of the mental lexicon to that of a pile of cards, where each card represents a word. The most frequently used words, they suggest, are "at the top of the pile" and therefore easier to retrieve. Using the same analogy they explain why recently used words are often more readily accessible than less recently used ones (Gairns & Redman 1986: 88-89), a suggestion which could also explain why another major type of words produced by the learners in the Åbo Akademi experiment referred to above, were words that had been repeated regularly in the class textbook (and especially such words that had been introduced and/or practised shortly prior to the test sessions (Palmberg 1987).

Another factor that seems to affect the storage and retrieval of words in a learner's mental lexicon is his personal *interests*. This assumption could, at least to some extent, explain why some words are more easily accessible for productive purposes than others. Thus, in the Åbo Akademi experiment referred to above, any variability found in the vocabulary-production patterns could be largely explained by the individual interests of the participating learners (Palmberg 1987). Further evidence supporting this view can be found in other experiments carried out in the Åbo Akademi project, particularly one that studied the effects of playing computer games on the learning of English vocabulary (Palmberg 1988a) and in an availability study using *computers* as the stimulus word (Palmberg 1989).

Availability studies, as described for example in Takala (1984:34-35), typically aim at discovering which words people tend to associate with given topics and differ from traditional word-association tasks in at least three important respects: firstly, their operation is not restricted to single words (native speakers especially have been found to produce also a large number of idioms and prefabricated patterns; cf. Færch et al. 1984:87); secondly, the occurrence of a particular word (whether the original stimulus word or not) has tended to bring into learners' minds not only that word, but also clusters of other words closely related to it (cf. Meara 1978:208); and thirdly, they can be directly aimed at a specific selection of topics made, for example, on the basis of learner interests or communicative needs (cf. Nation 1983:16).

Implications for FL teaching

Most of the research done in this field so far seems to point to the fact that words are stored in learners' mental lexicons in different kinds of associative networks. If this view is correct, there are, in general, two major options available to the FL teacher who wishes to exploit his knowledge about learners' associational behaviour in order to improve their receptive and productive vocabulary skills.

Option One

The first option emphasises the need to familiarize the learners with what could be called "native-based" exercises, i.e. exercises that specifically aim at the incorporation of words into appropriate semantic networks in such a way that the incorporated words can gradually take on the same meaningfulness for the learners as they have for native speakers. The exercises and activities presented below represent a cross-section of this sort of material, typically found in handbooks on vocabulary teaching (see e.g. Wallace 1982; Nation 1983; Gairns & Redman 1986; Morgan

& Rinvolucri 1986; Nation 1983) and in books on EFL games (e.g. Berman 1981; McCallum 1980). These exercises all attempt at directing the lexical associations of learners to match more closely those of native speakers (cf. Broughton 1977).

The first exercise is taken from Cunningsworth (1983a:20). It makes use of word relationships, and although this particular exercise is intended for advanced learners of EFL, similar examples for other proficiency levels are not difficult to find:

> The following words are written on the blackboard or an overhead projector: *bowl, drill, egg whisk, frying pan, ladle, mincer, saucepan, screwdriver, spanner,* and *wrench*. The learners have to divide the words into two groups of related words and then find for each group one word that describes all the words in that group. (Two suitable superordinates would be *tool* and *utensil*.) The learners are next asked to find a word that describes all the words in both groups. (*Implement* would be one such word.)

The following exercise from Nation (1983:54) attempts to activate learners' use of English collocations (see Cunningsworth 1983b for more exercises with idioms and collocations):

> The teacher writes the word *save* on the blackboard. The learners, working individually or in pairs, are asked to find words that can combine with *save*, such as *money, time, souls, people, face,* and *energy,* by consulting their dictionaries.

The *Odd Man Out* game, where learners practise discrimination between lexical sets by identifying the word that does not belong in a group of given words, is an excellent activity that develops meaning relationships in learners and helps them explore links between words that may otherwise remain unobserved. Confronted, for example, with the words suggested in White (1988:10), i.e. *uncle, grandfather, niece, nephew,* and *brother,* learners working in pairs or in small groups often come up with different answers, a fact which will further arouse their interest in common elements of meaning of particular words. In White's example, possible solutions are *grandfather,* which represents a member of the older generation, or *niece*, which represents the only female in the group.

The word-availability technique referred to earlier in the text can be successfully used as a learning activity in its own right, whether for recall or recycling purposes (cf. Rivers & Temperley 1978), or, it can be used as a basis for further activities. For example, in what has become known as *process writing* (see e.g. Björk et al. 1987), learners are first asked to write down any English words that they associate with a given stimulus word (which could, in order to motivate the learners further, be one that appeals to their individual interests). The produced words are next compared and discussed in class and then grouped and arranged by the learners in what has been referred to as *mind-maps* (see e.g. Dougill 1985), which, if desired, can be used as bases for their first written drafts of an essay.

Learners may also be asked to read through a carefully selected reading passage and underline all words that they consider are relevant to the topic of the text (suggested in White 1988). Such an activity not only establishes potential links between single words; it also adds to their contextualised meaning and to the predictive skills of the learners.

Option Two

The second option emphasises the need to exploit any associational links learners tend to create (whether consciously or unconsciously) between individual words. These links are *not*, contrary to the links practised in the exercises exemplified above, necessarily restricted to potentially native-like associations. In fact, most links of this type are based on the learners' mother tongue or any other FL that they may know.

In an unpublished paper from 1982, Cohen summarizes the major types of associations consciously used by learners to improve their performance in learning new words by the use of *mnemonic links*. According to Cohen, associations can be created in at least the following eight ways:

1. By linking the word to the sound of a word in the native language, to the sound of a word in the language being learned, or to the sound of a word in another language.
2. By attending to the meaning of a part or several parts of the word.
3. By noting the structure of part of the word or all of it.
4. By placing the word in the topic group in which it belongs.
5. By visualizing the word in isolation or in a written context.
6. By linking the word to the situation in which it appeared.
7. By creating a mental image of the word.
8. By associating some physical sensation to the word.

The idea of making associational links in order to activate one's memory and improve learning is not new. According to Lorayne and Lucas (1975), who describe and exemplify different types of possible links in their *Memory Book*, this method was used successfully more than 2000 years ago by Greek and Roman philosophers.

For FL learning and teaching purposes the method has been modified and introduced under various names. Thus Raugh and Atkinson, who call their method the *key word method*, suggest that the Spanish word for 'horse', i.e. *caballo*, may be broken down by an English-speaking person into *cab* and *eye*. The mental image could then be a taxi cab pulled by a horse with a gigantic eye (Raugh & Atkinson, 1975). Introducing *SALT* ("System of Accelerative Learning Techniques"), Schuster similarly exemplifies how the English word *maremma* could be linked to its meaning through its mental image: A girl, Emma, chained to a pole, is standing on the beach watching the tide rising above her waist. The associational cue, according to Schuster, should be obvious to everyone: *Emma,* in a dil*emma,* at the mar*emma*" (Schuster 1976).

Some of the most obvious links made between single words are no doubt those between formally similar words sharing the same meaning in two languages, pairs of which can probably be found in any two languages. Hashim and Chen's *Elementary Malay Conversation* (1988), for example, contains at least fifty Malay words that can easily be interpreted by anyone who has some knowledge of English, such as *universiti, restoran, sandwic, kechap, doktor* and *klinik*. Associational links created between formally similar words in two languages can be used to speed up vocabulary learning considerably, especially for learners who are learning an FL that is closely related to their mother tongue. In one of the experiments carried out in the Åbo Akademi project, for example, comprehension was shown to be greatly facilitated for learners with no or elementary knowledge of English when the target text fully exploited formal similarities between English and Swedish words, excluded "false friends" altogether, and, at the same time, related as much as possible to the background knowledge and interests of the learners (Palmberg 1988b).

Conclusions

It seems most plausible that there exists a potentially complex network of associational links between individual words stored in the learner's mental lexicon. Some of the links, for example those based on semantic relationships, are typically native-like, as are most of the topical and situational links. Other links again are typical for FL learners, especially the ones that are based on formal similarities or translational equivalence between FL words and words in the mother tongue (or any other language the learner may know). Then there are links that are based on experience, and, finally, links which are created (often imaginatively) specifically for learning purposes. Therefore, in order that FL learners may activate foreign words efficiently and automatically for whatever purpose, the teacher must create in them an awareness of the potential power of both major types of associational link, and, furthermore, must teach them the ability to form their associational links into networks of high valency; these are networks in the mental lexicon where most of the incorporated words are linked up with as many other words as possible (cf. Meara 1986). In doing so, the teacher can easily encourage the learner to try harder and at the same time ensure that FL vocabulary learning is as meaningful and enjoyable as possible.

References

Berman, M. 1981. *Playing and working with words*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Berman, I.M., Buchbinder, V.A. & Beznedeznych, M.L. 1968. Formirovanie potentsialnogo slovarnogo zapasa pri obucenii russkomu jazyku kak inostrannomu. *Russkij jazyk za rubezom* 4, 57-60.

Bialystok, E. & Sharwood Smith, M. 1985. Interlanguage is not a state of mind: An evaluation of the construct for second-language acquisition. *Applied Linguistics* 6, 101-117.

Björk, L., Knight, M. & Wikborg, E. 1987. *The writing process*. Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet.

Broughton, G. 1977. Native speaker insight. *English Language Teaching Journal* 32:1, 253-57.

Carton, A. 1971. Inferencing: A process in using and learning language. In Pimsleur, P. & Quinn, T. (eds): *The psychology of second language learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 45-58.

Cohen, A. 1982. Vocabulary. Unpublished paper.

Cunningsworth, A. 1983a. Making vocabulary links. *Practical English Teaching* 3:4, 19-20.

Cunningsworth, A. 1983b. Teaching tips for vocabulary 2. *Practical English Teaching* 4:1, 26-27.

Dougill, J. 1985. EFL mind-maps. *Practical English Teaching* 5:4, 49-50.

Færch, C., Haastrup, K. & Phillipson, R. 1984. *Learner language and language learning*. Köpenhamn: Gyldendals sprogbibliotek and Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Gairns, R. & Redman, S. 1986. *Working with words. A guide to teaching and learning vocabulary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Haastrup, K. 1985. Lexical inferencing — a study of procedures in reception. *Scandinavian Working Papers on Bilingualism* 5, 3-86.

Hashim, A. B. & Chen, P. 1988. *Elementary Malay Conversation. Singapore 1988: Intellectual Publishing Co. Revised Edition.*

Levenston, E. 1979. *Second language acquisition: Issues and problems. Interlanguage Studies Bulletin Utrecht* 4:2, 147-160.

Lorayne, H. & Lucas, J. 1975. *The memory book*. New York: Ballantine Books.

Madden, J.F. 1980. Developing pupils' vocabulary-learning skills. In *Guidelines for vocabulary teaching*. Singapore: *RELC Journal Supplement* 3, 111-117.

McCallum, G. 1980. *101 word games*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Meara, P. 1978. Learners' word associations in French. *Interlangauge Studies Bulletin Utrecht* 3:2, 192-211.

Meara, P. 1980. Vocabulary acquisition: A neglected aspect of language learning. *Language Teaching & Linguistics: Abstracts* 13:4, 221-246.

Meara, P. 1982. Word associations in a foreign language. A report on the Birkbeck Vocabulary Project. *Nottingham Linguistic Circular* 11:2, 29-38.

Meara, P. 1983. *Vocabulary in a second language*. London: CILT Specialised Bibliography 3.

Meara, P. 1984. The study of lexis in interlanguage. In Davies, A., Criper, C. & Howatt, A.R.P. (eds): *Interlanguage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 225-235.

Meara, P. 1986. Vocabulary knowledge in L1 and L2. Paper presented at the Nordic Summer School on Transfer in Language Learning, Kumlinge (Finland).

Meara, P. & Ingle, S. 1986. The formal representation of words in an L2 speaker's lexicon. *Second Language Research* 2:2, 160-171.

Melka Teichroew, F. 1982. Receptive vs. productive vocabulary: A survey. *Interlanguage Studies Bulletin Utrecht* 6:2, 5-33.

Morgan, J. & Rinvolucri, M. 1986. *Vocabulary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nation, I.S.P. 1983. *Teaching and learning vocabulary*. Wellington: Victoria University.

Nation, I.S.P. 1988. *Teaching and learning vocabulary*. Wellington: Victoria University. Revised Edition.

Palmberg, R. 1987. Patterns of vocabulary development in foreign-language learners. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 9, 201-220.

Palmberg, R. 1988a. Computer games and foreign-language vocabulary learning. *English Langauge Teaching Journal* 42:4, 247-252.

Palmberg, R. 1988b. On lexical inferencing and language distance. *Journal of Pragmatics* 12, 207-214.

Palmberg, R. 1988c. Five experiments on EFL vocabulary learning: a project report. Submitted.

Palmberg, R. 1989. Computer vocabulary — an availability study. To appear in *Scandinavian Working Papers on Bilingualism*.

Piper, T.H. & Leicester, P.F. 1980. *Word Association Behaviour as an Indicator of English Language Proficiency.* Arlington, Virginia: *ERIC Document* nr ED 227 651.

Raugh, M. & Atkinson, R. 1975. A mnemonic method for learning second-language vocabulary. *Journal of Educational Psychology* 67, 1-16.

Rivers, W. & Temperley, M. 1978. *A practical guide to the teaching of English as a second language.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schuster, D. 1976. A preliminary evaluation of the suggestive-accelerative Lozanov method of teaching beginning Spanish. *Journal of Suggestive-Accelerative Learning and Teaching* 1:1, 41-47.

Sharwood Smith, M. 1984. Discussion of Meara, P.: The study of lexis in interlanguage. In Davies, A., Criper, C. & Howatt, A.R.P. (eds): *Interlanguage.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 236-239.

Takala, S. 1984. *Evaluation of students' knowledge of English vocabulary in the Finnish comprehensive school.* Jyväskylä: *Reports from the Institute for Educational Research* 350.

Wallace, M. 1982. *Teaching Vocabulary.* London: Heinemann.

White, C. 1988. The role of associational patterns and semantic networks in vocabulary development. *English Teaching Forum* 26:4, 91-11.

Learning Vocabulary Through Underlying Meanings: An Investigation of an Interactive Technique

Annette Visser
English Language Institute
Wellington

Abstract

This study investigated the effects of a task-based vocabulary learning technique which focuses learners' attention on the underlying meaning of a word. The words selected for the study came from Xue and Nation's University Word List (1984). The subjects were a class of adult second language learners preparing for English-medium university study.

In the experimental treatment, learners were exposed to different meanings of a polysemous word and were required to perform a task relating to each meaning. A further task required them to state the underlying meaning of the word. In the comparison treatment, learners were exposed to a single meaning of a word and they performed three tasks relating to that meaning. The subjects were then tested to see if they could select the correct meaning of further uses of the polysemous word. It was predicted that the experimental exercises would lead to good quality of discussion of underlying meaning and also to superior test performance by the experimental group.

The results showed that the experimental exercises encouraged high quality of discussion. Although the experimental group did not outperform the comparison group, subjects in the experimental group were significantly more likely to utilise context clues to determine word meaning.

Introduction

A long-time neglected aspect of language teaching and learning, vocabulary is currently enjoying a renewed interest. One area, however, which has received little attention at a practical classroom level is that of polysemous words i.e. words that have more than one meaning. Durkin (1985) points to the problems children experience in interpreting polysemous words. Whereas context facilitates the interpretation of homonymous words such as (river-)bank and (savings-)bank, because these have distinct unrelated meanings, it may not be so helpful for understanding polysemous words. This is because the distribution between the main and other meanings is not so clear. Durkin's research findings show that children often interpret polysemous words in their main sense, regardless of context.

In order to arrive at a description of word meaning that has a practical application in the classroom, it is useful to examine the roles of collocation and polysemy, as well as the relationship between underlying meaning and sense and reference.

This article reports on a study which investigated a vocabulary learning technique that draws learners' attention to the underlying meaning of a word. It describes the theoretical rationale for the technique, and presents qualitative and quantitative data as to its effectiveness.

The Role of Collocation and Polysemy in Word Meaning

Firth (1957) was the first to suggest that collocation represented an important aspect of the meaning of a word, so that "one of the meanings of *night* is its collocability with *dark*" (p. 196). Similarly, Leech (1974) defines collocative meaning as consisting of "the associations a word acquires on account of the meanings which tend to occur in its environment" (p. 20). Thus *pretty* and *handsome* both mean 'good looking' but can be distinguished by the words they collocate with.

This interest in lexical rather than grammatical patterns of English has led to the current climate in which it has been suggested that "language teaching has much to gain from collocational studies" (Carter and McCarthy, 1988:33). Martin (1984), for example, describes collocational information as "a vital component in the learning of new vocabulary in a second language: one does not really know a word until one knows its collocational profile" (p. 133).

If we were to investigate the extent to which a new collocation represents a new meaning, there would be a range of possible interpretations. On the one hand, it could be argued that a word has a slightly different meaning every time it is used. For example, that the word 'flowing' does not have quite the same meaning in the phrases 'a flowing river', 'flowing tears' and 'flowing words'. On the other hand, a word could be said to have a basic, underlying meaning which remains constant for each use of that word. For example, 'cone' has a single meaning that relates to its shape and this meaning underlies the road marking cone, the icecream cone, and the pine cone.

This issue has been raised by Carter (1987), who refers to "idiom-prone" items (i.e. many of the very frequent words like *go, give, break, hit, take, come*) which have extensive collocations and says that there is a problem confronting lexicographers as to:

> whether the idiom-proneness and thus polysemy attributed to them is

> (...) due more to contextualised and inferential meanings when, in fact, the single inherent general sense conveyed by the item remains constant. From the example: *break the ice, break a rule, break the speedlimit, break a cup, break a promise, break a leg,* it could be argued that the meaning of these phrases cannot easily be separated from their meaningfulness to individuals who bring different kinds of knowledge to the process of interpretation. The question is whether numerous separate sub-entries are required or whether the basic sense of 'break' should be explained, with some clear indication that users can generate a wide range of possible meanings according to context (p. 11).

As Carter suggests, the issue of polysemy is a problematical one. Durkin (1986) describes it as "not an occasional phenomenon in language, but a fundamental and pervasive characteristic" (p. 77), and Ziff (1967, cited in Durkin) estimates that more than half of all words in English have more than one meaning.

Yet not all are agreed on the incidence of polysemy in English. Weinreich (1963/1980), Stock (1983) and Moon (1987) all question the premise on which lexicographers have tended to operate, namely that polysemous words have distinct, distinguishable senses, and Ruhl, in a series of articles published in *LACUS Forum* (1975–78), argues strongly against polysemy. He says that common verbs like *take, come, give, go, break,* and *hit* are in fact monosemic and "are judged as polysemic by dictionaries and linguists because their essential, general meanings are confused with contextual, inferential meanings" (1978:93).

Helpful insights into the collocational behaviour of words have been made possible by the COBUILD Project out of which has come the *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* (1987). Data from the COBUILD Project points away from the traditional concept of meaning as being independent and decontextualised, and supports the view that meaning and word use are inseparably linked. Whereas collocation was earlier interpreted as applying to fixed expressions of a more rigid nature, the COBUILD data reveals that the collocational patterns of English are more widespread than previously thought.

Underlying Meaning

The discussion thus far suggests the importance of context, and hence collocation, for word meaning. It also points to the presence of a 'core' meaning of polysemous words. Ruhl (1977) refers to a "subconscious meaning that cannot be transformed by rational means into a paraphrase". Kellerman, however, defines the core meaning of a word as "the most usual, unmarked meaning, the one that dictionary makers and ordinary people would most readily provide as a definition of that 'word''' (1979:47). Similarly, Sinclair says of core meaning that "most people who know the language well will agree that there is such a meaning and they will probably agree which it is" (1987a:xix). Elsewhere, Sinclair (1987b) hypothesises that the core meaning is the most frequent independent sense. Durkin (1986) agrees that for most polysemous words, one sense seems basic to native speakers and other senses of the word are derived from this basic sense.

These differences in understanding of core meaning seem to be paralleled in the distributions made in linguistic semantics between sense, denotation and reference. The traditional approach has been to draw a two-fold distinction between 'sense' (i.e. the system of sense relations — such as synonymy, antonymy and hyponymy — between linguistic elements) and 'reference' (i.e. the relation between linguistic elements and the things referred to). Lyons (1977), however, has distinguished further between sense and denotation and it is this finer distinction which is useful from a pedagogical point of view. Lyons defines sense as the relation between "the words or expressions of a single language independently of the relationship, if any, which holds between those words or expressions and their referents or denotata" (p. 206). He uses the term 'denotatum' for the classes of objects etc. to which an expression correctly applies, in others words, the set of potential referents of a word. Thus Ruhl's "essential general meanings" clearly refer to the 'sense' of a word. Kellerman, Sinclair and Durkin, however, appear to be referring to 'denotation' or the most salient denotata of a word.

In this paper the term 'sense' is used, as Lyons uses it, to mean the general decontextualised meaning of a word, a meaning which becomes more specific when it interacts with context and world knowledge. (The sense of a word is hereafter termed "the underlying meaning" in order to avoid the possible confusion generated by the term "core" which is generally used, not to refer to sense or underlying meaning, but to the most salient or most common denotata of a word).

The above discussion suggests that it is possible for a learner to know the sense of a word without having a complete knowledge of its denotation. Thus, a learner who knows that the word *neck* can be correctly applied to both a person and a river but not to a piece of land, can be said to understand the sense of *neck* but not all its denotata. One might predict that such a learner, if confronted with the phrase *neck of land*, would understand it because of their knowledge of the sense. If asked to make a judgement as to whether the word *neck* can correctly be applied to *land*, such a learner might say "no". This response would not indicate faulty knowledge of the sense, but rather an incomplete knowledge of its denotation. For the purposes of teaching and learning the meanings of words, it would therefore appear that knowing a word means knowing the full range of denotata to which the sense can be applied. In other words, it means knowing all the collocations of a word.

Current vocabulary teaching practice does not sufficiently take into account the sense of a word. Some recent vocabulary coursebooks do concern themselves with various sense relations between words but nowhere is there a consideration of the underlying conceptual meaning of a word. The presence of this underlying meaning would seem to suggest that it is more efficient to teach this meaning together with examples of collocations — or denotata — than to treat each separate occurrence as a different meaning. In this way a learner who is familiar with the underlying meaning of the word *branch* is more likely to understand the meaning of a *branch-office* or the *branch of a river* when meeting the word for the first time than a learner who is simply acquainted with the meaning of a *branch of a tree*. Looking at this another way, we can say that by teaching separately the different denotata of a word, the learning task imposed on the learner is multiplied. This is especially true in cases where the learner's mother tongue has several translations for polysemous uses of a single word in English. In contrast, by drawing the learner's attention to the sense of a word we may help, not only to give the learner a better understanding of the word, but also to lessen the learning burden.

The above discussion has attempted to present a description of word meaning that is useful for the classroom teacher. It thus provides much of the theoretical justification for the technique used in this study. The following part looks briefly at some of the factors contributing to successful vocabulary teaching and explains how these have been integrated with current theoretical thinking on word meaning to produce the experimental technique under investigation.

Principles Underlying Effective Vocabulary Teaching

Stahl and Fairbanks (1986) conducted a meta-analysis of about 70 studies investigating the effects of vocabulary instruction on the learning of word meanings and on comprehension. They concluded that the following principles seem to underlie effective vocabulary teaching:

1 providing learners with both definitional and contextual information about words
2 encouraging learners to process information about words at a deeper level
3 providing learners with multiple exposures to a word

By definitional information, Stahl and Fairbanks mean knowledge about the relationship between a word and other known words as reflected in a dictionary definition or in a network model of semantic theory. They suggest that definitional knowledge is insufficient to account for all the knowledge we have about words. There is also contextual knowledge, so called because of its origins in our acquisition of the meaning of the word through exposure to the word in various contexts. Stahl and Fairbanks define contextual knowledge as "knowledge of a core concept and how that knowledge is realised in different contexts" (p. 74). They suggest that several exposures to a word in meaningful contexts may be necessary before a learner can acquire "decontextualised" knowledge of a word meaning.

The vocabulary learning technique devised for the present study is one which incorporates both contextual and definitional information. Learners were required, in groups of three, to complete for a given word two tasks based on both types of information. A third task focused learner attention on the underlying meaning of a word. (See Figure 1 and discussion below for further details).

Research Design

The subjects were a class of adult non-native speakers attending 3-month English proficiency course in preparation for university study. Using a matched-pair system of assignment, half of the class were allocated to the experimental group and half to the comparison group. Test data was analysed for 16 subjects only (8 experimental and 8 comparison) since absences or early departures from the course meant that some subjects did not sit the pre-test or post-test.

The words selected for the study came from Xue and Nation's University Word List (1984) which assumes a knowledge of West's *General Service List of English Words* (1953). The University Word List is based on the lists of Campion and Elley (1971), Praninskas (1972), Lynn (1973) and Ghadessy (1979), all of which were compiled by studying the vocabulary of first year university texts.

The words were arranged in 20 groups of 8 words and each group was examined to minimise the possibility of cross association in learning the meanings of the words. The study ran for 20 consecutive teaching days. Each daily session was followed by a multiple-choice test in which further meanings of the target words were placed in a sentence context. A pre-test containing all the test items in the daily tests was administered prior to the study. A post-test containing a sample of the target words was administered three days after completion of the study. The experimental and comparison groups were audio-taped each day.

The Underlying Meaning Technique

In the experimental treatment, subjects were given a sheet of paper with the target words for that day, together with their definitions and accompanying tasks (see Figure 1). There were three columns of definitions and/or tasks for each target word. Columns 1 and 2 each contained one sense of the word and a short task to complete. The explanations of the meanings of the words were taken directly from the Collins *COBUILD* dictionary. The tasks in columns 1 and 2 were short problem solving tasks involving an application of the target word. Wherever possible these tasks were based on the example phrases or sentences in *COBUILD* so that the contexts would reflect common collocations. The third task was identical for all words and required learners to identify the similar features or ideas in the column 1 and 2 meanings. It was through this task that the learners were encouraged to focus their attention on the underlying meaning of a word.

If you *release* a person or animal that has been in captivity, you set them free.	*Release* is a feeling that you have of no longer suffering or having to worry about something.	Say what the similar features/ideas are in Columns 1 and 2.
Give a reason why a prisoner might be released.	Describe a time when you have had a feeling of release.	
If people or things *saturate* a place or object, they fill it so completely that no more can be added.	If someone or something is *saturated*, they are extremely wet.	Say what the similar features/ideas are in Columns 1 and 2.
Describe what happens when cheap imported goods saturate the market.	Describe what can happen if you get saturated with sweat.	

Fig. 1 An experimental exercise

Learners worked in groups of three and completed one task each per target word. The tasks were alternated so that the same student did not complete the column 3 task each time. In this way, although each learner had ultimate responsibility for a single task per target word, the interactive nature of the task meant that the attention of all the learners was directed to each task.

The Comparison Technique

Exercises for the comparison group were selected to reflect as closely as possible current vocabulary teaching practice. It was felt that the comparison group needed to make good progress also in order to justify the time spent on the activities during the 4 weeks of the study. It was, however, anticipated that the use of such activities would lead to a reduced gap in performance between the experimental and comparison groups.

The first comparison group task was identical to that of the experimental group (see Figure 2). The second and third column tasks also related to the meaning presented in the column 1 so that all tasks focus on a single sense of the word. The tasks fell into the following three categories: collocation, sentence forming and semantic field. For each target word there was a production and a recognition task.

If you *release* a person or animal that has been in captivity, you set them free. Give a reason why a prisoner might be released.	Name four things that you can *release*.	Say whether this is a meaningful sentence: He *released* when he saw that nothing was wrong
If people or things *saturate* a place or object, they fill it so completely that no more can be added. Describe what happens when cheap imported goods saturate the market.	Use *saturate* in a sentence.	Explain the relationship between *saturate* and — swamp — fill
When light *diffuses* or when something *diffuses* light, the light spreads in lots of directions and shines faintly over a wide area rather than shining brightly in just one place. Give reasons for diffusing light.	Give a more general word for *diffuse*.	Say which of the following are possible: — curtains *diffuse* light — clouds *diffuse* light — buildings *diffuse* light

Fig. 2 A comparison exercise

Test

Each test item contained a distractor relating to the meaning presented in column 1 (distractor b in the example in Figure 3). The remaining distractors were plausible meanings for the test context (distractors c and d in Figure 3). It was predicted that there would be a greater tendency on the part of the comparison group to select this distractor since this was the only meaning they were exposed to in the exercise. In other words, it was anticipated that they would make less use than the experimental group of the context clues present in the test items. The experimental subjects, on the other hand, who were exposed to two meanings of the target word, and who also attempted to express the underlying meaning, were expected to pay greater attention to context clues and therefore to select the distractor relating to the column 1 meaning less often.

The *press release* caused a lot of anger.

a) announcement to the newspapers
b) newspaper freedom
c) newspaper disagreement
d) government control of the newspapers

Fig. 3 Test item for *release*

The relationship between the exercises and the test and between the two treatments is summarised in Figure 4.

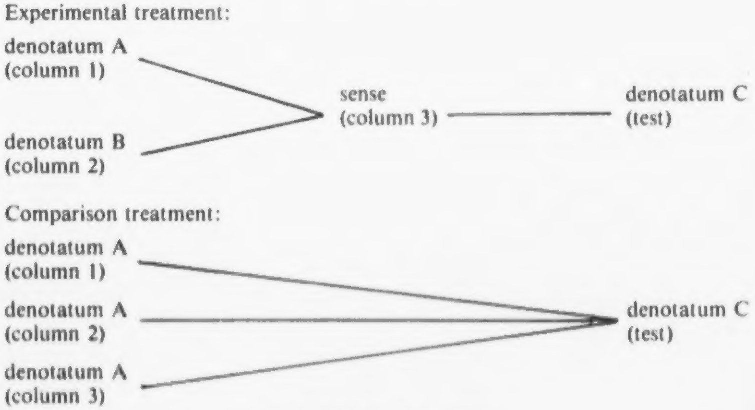

Experimental treatment:
denotatum A (column 1)
denotatum B (column 2)
sense (column 3)
denotatum C (test)
Comparison treatment:
denotatum A (column 1)
denotatum A (column 2)
denotatum A (column 3)
denotatum C (test)

Fig. 4 Aspects of Meaning

If we consider the treatments in terms of sense and denotation, the comparison group was exposed to various denotata, all relating to the same dictionary meaning of the target word (columns 1-3) and the experimental group was exposed to a range of denotata, relating to two dictionary meanings of the word (columns 1 and 2), as well as the sense of the word (column 3).

Comparative Test Performance

The tests were analysed to examine the comparative performance of the experimental and comparison groups (see Figure 5).

	Occasions		
	Pretest	Daily Tests	Posttest[1]
Experimental Group	124 n = 8	166 n = 6.9[2]	213 n = 4
Comparison Group	125 n = 8	145 n = 6.9[2]	217 n = 4

[1] Adjusted to take account of differing number of items.

[2] The mean number of subjects present for the 18 daily tests (due to absences). Only data for matched pairs included.

Fig. 5 Mean Scores for 2 Groups of Subjects on the Same Set of Words on 3 Occasions

The results are as follows:

1. The pre-test reveals an equivalent level of vocabulary knowledge at the beginning of the study for both experimental and comparison groups.
2. The daily tests reveal marginally better performance by the experimental group.
3. The post-test reveals marginally better performance by the comparison group.

There was therefore no significant difference in performance between the experimental and comparison groups. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that the tests were not sufficiently sensitive to incremental learning. The test required subjects to distinguish between often very closely related meanings and one of the distractors was a meaning presented in the activity. (See Nagy, Herman and Anderson, 1985, for a discussion of the incremental nature of vocabulary learning).

A further explanation for the lack of difference could be the nature of the comparison tasks. Because they were based on current recommended vocabulary teaching practice and were also interactive, the difference between the two groups may have been too slight.

	column 1 distractor		other incorrect answer		total
Experimental group		%		%	
Sessions					
3-8	167	55	139	45	306
9-14	124	41	177	59	301
15-20	104	47	115	51	219
Total	395	143	431	156	826
Average		48		52	
Comparison group					
Sessions					
3-8	229	68	109	32	338
9-14	174	52	159	48	333
15-20	139	57	105	43	244
Total	542	177	373	123	915
Average		59		41	

Fig. 6 Incorrect Test Answers

One significant result, however, was the difference between the groups in their selection of wrong test answers. As predicted, there was a marked tendency for the comparison group to choose the column 1 distractor in its selection of wrong answers. Figure 6 shows that the column 1 distractor represents 48% of incorrect answers for the experimental group and 59% of incorrect answers for the comparison group. A chi-square analysis was performed which showed these results to be highly significant ($p < .0000$).

The comparison group's performance was therefore consistent with that of learners who knew only one meaning of a word. The experimental group, however, performed in a way that suggests they were better able to recognise that the column 1 distractor could not be correct given the context.

We may conclude from this that the experimental group had been alerted, to a greater extent than the comparison group, to the role played by context in determining word meaning. Whereas the comparison group tended to ignore the context and select the meaning which was most familiar, the experimental group tended to take the context into account when deciding the meaning of a word.

Thus although the tests did not show superior performance by the experimental group, from a pedagogical point of view it would appear that having learners focus on underlying meaning is more useful for reading purposes. For example, helping learners acquire a knowledge of underlying meaning seems better preparation for guessing words in context than requiring them to name opposites and superordinates, or to judge whether collocations are correct. This is supported by the finding that the experimental group was more sensitive to the context of the test items.

Quality of interaction

The audio-taped data was analysed to examine the quality of discussion of underlying meaning in the experimental group and the discussion of the underlying meaning of each word was assigned to one of the following categories.

Category 1. Incorrect
Category 2. Satisfactory
Category 3. Good

Category One: Incorrect Expressions of Underlying Meaning

Category 1 (see Figure 7) contains all incorrect expressions of underlying meaning. It also includes instances where the underlying meaning task was omitted, where the teacher intervened in the task and provided an answer, and where the discussion was partly or completely inaudible. The first two sessions, which functioned as practice sessions, were excluded from this and subsequent analyses.

Category Two: Satisfactory Expressions of Underlying Meaning

Category 2 contains satisfactory expressions of underlying meaning. Although satisfactory, these were sometimes incomplete in that a semantic feature was omitted or added unnecessarily, or the underlying meaning was not clearly stated.

e.g. *diverge*
means different from something else....quite different from something else....not exact the same thing....quite different from something else

Here the important semantic feature of 'being initially the same but moving away from' is omitted.

e.g. *incline*
the similarity is that something force you toward something

Here the word 'force' is too strong.

e.g. *vein*
the shape is very similar

Here no attempt was made to describe the shape.

Also sometimes the underlying meaning was expressed in a cumulative fashion whereby all the necessary semantic features are present but are not explicitly related to each other.

e.g. *coincide*
same time....yes happening at the same time and agree with something

Category Three: Good Expressions of Underlying Meaning

Category 3 contains 'good' expressions of underlying meaning. These expressed the significant semantic features of the target word.

e.g. *conserve*

A. conserve is mean you be careful in the way that you want to use something....you keep it to use for a long time

B. protect it from

A. protect

mature

A. mature....that mean not adult....mature....if someone mature they become more fully developed....that mean they become more developed....their personality and emotions or behaviour that mean (...) when a child or young animal mature it become adult and this not become adult but become

B. this just age....this is character characteristic and experience of something....just like this is

A. yeah but the similar....I think the similar is to become bigger ....become more and more....become bigger and bigger....this one become fully developed....this one become adult

B. developed

Some very effective underlying meanings were those which referred explicity to the column 1 and 2 meanings.

e.g. *stratum*

A. the similar is the layer....this is a social layer level
B. similar is group
A. group but different level....you look....class education and power....level level....because this....the people....people stand at different social level....level line or level

contingent

the contingent is the people representing a country or group....sometime they might be representing a country but sometimes representative of army

Figure 7 shows the classification of the discussions of underlying meaning into the qualitative categories described above.

	Categ 1 incorrect	Categ 2 satisfactory	Categ 3 good	total
session				
3-8	22	31	43	96
9-14	12	47	37	96
15-20	13	43	40	96
total	47	121	120	288

Fig. 7 Quality of Discussion of Underlying Meaning

A chi-square analysis was carried out to test for improvement over time but this was found to be not significant. In fact with the exception of sessions 3-8, the quality of discussion for the last two groups of sessions (9-14 and 15-20) is very similar. The major difference in the earlier sessions occurs in the 'incorrect' category, which contains a relatively large number (5) of discussions which were included here because of teacher intervention, something which did not occur in later sessions. These figures suggest that the subjects reached their end level of quality of discussion quite early in the study.

We can see from Figure 7 that the subjects expressed underlying meaning satisfactorily or well more than 80% of the time. Of the discussions of underlying meaning in Category One (comprising 16% of all discussions), only 15 (or 5%) were actually incorrect.

Discussion

The experimental technique resulted in good discussion of underlying meaning. The fact that a large proportion of the expressions of underlying meaning fall within the category of 'satisfactory' rather than 'good' could perhaps be accounted for by the incremental nature of vocabulary learning. Further exposures to the target words may be necessary to develop a more complete knowledge of their meanings. The 'satisfactory' category thus acknowledges the value of correct partial knowledge of word meaning.

In addition to the underlying meaning task, a decisive role was also played by the two previous tasks, each of which focused on a particular meaning of the word. The level of processing required by many of these tasks can be seen in the example below.

dynamic

A. <reads the definition: A dynamic is a force of society, history or the mind that produces change > is a force produce <reads task: Name a possible dynamic in rural society > possible dynamic in rural society rural society? rural uh city....around city
B. no rural is
A. countryside
B. yeah village countryside
A. a possible dynamic....force....what kind of force?
B. what kind of force....this is force?
A. produce change
B. power power of society
C. yeah
B. produces change?
A. produce change
B. produces change
A. dynamic dynamic....the rural society
B. the power of society history or the mind that produces change
A. what kind of force produce change in the countryside....in the rural society? I think maybe the farmer become very rich and the farmer wants go to city....go downtown become businessman
B. mm
A. maybe the wealthy is one kind of force produce change
B. aah yeah yeah mmm
A. mm money....the farmer....rural society
C. I see

This example also shows the subjects working together to clarify the meaning of the target word in order to be able to complete the task.

As well as discussions about word meaning, the tasks also encouraged many other kinds of interaction (for example, correcting, pronunciation, repeating words and structures, bringing other learners back to the task, and requesting others to elaborate on their answers).

Conclusion

There is a large and growing body of research that shows that interaction between learners is important for language learning. Long and Porter (1985) suggest that there are at least five pedagogical arguments to support group work in second language learning. These are the opportunities it provides for increasing the amount of language practice, for improving the quality of learner interaction, for individualising instruction, for creating a positive classroom atmosphere and for increasing learner motivation. Thus any classroom technique which has learner interaction as one of its central features should contribute not only to the learning of the particular language item that it focuses on, but also to the general acquisition of the target language. It was certainly true of this particular technique that it aroused a high level of learner interest. It has subsequently been used with other classes with comparable success, a major factor contributing to its appeal being the scope it gives for interaction.

Further research is required to test the effectiveness of the underlying meaning technique with regard to learning gains. If attention to underlying meaning does help the understanding of an unfamiliar meaning, then a larger group of subjects or a greater difference between the experimental and comparison treatments may be needed to show this effect. In terms of the nature of the interaction, however, the technique can be regarded as successful. Unlike learning words from lists or comparable techniques, the underlying meaning technique exposes learners to a good deal of information about a word. In addition to word meaning, learners also encounter common collocations and contexts of use. The accompanying tasks encourage repetition of the word at a deep level of processing.

References

Campion, Mary E and Elley, Warwick B (1971) *An Academic Vocabulary List* Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

Carter, Ronald (1987) "Vocabulary and second/foreign language teaching" *Language* 20, 1:3-16.

Carter, Ronald and McCarthy, M (1988) *Vocabulary and Language Teaching* Harlow, Essex: Longman.

Durkin, K (ed) (1986) *Language Development in the School Years* London: Croom Helm.

Firth, J R (1957) *Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951* London: Oxford University Press.

Ghadessy, Mohsen (1979) "Frequency counts, word lists and materials *preparation: a new approach" English Language Teaching Forum* 17, 1:24-27.

Kellerman, E (1979) "Transfer and non-transfer: where are we now?" *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 2, 1:37-57.

Leech, Geoffrey (1974) *Semantics* Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.

Long, Michael H and Porter, Patricia A (1985) "Group work, interlanguage talk, and second language acquisition" *TESOL Quarterly* 19, 2:207-228.

Lynn, Robert W (1973) "Preparing word lists: a suggested method" *RELC Journal* 4, 1:25-32.

Lyons, John (1977) *Semantics* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Martin, Marilyn (1984) "Advanced Vocabulary Teaching: The Problem of Synonyms" *The Modern Language Journal* 68:130-136.

Moon, Rosamund (1987) "The analysis of meaning" in Sinclair, J McH (ed):86-103.

Nagy, William E, Herman, P A, and Anderson, R C (1985) "Learning words from context" *Reading Research Quarterly* 20:233-253.

Praninskas, Jean (1972) *American University Word List* London: Longman.

Ruhl, Charles (1976) "Pragmatic metonymy" *LACUS Forum* 2:370-380.

Ruhl, Charles (1977) "Idioms and data" *LACUS Forum* 3:456-466.

Ruhl, Charles (1978) "Alleged idioms with HIT" *LACUS Forum* 5: 93-107.

Sinclair, J (ed) (1987a) *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* London: Collins.

Sinclair, J McH (1987b) "Collocation: a progress report" in Steele, R and Threadgold, T (eds).

Stahl, Steven A and Fairbanks, Marilyn M (1986) "The Effects of Vocabulary Instruction: A Model-Based Meta-Analysis" *Review of Educational Research* 56, No. 1:72-110.

Stock, Penelope (1983) "Polysemy" in Hartmann, R R K (ed).

Weinreich, Uriel (1963/1980) "On semantics" in Labov, W and Weinreich, Beatrice S (eds).

West, Michael (1953) *A General Service List of English Words* London:

Longman, Green and Co.

Xue Guoyi and Nation, I S P (1984) "A university word list" *Language Learning and Communication* 3, 2:215-229.

Ziff, P (1967) "Some comments on Mr. Harman's confabulations" *Foundations of Language* 3:403-408.

Bridging the Cultural Gap: A Study of Chinese Students' Learning Style Preferences

Cynthia D. Melton
2D Glee Path 12/F
Mei Foo Chuen
Kowloon
Hong Kong

Abstract

Following a literature review of some recent research on learning styles and EFL-related research in the People's Republic of China, this article describes a replication of a study done by Reid in 1987 of learning style preferences of ESL students in the U.S. With minor modifications, the same questionnaire asking students to identify their learning style preferences was administered in either Chinese or English to 331 students at five universities in the PRC. Statistical analyses indicated that language of the questionnaire did not influence the outcome; that sex of the respondent, level in college, years of English study, and number of semesters with a foreign teacher are all related to learning style differences; and that PRC students appear to have multiple major learning styles. The study concludes with suggested activities for the ESL classroom which are appropriate to each of the four basic perceptual learning styles.

Introduction

Recent years have seen an emerging awareness of the importance of culture in education as a whole and in the teaching of English specifically. As Young says:

> The teaching of English to speakers of other languages, like any teaching, does not occur in a sociocultural vacuum. The culture of the learners, which I take to mean the meanings which those learners assign to events in which they are participants, derives from the culture of the communities in which they grow up, and is influenced by the roles which members of that community expect learners to take (1987:15).

When there is a large cultural gap between the teacher and the students, misunderstandings and confusion often occur. The People's Republic of China (PRC) and the western world have a large cultural gap between them. These differences constantly affect the classroom experience of native speakers (NSs) of English who go to the PRC to teach (Brennan and Miao 1982).

Wu Jing-yu (1983) relates the following type of situation: Foreign teachers try to elicit conversation or discussion on a topic which in their countries would ensure interest and a range of opinions. However, because the topic is culturally inappropriate or because of the students' lack of experience, no discussion follows and the students may even feel embarrassed or uncomfortable. Consequently, the teachers are disappointed with their lesson plans and the students. Such a situation and others that deal with cultural differences could be avoided by further research.

The PRC has a population of over one billion people and because of its push for modernization now has the largest number of people studying English anywhere in the world (Li 1984).

> The Chinese view English primarily as a necessary tool which can facilitate access to modern scientific and technological advances and secondarily as a vehicle to promote commerce and understanding between the PRC and countries where English is a major language (Cowan et al 1979:466).

In the words of Booz: "Learning English is seen as the touchstone for getting ahead. It represents modernization" (1981:812).

One area where education and culture intersect is the area of learning styles. "Learning styles" has been defined in a variety of ways: "...characteristic cognitive, affective, and physiological behaviors that serve as relatively stable indicators of how learners perceive, interact with, and respond to the learning environment" (Keefe 1979:4); "...a student's consistent way of responding and using stimuli in the context of learning" (Claxton and Ralston 1978:1); and "When they (personality styles) affect learning, we refer to them as learning styles" (Guild and Garger 1985:3).

In a recent review article of research into Chinese classrooms, Young (1987) concludes:

> From the microethnographic and social-psychological data reviewed here, it is legitimate to conclude that there exist identifiable learning and teaching styles for Chinese students and teachers, and that these differ in significant ways from the learning and teaching styles of other ethnic groups (1987:27).

Therefore, research needs to be done into the specific learning and teaching styles of the Chinese, especially in the PRC.

This paper reviews some recent literature on learning styles, on learning style preferences of English as a second language (ESL) students, and on related research in the PRC. Then, the research is explained in terms of procedure and results. Finally, the implications of the data are reviewed and conclusions drawn.

Literature Review

Learning Styles

In this article, the term "perceptual learning styles" will be used, which refers to the perceptual strengths in Dunn's model of 21 identified learning styles (Dunn 1983, Dunn and Dunn 1979). "Perceptual learning styles", or "learning modalities", refers to "...the variations among learners in using one or more senses to understand, organize, and retain experience" (Reid 1987:89). In the past, when researchers only tested for visual or auditory preferences, it was assumed that the learners would be equally divided between these two (Dunn and Dunn 1979). However, now educational research has shown that learners use four basic learning modalities (Dunn 1983, 1984, Reinert 1976, and Guild and Garger 1985):

1. Visual learning: reading, studying charts
2. Auditory learning: listening to lectures, audiotapes
3. Kinesthetic learning: experimental learning, that is, total physical involvement with a learning situation
4. Tactile learning: "hands-on" learning, such as building models or doing laboratory experiments (Reid 1987:89).

A self-reporting instrument has usually been used to determine perceptual learning styles (Dunn, Dunn, & Price 1975, 1979, Kolb 1976, and Reinert 1970). In a recent survey, Dunn (1984) cites studies demonstrating that students can correctly identify their own strong learning style preferences. There is also evidence that students taught in their preferred learning styles achieve greater academic success and are more motivated to learn (Domino 1979, Dunn 1984, and Young 1987). (For a complete review of the literature on cognitive and learning styles see Reid 1987.) Research on the education of NSs of English in the U.S. has provided both a base and motivation for research on non-native speakers (NNSs).

Non-native Speakers

Do learning styles vary according to culture? Most research dealing with second language learners in this area has centered on cognitive styles and conscious learning strategies. Reid (1987), who gives a complete review in this area, maintains that students choose their strategies on the basis of differences in learning styles, affective styles and cognitive styles. However, Guild and Garger say: "Researchers who have examined these questions generally find that socialization plays a role in the development of style differences in people of various cultures and in both sexes" (1985:78). Young concurs saying: "There is valid research data that children from identifiably different cultural groups overwhelmingly exhibit certain learning styles" (1987:18).

There is apparently only one published article concerning the perceptual learning styles of NNSs of English (Reid 1987). In Reid's article, she reports the development and validation of a self-reporting questionnaire specifically for NNSs. The questionnaire investigates the four basic perceptual learning styles and preferences for group and/or individual learning. While recognizing that there are two types of visual learning, textual and pictorial, Reid decided to only test for textual visual learning in this study. She describes the procedure for the administration of the questionnaire to NSs as well as NNSs, and discusses the results and conclusions. Her basic conclusions are:

1. ESL students often differ significantly in various ways from native speakers of English in their perceptual learning styles.
2. ESL speakers from different language (and by extension different educational and cultural) backgrounds sometimes differ significantly from each other in their learning style preferences.
3. Analysis of other variables, such as sex, length of time spent in the U.S., major field, and level of education, indicated that they differ significantly in their relationship to various learning style preferences.
4. The data suggest that as ESL students adapt to the U.S. academic environment, some modifications and extensions of learning styles may occur (Reid 1987:99).

At the conclusion of the article, Reid raises many questions for future research. Fortunately, her study "...was designed to provide baseline data for future research on the perceptual learning style preferences of NNSs and to provide insights for the ESL classroom" (Reid 1987:91). Reid suggests for future research the replication of the study by refining the student variables and subgroups. Translating the questionnaire into the students' native language was also mentioned. However, before beginning the discussion on the procedures of the study, recent research in English as a foreign language (EFL) in the PRC must be considered.

Research in EFL in the PRC

As Young attests:

> "Perhaps the most remarkable thing about the research into

> language learning and teaching by ethnic Chinese is how little of it has been done.... The literature on the foreign language education of Chinese children and adults outside the United States is even slimmer" (1987:18).

On research actually performed in the PRC, only a few papers have been found. Some research done there can be considered a needs analysis as preparation for writing materials (Allen and Spada 1982). Other research includes a study of classroom interaction in a graduate science class (Van Naerssen et al 1983) and an investigation of learning strategies in oral communication employed by Chinese students learning English (Huang 1984).

Surely more research has been done in the PRC; however, none has been published in western journals. Many articles have been written about the different aspects of teaching or learning English in China, but research is scarce. The reason for the lack of research can be seen by looking at China's recent history and considering the brevity of time which has elapsed since it reopened to the west. Its remoteness, language barriers, the bureaucratic complexities of a totally centralized educational structure and cultural suspicions of foreign investigators all contribute to a difficult research environment (Cowan et al 1979, Grabe and Mahon 1982, Maley 1983, and Scovel 1983).

Despite the abundance of western-based research in many areas of TESOL, Young argues that:

> Psycholinguistically based research into TESOL in a Western cultural context does not in principle tell us anything about (sic) learning of English or other foreign languages by Chinese learners and we should be prepared to do the research anew in a Chinese cultural context (1987:17).

Patrie and Daum (1980) agree that research cannot automatically be transferred from a developed to a developing country. Based on the assumptions that research cannot be transferred and that foreign teachers entering China need to be aware of their students' perceptual learning style preferences, this study was undertaken.

Questionnaire: Modifications, Subjects and Distribution

The original research was conducted by Joy Reid (1987) of Colorado State University. Based on existing learning style instruments, she constructed a new self-reporting questionnaire with suggestions for improvements from non-native speaking informants and U.S. consultants in the fields of linguistics, education and cross-cultural studies. The purpose of the questionnaire was to determine the students' preferences in the areas of visual, auditory, kinesthetic, tactile, group and individual learning. The questionnaire was then validated for NNSs using the split-half method. The questionnaire was voluntarily completed by 1234 participants from 39 intensive English language programs which included students from 98 countries, 29 major fields and 52 language backgrounds.

Since the research dealt with all Chinese speakers (90) as one group regardless of their countries of origin or their dialects, it is difficult to get a true picture of the perceptual learning style preferences for students in the PRC. The present study used the same questionnaire but with some of the background information altered to make it more relevant for the new group of respondents (Appendix A). Information about TOEFL scores was deleted. The added information asked the students for the number of years they had studied English, the number of semesters they had attended an English class taught by a native speaker of English and if they had ever been abroad and for how long. The questionnaire was then translated into Chinese using the simplified characters which are the official characters in the PRC (Appendix B). The length of the questionnaire, including student response, was reduced to one page in an effort to make it as simple as possible, since research of this type is virtually unknown in the PRC.

After contacting 15 colleges in the PRC, six schools volunteered to participate. These schools were located in the cities of Beijing, Tianjin, Xian and Nanchang. However, only five schools actually returned the completed questionnaires, with 331 graduate and undergraduate students responding, in four different fields of learning. Since none of the respondents had ever been abroad, that was not considered a variable. Table 1 gives complete data on the respondents according to the six variables.

The questionnaires were distributed with instructions in English to read before the students actually completed the forms. The Chinese questionnaires were distributed by Chinese teachers and the English questionnaires were distributed by American teachers to classes of equal levels. The completed questionnaires were collected and returned.

The students' responses to the questionnaire and the background information were extrapolated and then preference means were calculated for each variable. These means were then statistically analyzed. An analysis of variance and multiple comparison of means were run. Because of the statistical package used, it was more appropriate to use the Tukey multiple comprison test for unlimited post hoc comparisons. (The Tukey=0.1 test in the SYSTAT 1985, Version 2.1, statistical package was used to determine significance in the comparison of means.

Table 1
Learning Style Variables

LANGUAGE OF QUESTIONNAIRE	NO.
CHINESE	138
ENGLISH	193

SEX	NO.
MALE	134
FEMALE	197

COLLEGE LEVEL	NO.
FRESHMAN	63
SOPHOMORE	39
JUNIOR	105
SENIOR	56
GRADUATE	68

YEARS OF ENGLISH STUDY	NO.
TWO TO SIX YEARS	74
SEVEN TO NINE YEARS	171
TEN TO THIRTEEN YEARS	86

SEMESTERS WITH A FOREIGN TEACHER	NO.
ONE TO THREE	157
FOUR TO SIX	128
SEVEN OR MORE	46

MAJOR FIELD	NO.
ENGLISH	145
ENGLISH LITERATURE	52
BUSINESS/ECONOMICS	59
MEDICINE/SCIENCE	75

Because the Scheffe test which Reid originally used was not available, the Tukey was used at a lower significance level since it is slightly less conservative than the Scheffe.)

Normally, when using ANOVA, cells must be assumed independent. However, because this study is an exploratory one, and a replication of another, this assumption was violated. Using Reid's preference means classification to identify major, minor, and negative learning styles, the preference means in this study were classified as such for each set of variables.

Results and Discussion

According to the overall means, this study showed that Chinese students prefer kinesthetic, tactile and individual learning as major styles.

They consider visual and auditory as minor learning styles, while group learning was a negative learning style. (See Appendix C for an explanation of learning style preferences.)

Reid's means for Chinese students (which represent several countries of origin) and the present overall total means are not very close except in the area of tactile learning (Table 2). This could show that the educational system of one's country of origin plays a larger role in determining one's learning style than having a common native language. The present study does concur with Reid's conclusion that Chinese appear to have multiple major learning styles. She suggested that this may have occurred in the study because multiple cultures were involved. However, since this study shows the same thing when isolating one culture, Chinese learners may indeed have multiple major learning styles. Could this be a factor in the high academic achievement and educational success generally experienced by Chinese who study abroad? This would be an interesting question for future research.

The difference in the means could be attributed to the fact that multiple countries of origin were involved and that all of Reid's participants had lived and studied in the U.S. from three months to three years, whereas in the present study none of the respondents had ever been out of their native country.

Table 2

	Summary of Learning Style Preference Means					
	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Reid's Chinese Sample	13.55	14.09	14.62	14.52	11.15	12.41
Present Total Means	12.16	12.63	13.80	14.33	10.49	13.75

Note: Means 13.5 and Above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or Less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Language of Questionnaire

Statistical analysis did not reveal any significant difference in how respondents answered based on the language of the questionnaire (Table 3). Therefore, there is no evidence that they were interpreted differently. However, since concepts are based on culture, some words may have been misunderstood in either language, because the language used does not necessarily determine the meaning one attaches to that concept. Because there was no significant difference according to the language used, then all data could be combined for analysis. Based on the fact that most PRC students had never previously completed such a questionnaire in either language, it was assumed there would be a difference in the responses with the Chinese ones being more accurate, since they would be more easily understood. However, the statistical analysis did not concur.

Table 3

Learning Style Preference Means According to Language of Questionnaire

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Chinese Questionnaire	12.33	12.58	13.57	14.17	10.15	14.28
English Questionnaire	12.05	12.67	13.96	14.45	10.74	13.37

Note: Means 13.5 and Above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or Less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Male/Female

The statistical analysis of this variable (Table 4) showed that females preferred auditory and kinesthetic learning significantly more than males, T(330) = 2.746, p = .006 and T(330) = 3.126, p = .002, respectively. Males chose tactile and individual learning as major styles; visual, auditory, and kinesthetic learning as minor styles; and group learning as a negative style. Females differed in their choices only by choosing kinesthetic as a major style instead of a minor one.

The reasons for the significant differences and the difference in the choice of a style may be numerous, but research has shown that the sociali-

Table 4

Learning Style Preference Means According to Sex

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Male	12.37	12.12	13.21	13.52	10.75	13.67
Female	12.03	12.98	14.20	14.89	10.32	13.81

Note: Means 13.5 and Above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or Less = Negative Learning Style Preference

zation process may attribute to the differences that occur between sexes (Guild and Garger 1985). Future research could examine how the socialization process of the sexes in the PRC affects learning style preferences.

College Levels

The statistical analysis of this variable did not produce as many significant differences as previously expected (Table 5). Sophomores were significantly more visual than freshmen, F(4,326) = 3.367, p = .01. All levels, except freshmen, chose visual learning as a minor learning style, while freshmen chose this as a negative style. Seniors strongly preferred auditory learning over freshmen at a significant level, F(4,326) = 3.910, p = .004, and they were the only class that chose this as a major learning style. All the other levels perceived this style to be a minor one. Seniors also significantly preferred kinesthetic learning to graduate students, F(4,326) = 4.674, p = .001. Graduate students and freshmen both chose kinesthetic as a minor learning style, while the other classes chose it as a major one. All levels chose tactile learning as a major style with sophomores being very strong. All levels showed a negative preference for group learning, while all except graduates chose individual learning as a major preference.

Table 5

Learning Style Preference Means According to College Levels

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Freshman	11.49	12.06	13.33	14.21	10.98	13.52
Sophomores	13.26	13.00	14.28	16.46	11.10	13.74
Seniors	11.61	13.84	14.80	14.25	10.73	13.66
Graduates	12.77	12.46	12.82	13.52	10.27	12.99

Note: Means 13.5 and Above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or Less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Years of English Study

This variable produced only one significant difference, but several interesting trends (Table 6). Students who had studied English ten to thirteen years were significantly more auditory than those who had studied two to six years, F(2,328) = 5.494, p = .004. All groups chose visual and auditory learning as a minor learning style, tactile learning as a major one, and group learning as a negative one. In kinesthetic learning, students who had studied from two to six years chose this style as a minor one, while the two other groups chose it as a major one. Individual learning had the same pattern with the group who had studied the shortest time choosing this style as a minor one, while the rest chose it as a major one.

For auditory, kinesthetic and group learning, there were interesting trends with the longer the students had studied English, the higher the preference means. Kinesthetic learning showed the strongest trend within this variable. This could be because the longer one studies a subject, the more proficient one becomes at studying that subject. Also, it could be that kinesthetic learning as a major style is necessary to become a successful language learner. Maybe kinesthetic learners are more likely to be risk takers which has been noted as an important quality to succeed in learning a second language (Omaggio 1978). This would be an interesting area for future research. Another reason could be that this variable was intertwined with the next.

Table 6

Learning Style Preference Means According to Years of Study

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Two to Six Years	12.07	12.05	13.32	13.64	10.24	13.43
Seven to Nine Years	12.31	12.47	13.74	14.62	10.56	13.93
Ten to Thirteen Years	11.95	13.44	14.34	14.36	10.57	13.67

Note: Means 13.5 and Above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or Less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Semesters of a Foreign Teacher

As in the previous variable, there was only one significant difference, but only one trend as well (Table 7). Students who had attended classes taught by native speakers for seven or more semesters were significantly more kinesthetic than students who had attended for one to three semesters, $F(2,328)=7.975$, $p<.001$. Students who had attended classes taught by foreign teachers for one to three semesters chose kinesthetic learning as a minor style, while both groups of students who had attended for four to six semesters or seven or more semesters chose it as a major style. All students chose visual learning as a minor style. In auditory learning, only the seven or more semesters group chose it as a major style, while the others chose it as a minor one. All groups chose tactile learning as a major style and group learning as a negative one. In individual learning, the students in the group of one to three semesters chose it as a minor style, while the other groups chose it as a major style.

Again, as in the previous variable, the longer students had attended classes taught by a native speaking teacher, the higher the preference means were for kinesthetic learning. This trend was even stronger than in the last variable. This raises interesting questions for future research. Do students become more kinesthetic in their learning styles as a response to the length of time they study English? Or do they adapt to foreign teachers' classrooms by becoming more kinesthetic? If indeed teachers instruct the way they learn best (Dunn and Dunn 1979), then are foreign teachers more likely than Chinese teachers to prefer a kinesthetic learning style and therefore teach accordingly?

When considering the traditional approach to language learning in the PRC, it would seem that foreign teachers would have more of an impact on the students' preference for kinesthetic learning than years of study. However, because of the variety of teaching styles among foreign teachers, it would be difficult to ever have conclusive evidence on their impact.

Table 7

Learning Style Preference Means According to Semesters of Foreign Teachers

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
One to Three Semesters	12.18	12.62	13.23	13.83	10.76	13.30
Four to Six Semesters	12.37	12.29	14.07	14.98	10.14	14.40
Seven or More Semesters	11.54	13.63	15.00	14.22	10.54	13.50

Note: Means 13.5 and Above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or Less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Major Field

When this variable was statistically analyzed, only one significant difference was found (Table 8). In analyzing this variable, English majors were divided from English literature majors because the course of study in the PRC seemed different in several important ways. English literature majors were significantly different from Medicine/Science majors in the area of kinesthetic learning F(3,327) = 4.332, p = .005. Having only one significant difference may be accounted for by the fact that in the PRC there is no self-selection of majors except in graduate school, and not always then. Therefore, unlike other countries where students choose their major on the basis of their preferences, PRC students are assigned to majors based on test scores and personal connections. It would be assumed that no significant differences would be found, so the one found is inexplicable.

All groups of majors chose tactile learning as a major learning style, visual and auditory learning as a minor style, and group learning as a negative one. The differences were found in kinesthetic and individual learning. In kinesthetic learning, English and English literature majors chose it as a major style while Business/Economics and Medicine/Science majors chose it as a minor one. The same division lies in the area of individual learning. Future research into perceptual learning styles in the PRC should include more major fields of learning to see if there is a pattern of little significant difference being found because of the issue of self-selection of majors.

Table 8

Learning Style Preference Means According to Major Field

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
English	12.03	12.67	14.23	14.88	10.46	13.81
English Literature	12.21	12.89	14.31	14.15	10.48	14.83
Business/Economics	12.41	12.86	13.39	13.66	10.83	13.27
Medicine/Science	12.20	12.20	12.95	13.93	10.31	13.27

Note: Means 13.5 and Above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or Less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Overview of Chinese Learners

Since Chinese learners have chosen multiple major learning styles, what does this mean? Reid says: "Research with native speakers of English strongly suggests that the ability of students to employ multiple learning styles results in greater classroom success" (1987:101). Guild and Garger agree: "...students with mixed modality strengths often have a better chance of success than do those with a single modality strength, because they can process information in whatever way it is presented"

(1985:64). Assuming this is true, then Chinese students should be very successful English learners.

Teachers who have taught in the PRC may disagree with the overall profile of Chinese students' preferred learning styles. However, because of the traditional system of education and universal fear of change, the present system of education is not necessarily what the students prefer, but what the teachers and administration prefer because that is what they know and feel comfortable with. This data should be given the benefit of the doubt and its implications should be applied to the educational system there. Even if only foreign teachers made use of the data, the results could be beneficial.

Implications of Data

Some researchers in the area of learning styles advocate teaching and learning styles be matched (Domino 1979, Dunn & Dunn 1979, Dunn, Dunn, & Price 1978 and Young 1987). This is one possibility of how to deal with the situation; however, this is very difficult to do in terms of availability of teachers, equal distribution of students, classrooms available and administrative duties. There are other possibilities that seem more practical, especially for developing countries such as the PRC.

In all academic classrooms, no matter what the subject matter, there will be students with multiple learning styles and students with a variety of major, minor and negative learning styles. To be fair, the teacher cannot aim for only one group, but instead must provide learning strategies to accommodate all the various combinations of learning styles that exist. The teacher can deal with this in one of two approaches.

The first approach would be for the teacher to select a variety of activities that focus on different learning styles and have all the students participate in all the activities (Guild and Garger 1985). There are at least two benefits to this: 1) All students will have some activities that appeal more to them based on their learning styles and they are more likely to succeed in these activities. The feeling of success will be a motivating force in their studies. 2) All students will get practice in learning styles they are not strong in and this will broaden their learning styles and the accompanying skills. These styles can be applied to other areas besides English learning and to their entire academic experience.

The second approach is to divide the students into groups by learning styles and give them activities based on their styles. This should appeal to them because they will enjoy them and be successful. In this case, the students should be aware of the divisions and understand what they are doing and why they are doing it. If a class of students showed a preference for one learning style, then both approaches could be used for variety in the classroom. However, this is usually not the case and according to this study it is not the case in the PRC, so the first approach would be more educationally sound.

In either approach, the students need to be aware of the concept of learning styles, their learning styles need to be assessed and explained to them and the purpose of the diversity of activities explained as well. Wu (1983) suggests that PRC students usually respond well to activities when they realize what the purposes behind them are. In the PRC especially, any radical change in the classroom must come through gradual and sensitive introduction along with positive explanation of the reasons for the change (Wu 1983). Otherwise, the students will tend to resist change and the teacher will be frustrated.

Since Chinese learners seem to have multiple learning styles, what kinds of activities would work well to emphasize each learning style? Following is a list of activities for second language learners that could be tried for each style: Visual learning style preference

1) Read resources for new information.
2) Use handouts with activities.
3) Keep journals of class activities to reinforce vocabulary or new information.
4) Watch an action skit. Write narrative of events.
5) Take notes on a lecture. Outline the notes to reinforce ideas and compare with others.

Auditory learning style preference

1) Listening exercises from the teacher or audiotapes.
2) Class discussions based on verbal stimuli.
3) Oral repetition for new vocabulary items.
4) Lectures by the teacher for new information.
5) Cloze exercises using slow songs, such as "The Rose", "The Gambler", or Christmas music.
6) Peer tutoring to reinforce new information.

Kinesthetic learning style preference

1) Total physical response for new vocabulary that can be commanded, such as verbs.
2) Charades for new concrete vocabulary items.

3) Roleplay for conversational skills.
4) Problem solving based on realistic situations with total immersion into the scenario.
5) Student-produced plays to increase fluency and pronunciation.

Tactile learning style preference

1) A variety of sequencing activities, such as having the students rearrange a cut up sentence or strip stories.
2) A variety of small group "hands-on" activities, such as carving a pumpkin at Halloween or decorating a tree at Christmas using English as the medium of communication.
3) A variety of 3-D vocabulary lessons, such as bringing different textures or different shapes to class to teach texture or shape words.

Group and individual learning styles influence all activities. Some activities lend themselves to being done in groups, others individually. PRC students need to be introduced to a lot of group activities, because oral English cannot be improved individually. Interaction must occur in order for conversation to take place. Interacton is equally essential in the writing process.

Conclusion

This exploratory study has had many purposes. The first purpose was to find out more about the learning style preferences of students in the PRC. Another purpose was to create an awareness of the type of EFL research that needs to be done in developing countries. The last purpose was to show that the barriers that exist to doing research in the PRC can be overcome, though like research anywhere it takes time and patience. It seems that all the purposes, to varying degrees, have been accomplished.

English has become an international language; the PRC with its vast population and desire to modernize has become a significant force in the world community; the number of students learning English in the PRC and the number of native speakers teaching there have greatly increased. With all these factors converging at this moment in time, researchers must heed the call to pursue narrowing the cultural gap between the students and their foreign teachers. This can only be done by conducting research on a variety of EFL issues in the PRC. Hopefully, this study will help to close the gap by providing a better understanding of how Chinese students learn and by encouraging other researchers to continue to build the bridge.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Joy Reid of Colorado State University for all her help in completing my research. She was very helpful in my replication of her original research.

I would like to thank Wong Han Chiang-ning of the Chinese University of Hong Kong for her translation of the survey into Chinese. She went above and beyond the call of duty.

I would like to thank Dr. J.D. Brown of the University of Hawaii at Manoa for his help in teaching me to use a computer for the statistical analysis part of this paper.

I would like to thank all the people, both Chinese and American, who helped to distribute and collect the surveys in the People's Republic of China without whom this paper could not have been written.

References

Allen, Wendy and Nina Spada. 1982. A Materials Writing Project in China. LANGUAGE LEARNING AND COMMUNICATION 1(2):187-195.

Booz, Elizabeth B. 1981. Two American Teachers in China. NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC 159:793-813.

Brennan, Moya and Miao Chin-an. 1982. Conflicting Expectations and Compromise in the Chinese Classroom. LANGUAGE LEARNING AND COMMUNICATION 1(2):197-201.

Claxton, Charles S. and Yvonne Ralston. 1978. LEARNING STYLES: THEIR IMPACT ON TEACHING AND ADMINISTRATION. Washington D.C.: American Association for Higher Education.

Cowan, J. Ronayne, Richard L. Light, B. Ellen Mathews, and G. Richard Tucker. 1979. English Teaching in China: A Recent Survey. TESOL QUARTERLY 13(4):465-482.

Domino, G. 1979. Interactive Effects of Achievement Orientation and Teaching Style on Academic Achievement. ACT RESEARCH REPORT 39:1-9.

Dunn, Rita S. 1983. Learning Style and its Relation to Exceptionality at Both Ends of the Spectrum. EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN 49: 496-506.

Dunn, Rita S. 1984. Learning Style: State of the Scene. THEORY INTO PRACTICE 23:10-19.

Dunn, Rita S. and Kenneth J. Dunn. 1979. Learning Styles/Teaching

Styles: Should They ... Can They ... Be Matched. EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP 36:238-244.

Dunn, Rita S. Kenneth J. Dunn and Gary E. Price. 1975. The LEARNING STYLE INVENTORY. Lawrence, KS: Price Systems.

Dunn, Rita S., Kenneth J. Dunn and Gary E. Price. 1978. TEACHING STUDENTS THROUGH THEIR INDIVIDUAL LEARNING STYLES. Reston, VA: Reston Publishing.

Dunn, Rita S., Kenneth J. Dunn and Gary E. Price. 1979. THE PRODUCTIVITY ENVIRONMENTAL PREFERENCE SURVEY. Lawrence, KS: Price Systems.

Grabe, William and Denice Mahon. 1982. Teacher Training in China: Problems and Perspectives. ON TESOL '82, ed. by Mark A. Clarke and Jean Handscombe, 47-59. Washington D.C.: TESOL.

Guild, Pat Burke and Stephen Garger. 1985. MARCHING TO DIFFERENT DRUMMERS. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

Huang, Xiao-hua. 1984. An Investigation of Learning Strategies in Oral Communication that Chinese EFL Learners in China Employ. Master's Thesis, Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Keefe, James, W. 1979. Learning Style: An Overview. STUDENT LEARNING STYLES: DIAGNOSING AND PRESCRIBING PROGRAMS, ed. by J.W. Keefe, 1-12. Reston, VA: National Association of Secondary School Principals.

Kolb, D.A. 1976. THE LEARNING STYLE INVENTORY. Boston: McBer.

Li, Xiao Ju. 1984. In Defence of the Communicative Approach. ELT JOURNAL 38(1):2-13.

Maley, Alan. 1983. Xanadu — "A Miracle of Rare Device": The Teaching of English in China. LANGUAGE LEARNING AND COMMUNICATION 2(1):97-103.

Omaggio, Alice C. 1978. Successful Language Learners: What do We Know about Them. ERIC/CLL NEWS BULLETIN May 1978:2-3.

Patrice, James and David A. Daum. 1980. Comments on the Role of Foreign Expertise in Developing Nations. TESOL QUARTERLY 14(3):391-394.

Reinert, H. 1970. THE EDMONDS LEARNING STYLE IDENTIFICATION EXERCISE. Edmonds, WA: Edmonds School District.

Reinert, H. 1976. One Picture is Worth a Thousand Words? Not Necessarily. MODERN LANGUAGE JOURNAL 60:160-168.

Reid, Joy M. 1987. The Learning Style Preferences of ESL Students. TESOL QUARTERLY 21(1):87-109.

Scovel, Janene. 1983. English Teaching in China: A Historical Perspective. LANGUAGE LEARNING AND COMMUNICATION 2(1): 105-109.

Van Naerssen, Margaret, Ning-er Huang, and Emily Yarnell. 1982. Classroom Interaction in Chinese and U.S. Graduate Science Courses. Manuscript form.

Wu, Jing-yu. 1983. Quchang Buduan — A Chinese View of Foreign Participation in Teaching English in China. LANGUAGE LEARNING AND COMMUNICATION 2(1):111-116.

Young, Richard. 1987. The Cultural Context of TESOL — A Review of Research into Chinese Classrooms. RELC Journal 18(2):15-30.

Appendix A
Perceptual Learning Style Preference Questionnaire

Name____________________Age____________________Date

Native Country________________Native Language________________

Graduate______Undergraduate 1______ 2______ 3______ 4______

Male ____________________ Female ____________________

How long have you studied English in your country?________________

Have you ever studied abroad?____________________

If yes, for how long?____________________

Have you ever been taught by a foreign teacher?________________

If yes, for how many semesters?____________________

What is your major field?____________________

Questionnaire Statements

1. When the teacher tells me the instructions, I understand better.
2. I prefer to learn by doing something in class.
3. I get more work done when I work with others.
4. I learn more when I study with a group.
5. In class, I learn best when I work with others.
6. I learn better by reading what the teacher writes on the chalkboard.
7. When someone tells me how to do something in class, I learn it better.
8. When I do things in class, I learn better.
9. I remember things I have heard in class better than things I have read.
10. When I read instructions, I remember them better.
11. I learn more when I can make a model of something.
12. I understand better when I read instructions.
13. When I study alone, I remember things better.
14. I learn more when I make something for a class project.
15. I enjoy learning in class by doing experiments.
16. I learn better when I make drawings as I study.
17. I learn better in class when the teacher gives a lecture.
18. When I work alone, I learn better.
19. I understand things better in class when I participate in role playing.
20. I learn better in class when I listen to someone.
21. I enjoy working on an assignment with two or three classmates.
22. When I build something, I remember what I have learned better.
23. I prefer to study with others.
24. I learn better by reading than by listening to someone.
25. I enjoy making something for a class project.

Appendix A
Perceptual Learning Style Preference Questionnaire *(cont'd)*

26. I learn best in class when I can participate in related activities.
27. In class, I work better when I work alone.
28. I prefer working on projects by myself.
29. I learn more by reading textbooks than by listening to lectures.
30. I prefer to work by myself.

Directions: People learn in many different ways. For example, some people learn primarily with their eyes (visual learners) or with their ears (auditory learners); some people prefer to learn by experience and/or by "hands-on" tasks (kinesthetic or tactile learners); some people learn better when they work alone, while others prefer to learn in groups.

This questionnaire has been designed to help you identify the way(s) you learn best — the way(s) you prefer to learn.

Read each statement below. Please respond to the statements AS THEY APPLY TO YOUR STUDY OF ENGLISH. Decide whether you strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree or strongly disagree. Mark an X in the appropriate column.

Please respond to each statement quickly, without too much thought. Try not to change your responses after you choose them. Please use a pen to mark your choices.

	strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					

Appendix A
Perceptual Learning Style Preference Questionnaire *(cont'd)*

	strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					
21					
22					
23					
24					
25					
26					
27					
28					
29					
30					

Appendix B
Perceptual Learning Style Preference Questionnaire

姓名________________ 年龄________ 日期________

（原）国籍______________________ 母语________

研究院________________ 大学年级1____ 2____ 3____ 4____

男性__________________ 女性________

你在你的国家学了多久的英文？________________

你曾经在外国念过书吗？________________

如果念过，念过多久？________________

你有没有上过外国老师教的英文课？________________

如果有的话，是几个学期？________________

你主修甚么科目？________________

问题

1. 老师给我指导时，我就比较容易了解。
2. 我喜欢在课堂上做点事来学习。
3. 我与别人一起做时，可完成较多事。
4. 我在群体中学习可以学得较多。
5. 在课堂上我与别人一起做可以学得最好。
6. 我看老师在黑板上写字我可学得较好。
7. 在课堂上，有人告诉我如何做，我会学得较好。
8. 在课堂上，我实在作点事我会学得较好。
9. 在课堂上，我对听到的比念过的记得较好。
10. 我念了指示就会记得较好。
11. 我能以东西作范本来仿效我就可学得多些。
12. 我念了指示就比较了解。
13. 我单独学习时记忆得较好。
14. 我为班上的作业设计作些工作，我可以学较多。
15. 我喜欢在课堂上作实验来学习。
16. 念书时，我画些图表可以学得较好。
17. 老师在课堂上讲授，我可学得较好。
18. 我单独工作时学习得较好。
19. 我在课堂上参与角色的扮演，我会比较了解。
20. 在课堂上我听别人讲我会学得较好。
21. 我喜欢与两、三位同学合作一项老师指派的作业。
22. 我造了一些东西时，我对我学习的东西记得较牢。
23. 我喜欢与别人一起学习。
24. 我自己阅读比听别人讲学得好。
25. 我喜欢为课程的作业设计作点儿事儿。
26. 在课堂上若我参与有关的活动我可学得最好。
27. 在课堂上我自己单独作会作得较好。
28. 我喜欢自己一个人作课程的作业设计。
29. 我念教科书比听老师讲授学得多。
30. 我喜欢单独作事。

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix B
Perceptual Learning Style Preference Questionnaire *(cont'd)*

指示： 人以很多不同的方法学习。比方说，有些人主要用眼睛学习（视觉的学习者）或用耳朵学习（听觉的学习者）；有些人喜欢凭经验学习、及／或凭"手到"的作业学习（肌肉运动感觉或触觉的学习者；有些人单独一个人作学习得较好，而有些人则喜欢群体学习）。

这份问卷之设计，主要是为帮你找到自己学习的最好的方法——你喜欢的学习方法。

请阅以下各项之每一句。请以你的学习英语为准来回答。决定你对每一句同意或不同意。例如说，如果你绝对同意，则注×

请对每一句尽快回答，不要经过太多思考。也尽量不要在选了答案后加以修改。请用墨水笔注上你的选擇。

	绝对同意	同意	未决定	不同意	绝不同意
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					
16.					
17.					
18.					
19.					
20.					
21.					
22.					
23.					
24.					
25.					
26.					
27.					
28.					
29.					
30.					

Appendix C
Explanation of Learning Style Preferences

Students learn in many different ways. The questionnaire you completed and scored showed which ways you prefer to learn English. In many cases, students' learning style preferences show how well students learn material in different situations.

The explanations of major learning style preferences below describe the characteristics of those learners. The descriptions will give you some information about ways in which you learn best.

Visual Major Learning Style Preference

You learn well from seeing words in books, on the chalkboard, and in workbooks. You remember and understand information and instructions better if you read them. You don't need as much oral explanation as an auditory learner, and you can often learn alone, with a book. You should take notes of lectures and oral directions if you want to remember the information.

Auditory Major Learning Style Preference

You learn from hearing words spoken and from oral explanations. You may remember information by reading aloud or moving your lips as you read, especially when you are learning new material. You benefit from hearing audio tapes, lectures, and class discussion. You benefit from making tapes to listen to, by teaching other students, and by conversing with your teacher.

Kinesthetic Major Learning Style Preference

You learn best by experience, by being involved physically in classroom experiences. You remember information well when you actively participate in activities, field trips, and role-playing in the classroom. A combination of stimuli — for example, an audio tape combined with an activity — will help you understand new material.

Tactile Major Learning Style Preference

You learn best when you have the opportunity to do "hands-on" experiences with materials. That is, working on experiments in a laboratory, handling and building models, and touching and working with materials provide you with the most successful learning situation. Writing notes or instructions can help you remember information, and physical involvement in class related activities may help you understand new information.

Appendix C
Explanation of Learning Style Preferences *(cont'd)*

Group Major Learning Style Preference

You learn more easily when you study with at least one other student, and you will be more successful completing work well when you work with others. You value group interaction and class work with other students, and you remember information better when you work with two or three classmates. The stimulation you receive from group work helps you learn and undertand new information.

Individual Major Learning Style Preference

You learn best when you work alone. You think better when you study alone, and you remember information you learn by yourself. You understand new material best when you learn it alone, and you make better progress in learning when you work by yourself.

Minor Learning Style

In most cases, minor learning styles indicate areas where you can function well as a learner. Usually a very successful learner can learn in several different ways.

Negligible Learning Styles

Often, a negligible score indicates that you may have difficulty learning in that way. One solution may be to direct your learning to your stronger learning styles. Another solution might be to try to work on some of the skills to strengthen your learning style in that area.

*Adapted from the C.I.T.E. Learning Style Instrument, Murdoch Teacher Center, Wichita, Kansas 67208.

**Taken from Reid's (1987) questionnaire packet given to each respondent who participated in the study.

Facilitating Listening Comprehension Through Rate-Control*

Roger Griffiths
Nagoya University of Commerce
and Business Administration
Japan

Abstract

Rate-controlled recorded text can not only be used to facilitate listening comprehension through reducing speech rate but it can also help language learners become accustomed to increasingly rapid deliveries. Auditory material of this kind can be produced by speech compressors, temporal spacing or multi-recording of texts. This paper, therefore, briefly describes L1 and L2 research on temporal variables relevant to facilitating listening comprehension. This is followed by a consideration of practical applications of this research to L2 listening comprehension in preparing recorded materials, in teacher-talk and in testing.

Introduction

Although various models of the processes involved in listening comprehension have been proposed (e.g. Richards, 1983; Nagle & Sanders, 1986), Brown (1986:286), nonetheless, observes that "We are still a long way from developing the sort of theory of comprehension processes which is going to be much help to teachers in the classroom."

There is still, in fact, no satisfactory theory of L2 comprehension. Current attempts at theoretical formulations do, however, tend to be heavily cognitive, and the respective contributions of top-down and bottom-up processing appear to occupy the key area of disagreement (Buck, 1988:19). Discussion of this issue is not, however, universally considered as relevant or helpful (e.g. see Chomsky's interview in Baars, 1986:348-9) and recent dissatisfaction with cognitive models (e.g. Detterman, 1989) suggests that approaching the problem from an environmental angle might be more fruitful. The general approach adopted in this paper therefore emphasises the importance of the manipulation of observable environmental variables (rather than proposing even more computational metaphors), and, as such, may be seen as having applied relevance to L2 teaching and learning.

---

*This article is based on an earlier paper presented at the RELC Regional Seminar, April 1989.

Variables which account for the level of NNS comprehension of a particular utterance have been identified in the input studies literature, particularly in the work of Long (e.g. 1983) and Chaudron (e.g. 1986). Major types of modification of input and interaction are summarised by Parker and Chaudron (1987), who discuss both simplification of input and elaborative modifications. Slower speech is included in the latter category and, in his review of the above paper, Gaies (1987:2) argues that "A prime candidate for multivalent research is speech rate".

The Effects of Speech Rate Modification on Comprehension

A normal speed of delivery requires a great deal of work in a very restricted time. As Chodorow (1979) points out:

> One of the most salient characteristics of language comprehension is the great speed with which it is performed. At an average speaking rate, the listener receives a new word about every 300 msec. There is much to be done: the acoustic waveform must be segmented into lexical units, with each unit identified and its structural relationship established within some higher unit of the sentence (p. 87).

The NS, however, normally has no difficulty in coping with rates of speech of up to about 300 words per minute (wpm) as is demonstrated in the L1 compressed speech literature (e.g. Foulke & Sticht, 1969; Paul, 1986). In this research speech compressors are used to electronically accelerate recorded speech and the critical rates at which comprehension declines as speech rate (SR) is increased are then identified.

In their review of the early research in the area, Foulke and Sticht, (1969:60) observe:

> The increase in rate at which comprehension declines beyond 275 wpm suggests that when a certain critical word rate is reached, a factor in addition to signal degradation (i.e. distortion introduced by the process of time compression) begins to determine the loss in comprehension. The understanding of spoken language implies the continuous registration, encoding, and storage of speech information and these operations require time. When the word rate is too high words can not be processed as fast as they are received with the result that some speech information is lost.

Chodorow (1979) notes that this information loss:

> mirror[s] the subjective feeling often reported by listeners who experience a sensation of 'falling behind' the input when they are given time-compressed passages of text (p. 95).

Building upon this early research, Paul (1986) found that comprehension of a 20-sentence fictional story to NSs fell dramatically only when it was presented at over 300 wpm. Between 225 and 300 wpm only a slight reduction was observed.

Recent L2 investigations and evidence from an early study by Grosjean (1972) support the L1 findings of critical rates above which comprehension begins to decline rapidly, and L2 research is now beginning to provide detailed data on the relationship of SR and NNS listening comprehension.

L2 Research on Speech Rate and NNS Comprehension

There have been two major types of investigation on SR within L2 research. Experimental studies (e.g. Grosjean, 1972; Conrad, 1989; Griffiths, in press), have considered the relationship between SR and comprehension, while descriptive and controlled studies of foreigner talk modifications (e.g. Henzl, 1975; Hakansson, 1986) have frequently included SR amongst the variables analysed. However the latter studies have not followed established pausological conventions of instrumentation, measurement or presentation of data (e.g. see Kowal et al., 1983) and, consequently, their findings cannot be guaranteed to be either reliable or valid (for detailed review see Griffiths, forthcoming).

Findings from the experimental studies cited above do, however, demonstrate that listening comprehension can be facilitated through the judicious manipulation of temporal variables.

Grosjean (1972), for example, showed that deliveries to NNSs (of, on average, intermediate proficiency) in which SR was 147 wpm resulted in a 14.65% increase in comprehension test scores over deliveries at 189/190 wpm. Likewise, "medium" proficiency subjects in a compressed speech study undertaken by Conrad (1989) showed increased comprehension as rate was reduced though the subjects still failed to recall 56% of sentence items at 196 wpm, the slowest rate investigated.

A recent preliminary study (Griffiths, in press) undertaken with a group of lower-intermediate level adult NNSs has also investigated the effects of different SRs (200 wpm/3.8 syllables per second [sps], 150 wpm/2.85 sps and 100 wpm/1.93 sps) on the comprehension of three lexically and grammatically graded passages. Analysis of test scores showed that the moderately fast SR (200 wpm/3.8 sps) resulted in a significant reduction in comprehension but scores on passages delivered at the slow rate did not significantly differ from those resulting from the average rate delivery.

There is, therefore, accumulating evidence of SR as a major variable affecting both NS and NNS comprehension: rate reduction has been shown to increase comprehension for NNSs and, even for NSs, this falls dramatically at fast rates.

Rate-Controlled Speech and L2 Listening Comprehension

TRAINING

The actual empirical database from which an investigation of the effects of SR manipulaton on L2 listening comprehension is launched is, therefore, becoming increasingly convincing. The suggestion that rate-controlled speech might be used in the training of NNS listening comprehension skills is not, however, new. Friedman and Johnson (1971:161) listed using slower rates in language teaching amongst a number of uses of rate-control which "merit some attention". Pimsleur et al. (1977) also discussed matching SR and learners' proficiency levels and described two methods of adjusting rate. They discussed speech expansion and compression using technical equipment but noted that, at that time, this was not generally available to teachers and was only likely to be available in university departments. Insofar as this may still be the case it is worth mentioning an alternative method of changing rate described by Pimsleur et al.:

> *Temporal spacing* can be done by teachers themselves. The process consists of inserting pauses into recorded speech in such a way as to lengthen natural grammatical junctures. This may be done by connecting two tape recorders together, one for playing the original tape and the other for making the copy. While recording the copy, one starts and stops the original at pre-determined points between 'thought groups'. The second recorder runs continuously. The result is a 'spaced' copy (p. 32).

Pimsleur et al. report a number of listening comprehension studies in which this technique has been successfully employed. They, for example, describe the use of temporal spacing of Spanish news broadcasts in a New York high school. The technique, they report, had been employed for several years and consisted of experiments using the following procedure:

> They begin by providing frequent, lengthy pauses at the beginning of the year, then gradually diminish them in both frequency and length. By the end of the year, students are able to comprehend Spanish news broadcasts at normal speed (p. 32).

In another early investigation of the effect of temporal spacing, Johnson and Friedman (1971:168), report that when structurally spaced pauses were introduced into a set of sixty orally presented Russian sentences, recall was significantly more accurate. Further evidence for the effectiveneses of rate-controlled listening comes from a study, undertaken by Huberman and Medish (1974), conducted with 23 university students taking beginning Spanish. Unfortunately, despite their conclusion that "Controlled Listening...enabled students to improve listening comprehension up to 28%, while reducing the amount of time spent listening by 30%" the evidence for the effects of compression and temporal spacing is presented along with that for a third technique (the added-part technique), which makes it impossible to discern the individual effects.

The idea of using rate control is not, therefore, new; it is, however, under-researched. Answers to important questions are suggested but not definitively given in the experimentation reviewed thus far. It is, however, felt that the evidence is sufficiently strong to support the conviction that rate-controlled speech can be effectively employed to facilitate L2 listening comprehension. Research findings (e.g. Voss, 1979) on other temporal variables, such as pause distribution and hesitation phenomena (especially filled pauses, um, uh etc.), indicate that they too should be considered in producing listening comprehension materials.

Having briefly reviewed the available research findings, areas in which knowledge of temporal variables can have direct classroom application can, therefore, now be described.

Applications of Rate-Controlled Speech in Listening Comprehension

Available evidence on the role of temporal variables in facilitating L2 listening comprehension suggests that rate-controlled speech can not only be applied to recorded listening comprehension materials but also in teacher-talk and in language testing. These applications are now considered in turn.

1. Recorded Rate-Controlled Listening Comprehension Materials

These can be employed using a number of methodologies.

A. Rate-reduction to facilitate comprehension

Where speed of delivery, rather than structural or lexical complexity, makes a text difficult to understand, it can be rate-reduced through a number of stages until maximum comprehension is achieved. This strategy appears, both intuitively and experimentally, to be superior to that at present recommended for most listening comprehension materials which is to replay the tape until it is somehow understood. Such a strategy (described by Brown, 1986:289, as "blockbuster" presentation) appears to have little logical basis and it is difficult to see how it can be useful: it is, however, easy to see how it might be considered tedious and frustrating.

B. Rate-compression to accustom learners to faster rates

When a text is understood at a certain speed it is possible to use rate-compression to accustom students to cope with increased speed. In playing a comprehended passage at faster rates the student will not, of course, experience diminished comprehension but he or she will be able to focus on the changes in production which faster rates entail.

It is acknowledged that neither of the above applications are profound but compared to the present inadequacies in technique they might provide a basis for the actual training of listening comprehension rather than relying upon the vague hope that it will be acquired through relentless repetition.

C. The move into authenticity in listening comprehension materials

Contrary to the recommendation that "All materials used for listening comprehension, even in the earliest lessons, should be authentic" (Rivers, 1981:168), evidence from temporal variable research leads to the recommendation that authentic materials should be approached gradually rather than be instantly confronted. This does not mean that the ultimate aim embodied in such an approach is anything other than the comprehension of authentic spontaneous speech. This must, of course, be the goal. It is however, considered that materials must incorporate a programmed move towards authenticity rather than beginning with it: after all, being thrown in at the deep-end is widely considered to be more likely to result in sinking rather than swimming.

Such a programme implies a progression of materials which inco porate the benefits of rate modification and the assumed benefit pause distribution while avoiding the processing difficulties introd through hesitation phenomena (Voss, 1979). The following orderin materials is suggested.

i. non-authentic rate-controlled materials in which all pauses are inserted at grammatical junctures, so as to provide consistent "oral punctuation" and to avoid hesitation phenomena.
ii. authentic spoken materials derived from written texts and recorded at a variety of rates — in these the vast majority of pauses will occur

at grammatical junctures and hesitation phenomena are likely to be rare.

iii. materials derived from spontaneous speech (containing, as it does, non-grammatical pausing and extensive use of hesitation phenomena) delivered at authentic conversational rates.

Further information on this grading scheme and a fuller description of the materials it gives rise to has been given by Higgins (1989). She has also described work-in-progress aimed at evaluating the effectiveness of such materials.

D. The use of authentic texts in ESP programmes

Decreasing the rate of, for example, recordings of authentic content lectures can be expected to help to render them comprehensible. Such a strategy, used in conjunction with a discourse-level awareness programme (such as that described by Lebauer, 1984), would appear to offer interesting possibilities for lecture-comprehension training.

Applications of rate-control apply, moreover, not only to recorded listening comprehension materials but they are also relevant to teacher-talk. This might, in fact, be the area in which rate-control is most necessary and most crucial.

2. Rate Control in L2 Teacher-Talk

All of the above observations on recorded delivery necessarily apply to teacher-talk. Rate adjustment can be seen to be important in making input comprehensible and it can be viewed in terms of time-benefit analysis (Griffiths, in press) where a trade-off between rate and time is implied. Its manipulation by teachers should, therefore, be of interest not only to researchers in applied linguistics but also to teacher trainers. The research base for making recommendations on rate is only now being established but Griffiths (1990) has suggested that, even when using simplified language, SRs >3 sps should be avoided with lower-intermediate language learners and he has recommended a rate of 2.5 to 2.8 sps in deliveries to such groups.

Actual rate modification in language teaching does not, however, appear to be as extensive as the literature suggests (e.g. see Chaudron's review 1988:64–69). An earlier finding (Hakansson, 1986) of extensive SR adjustment in language classrooms, for example, has not been confirmed in a larger and more recent study (Griffiths, 1990) of SR in 30 EFL classrooms where slow rates were observed to be the exception rather than the norm.

As experimental findings (e.g. Lane & Grosjean, 1973:141) indicate that people seldom accurately judge their own SRs or the SRs of others, it might therefore be necessary to train teachers to become more aware of rates, pause position and hesitation phenomena, and, through their manipulation, increase comprehensibility of teacher-talk for language learners.

3. Consideration of Temporal Variables in L2 Production and Listening Comprehension Testing

As early as 1885, Cattell suggested that, "pausological measures would clearly be useful to test foreign language learning" (cited in O'Connell & Kowal, 1980:7). However, as Raupach (1980a) points out:

> descriptions of temporal variables in first and second language speech performance are almost non-existent (p. 263).

Despite the general lack of research in this area (although Murakami, 1989, has recently investigated some aspects of temporal variables in language learner speech) a case can be made for the use of individual "pause profiles" in L1 and L2 performance which Raupach states:

> may contribute to confirmation of the hypothesis of individual "interlanguages" built up gradually in the process of L2 acquisition (p. 263).

Such profiles are seen by Raupach (1980b:13) as providing a basis for determining "the 'fluency' reached by L2 learners in comparison with that of native language speakers."

Little work has, however, yet been done in this area, although Hieke (1985) and O'Connell (1988) indicate where such research may usefully be targeted.

Another practical application is that of testing comprehension on materials recorded at different rates. This can provide an additional dimension on which student performance on listening comprehension can be assessed and described. It can also be used to give feedback on performance. Such information has been found useful in preparing written reports on students who have been given such tests as part of course requirements at Sultan Qaboos University, Oman.

Conclusion

Despite the idea of using rate-controlled speech in L2 listening comprehension training not being a new one, detailed research is only now being undertaken. At this stage no firm data on the efficacy of the techniques here being suggested are available. However, currently available research findings give the impression that rate-control can become an extremely helpful technique. In 1990 we are very much in the first stages of an enterprise which, in keeping with the theme of the 1989 RELC Seminar, is therefore likely to become established in the language teaching methodology of the 90's.

References

Baars, B.J. (1986). *The cognitive revolution in psychology*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Brown, G. (1986). Investigating listening comprehension in context. *Applied Linguistics,* 7:284-301.

Buck, G. (1988), Testing listening comprehension in Japanese University Entrance Examinations. *JALT Journal,* 01:15–42.

Cattell, J. (1885). Uber die zeit der erkennung und benennung von schriftzeichen, bildern und farben. *Philosophische Studien,* 2:635–650.

Chaudron, C. (1986). The role of simplified input in classroom language. In G. Kasper (Ed.), *Learning, teaching and communication in the foreign language classroom* (pp. 99–110). Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Chaudron, C. (1988). *Second language classrooms: Research on teaching and learning*. Cambridge: CUP.

Chodorow, M.S. (1979). Time-compressed speech and the study of lexical and syntactic processing. In W.E. Cooper & E.C.T. Walker (Eds.), *Sentence processing* (pp. 87–111). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assocs.

Conrad, L. (1989). The effects of time-compressed speech on native and EFL listening comprehension. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* 11:1–16.

Detterman, D.K. (1989). Cognitive psychology: Why it succeeded and then failed. Review of R.J. Stern (Ed.), Advances in the psychology of human intelligence, Vol. 4. *Contemporary Psychology,* 34:778–779.

Foulke, E., & Sticht, T.G. (1969). Review of research on the intelligibility and comprehension of accelerated speech. *Psychological Bulletin,* 72:50–62.

Friedman, H.L., & Johnson, R.L. (1971). Some actual and potential uses of rate-controlled speech in second language learning. In: P. Pimsleur & T. Quinn (Eds.), *The psychology of second language learning* (pp. 157–163). Cambridge: CUP.

Gaies, S.J. (1987). Comments on Kathryn Parker and Craig Chaudron's 'The effects of linguistic simplification and elaborative modifications on L2 comprehension': Priorities in research in input. *Paper presented at the 21st Annual TESOL Convention,* March 1987, Miami.

Griffiths, R.T. (1990). Language classroom speech rates: Life in the fast lane. Paper presented at the 24th Annual TESOL Convention, March 1990, San Francisco.

Griffiths, R.T. (in press). Speech rate and NNS comprehension: A preliminary study in the time-benefit analysis. *Language Learning,* 40,2.

Griffiths, R.T. (forthcoming). Pausology and SLA. *Applied Linguistics.*

Grosjean, F. (1972). Le role joue par trois variables temporelles dans la comprehension orale de l'anglais etudie comme seconde langue et perception de la vitesse de lecteurs et des auditeurs. Doctoral dissertation, University of Paris V11.

Hakansson, G. (1986). Quantitative aspects of teacher talk. In: G. Kasper (Ed.), *Learning, teaching and communicating in the foreign language classroom* (pp. 83-98). Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Henzl, V.M. (1975). Speech of foreign language teachers: A sociolinguistic register. Paper delivered at the 4th International Congress of AILA, Aug. 1975, Stuttgart.

Hieke, A.E. (1985). A componential approach to oral fluency evaluation. *The Modern Language Journal,* 69:135-142.

Higgins, J.M.D. (1989). Speed listening: Classroom and self-access applications. Workshop presented at the RELC Seminar, April 1989, Singapore.

Huberman, G., & Medish, V. (1974). A multi-channel approach to language teaching. *Foreign Language Annals,* 7:674-680.

Johnson, R.L., & Friedman, H. (1971). Some temporal factors in the listening behaviour of second language students. In P. Pimsleur & T. Quinn (Eds.), *The psychology of second language learning* (pp. 165-169). Cambridge: CUP.

Kowal, S.H. Wiese, R., & O'Connel, D.C. (1983). The use of time in storytelling. *Language and Speech,* 26:377-392.

Lane, H., & Grosjean, F. (1973). Perception of reading rate by speakers and listeners. *Journal of Experimental Psychology,* 97:141-147.

Long, M.H. (1983). Native/non-native conversation and the negotiation of comprehensible input. *Applied Linguistics,* 4:126-147.

Lebauer, R.S. (1984). Using lecture transcripts in EAP lecture comprehension courses. *TESOL Quarterly,* 18:41-54.

Murakami, W. (1989). Psycholinguistic evidence in English speech. Paper presented at the 15th JALT Annual Conference, November 1989, Okayama, Japan.

Nagle, S.J., & Sanders, S.L. (1986). Comprehension theory and second language pedagogy. *TESOL Quarterly*, 20:9-26.

O'Connell, D.C. (1988). *Critical essays on language use and psychology*. New York: Springer-Verlag.

O'Connell, D.C. & Kowal, S.H. (1980). Prospectus for a science of pausology. In H.W. Dechert & M. Raupach (Eds.), *Temporal variables in speech: Studies in honour of Frieda Goldman-Eisler* (pp. 3-10). The Hague: Mouton.

Parker, K., & Chaudron, C. (1987). The effects of linguistic simplification and elaborative modifications on L2 comprehension. Paper presented at the 21st TESOL Convention, March 1987, Miami.

Paul, S. (1986). Pictorial redundancy, processing time, number of propositions, and comprehension of compressed speech. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University.

Pimsleur, P., Hancock, C., & Furey, P. (1977). Speech rate and listening comprehension. In M.K. Burt, H.C. Dulay, & M. Finocchiaro (Eds.), *Viewpoints on English as a second language* (pp. 27-34). New York: Regents.

Raupach. M. (1980a). Temporal variables in first and second language production. In H.W. Dechert & M. Raupach (Eds.), *Temporal variables in speech: Studies in honour of Frieda Goldman-Eisler* (pp. 263-270). The Hague: Mouton.

Raupach, M. (1980b). Cross-linguistic descriptions of speech performance as a contribution to 'contrastive psycholinguistics'. In H.W. Dechert & M. Raupach (Eds.), *Towards a cross-linguistic assessment of speech production* (pp. 9-22). Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Richards, J. (1983). Listening comprehension: Approach, design, procedure. *TESOL Quarterly*, 17:219-240.

Rivers W. M. (1981). *Teaching foreign language skills*, Second edition. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Voss, B. (1979). Hesitation phenomena as sources of perceptual errors for non-native speakers. *Language and Speech*, 22:129-144.

A Genre Description of the Argumentative Essay

Ken Hyland
PNG University of Technology
Lae, Papua New Guinea

Abstract

The difficulties faced by EFL/ESL students when asked to produce a piece of writing are often due to an inadequate understanding of how texts are organized. To facilitate effective writing therefore, teachers have to familiarize students with the rhetorical structures which are an important part of the meanings of texts.

This article focuses on an important type of written discourse, the argumentive essay, and proposes a preliminary descriptive framework of its rhetorical structure. Presenting research results, the author shows that a "categories analysis" can clarify the structure of written texts and provide pedagogically useful materials. A case is argued for the importance of explicit linguistic knowledge in developing writing skills and some implications for teaching strategies are drawn.

Introduction

Much of the published advice on teaching writing skills to second language students in recent years has focused on the "process approach". The emphasis has been on optimising opportunities for learner writers to "discover meaning" and engage in interaction with their audiences. However, this concentration on composing strategies has meant that an important aspect of writing instruction is frequently overlooked: The problematic business of precisely defining the required product.

Most applied linguistic endeavours in this area have been concerned with establishing general principles of text description rather than specifying the linguistic nature of the tasks we set our students. Until recently little attention was given to establishing the features of particular text types and so our understanding of schematic text structure is largely sketchy and implicit. As a result, we reward good work when we see it but without a clear awareness of what is required to achieve it.

This paper sets out a preliminary description of the structure of a familiar and important genre, the argumentative essay, and outlines some of its pedagogical implications. These initial findings are published both to show that common EFL genres have describable structures and to stimulate a more interventionist approach to teaching extensive writing. By this I mean using knowledge of text structure to enable students to shape their work to the conventions of the genre.

We need to acknowledge that L2 learners may have only a limited competence in using alien discourse forms and that process methodologies fail to address this issue. Learners simply need more information on what we expect them to produce.

Schemata and Genre Analysis

We recognise an effectively presented argument because our competence includes a shared knowledge of what constitutes a coherently organized text. To the extent that this formal structure is not employed, communication is impaired and the reader left either confused or unconvinced. If the text structure of the argumentative essay can be made explicit however, this information becomes an important pedagogical resource. Knowledge of text organization can be used to improve our teaching of writing.

Research in cognitive psychology has established that efficient comprehension of a text is dependent on the reader's ability to relate its skeletal design to a familiar stereotypical pattern called a schema (Kintsch, 1982; Widdowson, 1983).

"Formal schemata" (Carrell, 1983) constitute knowledge about text types and are indispensable to understanding, enabling the reader to correctly identify and organize information by locating it in a conventional frame. Obviously the range of texts a reader can participate in depends on how many formal schemata she or he can use proficiently. Teachers therefore have a vital role to play in familiarizing students with the schemata associated with particular varieties of writing or *genres*.

Describing the schemata appropriate to different genres involves analysing how writers typically sequence information. The schemata which invoke familiar processing strategies in the reader can be examined to discover how they are routinely constructed to form particular rhetorical structures.

The description proposed here then has its theoretical foundations in genre analysis, an approach concerned with the communicative purposes of written language. Genre theory has yet to make much impression on EFL methodology but has had a major impact in the fields of EST and EAP (e.g. Swales, 1984; Dudley-Evans, 1986; Hopkins & Dudley-Evans, 1988). In this system of analysis, texts are distinguished according to their goal orientations and examined to determine how they are structured to achieve specific ends. This involves revealing how writers typically sequence information in the context of a particular text type.

The Argumentative Essay — Data and Categories

The preliminary categories proposed here are based on a detailed study of the top 10% of essay scripts submitted for the Papua New Guinea High School matriculation in English in 1988 (65 papers). The topic required candidates to choose one sector of the PNG education system and argue a case for giving it more resources. This data was supplemented by an informal sample of journalistic material from the British and American press, partly to ascertain if the model could be generalised beyond L2 school essays. Although the findings which follow are preliminary, the model represents all the examples examined in the study.

The notion of structure assumes an assembly of analytical units with constraints on permissible sequences of categories. Because genre analysis is a directive to examine texts in terms of their *purpose*, rather than *content*, the units in this description are determined functionally, by the contribution they make to the discourse. The approach adopted here follows the familiar "categories analysis" of Halliday's early grammar (Halliday, 1961) and the Birmingham model of spoken discourse (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975). It involves combining units of the same size to form larger ones in much the same way that words combine to form groups which make clauses and so on.

The Description

In this model the text is the highest unit of description, having nice tidy boundaries and a clearly describable function. Thus the argumentative essay is defined by its purpose which is to persuade the reader of the correctness of a central statement. This text type is characterized by a three stage structure which represents the organizing principles of the genre: Thesis, Argument and Conclusion. In turn, each stage has a structure expressed in terms of moves, some of which are optional elements in the system. Below this, moves are realized in various ways at the level of form by lexical and grammatical means. Here the opportunity for variety arises and this brief analysis is unable to isolate the particular clause relations or lexical signals which typically express discourse moves.

Table 1 summarises the elements of the description, naming and defining the functions of the structural units. As can be seen, the

Table 1. Elements of structure of the Argumentative Essay

STAGE	MOVE
1. Thesis. Introduces the proposition to be argued.	(Gambit) Attention Grabber — controversial statement or dramatic illustration. (Information) Presents background material for topic contextualization. (Evaluation) Positive gloss — brief support of proposition. (Marker) Introduces and/or identifies a list.
2. Argument Discusses grounds for thesis. (Four move argument sequence can be repeated indefinitely)	Marker Signals the introduction of a claim and relates it to the text. (Restatement) Rephrasing or repetition of proposition. Claim States reason for acceptance of the proposition. Typically based on: a. Strength of perceived shared assumptions. b. A generalization based on data or evidence. c. Force of conviction Support States the grounds which underpin the claim. Typically: a. Explicating assumptions used to make claim. b. Providing data or citing references.
3. Conclusion Synthesizes discussion and affirms the validity of the thesis.	(Marker) Signals conclusion boundary Consolidation Presents the significance of the argument stage to the proposition. (Affirmation) Restates proposition. (Close) Widens context or perspective of proposition

organization of the three stages is stated in terms of move sequences. Bracketed elements are optional components in the structure and indicate that such a move need not occur but will appear in that position if it does.

I. The Thesis Stage

This stage introduces the discourse topic and advances the writer's proposition or central statement. Frequently coterminous with the paragraph in the exam data, its potential structure is identified as consisting of five moves, only one of which is obligatory.

1. The gambit is distinguished primarily by its arresting effect. The function of the move is to capture the reader's attention, rather than inform. The move is frequently found in editorials and requires a certain skill and authority to impress rather than aggravate the uncommitted reader.

> The South African Government stands constantly trapped between the anvil of right-wing resistance and the hammer of international opprobrium.
>
> (Times Editorial 9/12/88)
>
> The chorus ... blaming American "intransigence" for the near-collapse of the Uruguay round of trade talks in Montreal last week is hypocritical and self-serving.
>
> (Times Editorial 13/12/88)
>
> Many foreign employers complain about the sub-standard graduates produced in PNG.

2. Informing moves, on the other hand, are almost universal features of this type of writing. Realizations are largely drawn from a restricted class of illocutions which include definitions, classifications, descriptions, critiques or "straw man" arguments. It is possible that there is a restricted variety of ways which this move may be realised and that future analyses may suggest a rank level of discourse acts.

> Education is an investment in people and is vital to the progress and development of society.
>
> Potential students of PNG have over 3,300 education institutions available to them ranging from primary schools through High Schools to vocational colleges and universities.
>
> Since independence PNG has spent a lot of money financing the tertiary system and has not obtained good value for its money.

3. The proposition is the central move in the thesis stage and its only indispensable component. This functions to furnish a specific statement

572

of position which defines the topic and gives a focus to the entire composition.

> It is clear that more money is needed in the secondary sector and that more money should be spent there.
>
> The Universities should be given more financial assistance by the government to improve the quality of graduates in this country.
>
> I strongly propose the idea that our rural community schools be given first priorty in terms of government funding.

The proposition is not always expressed so succinctly however and may emerge from an informing move

> There is one sector that stands out in developing the country. That is the base of our education system — the community schools. This is where we should pay the closest attention.

or contextualizing information can be embedded in the proposition itself

> The justification for the decision not to extradite Father Patrick Ryan offered by the Irish Attorney-General yesterday is a shabby evasion.
>
> (Times Editorial 14/12/88)

Experienced feature writers often make their proposing move text initial by composing the central statement in the form of a gambit:

> In Thatcher's Britain ... powerful citadels of the worst type of trade unionism still flourish doing mighty damage to our internal and overseas trade.
>
> (Woodrow Wyatt, Times 14/12/88)

4. An evaluation may follow the proposition, this provides a positive comment on it.

> This sector is the most important because it provides basic knowledge and skills.
>
> This is primarily because it is the base of our education system.

5. The marker structures the discourse by signposting its subsequent direction. It occurs more frequently in the examination scripts and is often confined to a restricted class of formulae.

> There are a number of reasons for increasing assistance to community education.
>
> A solution has at least three interlocking parts.
>
> (Guardian Weekly 13/11/88)

II. The Argument Stage

This stage presents the infrastructure of reasons which characterise the genre. The argument stage consists of a possible four move cycle repeated indefinitely in a specific order.

1. The marker frames the sequence and connects it to both the steps in the argument and to the proposition. The shift to a new sequence may be implicit in a topic change, being embedded in the claim, but writers often wish to explicitly guide the reader through the argument stage. There are two main devices for accomplishing this:

a) Listing signals such as "first(ly)", "second(ly)", "next", etc. A closed class of formulaic elements, loved by students, which provide an inventory of items but require interpretive work by the reader to discover the relationships between them.

b) Transition signals to indicate the step to another sequence, marking addition, contrast, condition, specificity, etc. by adverbial connectives, conjunctions and comments indicating changes in the discussion.

> Turning to the economic benefits of vocational education ....
>
> Another way to improve the standard is to ...
>
> However, a start must be made somewhere and ...

2. A restatement of the proposition in some form is common here, particularly in the exam data where foregrounding the proposition provides a reminder of the subject

> The second reason why more money should be directed at the tertiary sector is ...
>
> Another way to improve the quality of primary education is ....

3. The central move in the argument sequence is the claim. This is a reason endorsing the validity of the proposition. Typically three tactics of persuasion are used:

(i) A statement appealing to the potency of "shared" presuppositions or expectations about topic background. This is an invitation to agree with the writer's assumptions and thereby accept the reasonableness of the position. Here, for example, we are obviously expected to understand events in the same way as the writer accepting the argument as relevant and the interpretation as favourable to his support for community education.

> With the basic skills we learn from community schools it would be easier for us to understand the trade and economy of our country.

The following claim also relies on an appeal to uncontentious background assumptions, although it may require more work to demonstrate relevance

> Providing for this sector also helps people learn how to vote in elections rather than someone directing them.

(ii) Alternatively, the writer may approach his audience by presenting a generalization based on factual evidence or expert opinion.

> We spend least for each student in community schools for the highest social returns (Table 1)
>
> British Rail's claim that it takes two years to build new trains to meet these demands has been dismissed by Richard Hope, Editor of Railway Gazette, as 'pure hogwash'.
>
> (Nigel Hawkes, The Observer 18/12/88)
>
> Sir John Guise states that this sector prepares students to participate in the economy of the country more directly.

(iii) The third tactic is a declaration of opinion aiming for maximum effect with minimum regard for opposing views.

> It cannot be denied that higher forms of education decrease our dependence on foreign domination in the economy.
>
> An example of how wrong and mad things are can be found in the discussion about Scotland.
>
> (Niel Ascherson, The Observer 18/12/88)
>
> The country's economy is disintegrating.
>
> (Times Editorial, 19/12/88)

4. The support move is an indispensable second part to the claim in a tied pair of moves. It furnishes explicit reinforcement for the claim and can comprise several paragraphs appealing to several sources of evidence. The support move is therefore both directly relevant to the claim and seeks to demonstrate the relevance of the claim to the proposition. The successful accomplishment of the claim-support pair depends on explicitly establishing these relevances.

The connection almost always involves some tacit understandings or warrants (Peters, 1985:8) and these differ enormously in the generality of their acceptance. Obviously the writer's knowledge of the audience is important here as the length and complexity of the support move often reflects the extent he/she believes the warrant diverges from shared understandings. Where a common knowledge base is assumed with the reader, as in this example, the writer can expect less resistance to a particular claim and leave a great deal unsaid.

> ...all children should be allowed a basic education.

Economy is not possible however with more specific warrants or where the warrant appeals to readers' specialised knowledge.

> At the moment, rail suffers from its heritage.

III. The Conclusion Stage

Rather than a summary or review, the conclusion is a fusion of constituents in this genre. It functions to consolidate the discourse and retrospectively affirm what has been communicated. There is a possible four move sequence to this stage.

1. Again many of the essay samples included a marker from a restricted class, normally "thus", "therefore", "to conclude", "the lesson to be drawn is", and so on.

2. The consolidation move refers back to the content of the argument section to relate the themes of the argument stage with the proposition. It is the central part of the conclusion.

> Thus the quality of the graduates is improved and the various sectors of the community are satisfied.
>
> ....many changes need to be made to improve the quality and quantity of students today.

3. The affirmation is an optional restatement of the proposition; rare in journalism, its omission is unusual in the exam data.

> To sum up, I strongly advise that more money should be spent on the primary sector.
>
> The community level is thus a crucial stage in development and therefore deserves more.

4. In contrast to the retrospective function of the consolidating move, the *close* provides a prospective focus. It looks forward to unstated aspects of the discussion by widening the context.

> In turn, this will increase the standard of living in the villages.
>
> Unless active measures are taken, the next generation will have little to thank us for when they start to contemplate the transport system they have been left.
>
> (Times Editorial 10/12/88)
>
> The future of the country will be jeopardised if nothing is done to improve this sector.

Some Pedagogical Implications

A genre-based description of text organization is not an end in itself for an increased understanding of communicative events can be of great value to teachers and learners. Such descriptions give a central role to language by emphasizing that it can be used to acquire knowledge about writing. Genre analysis provides the vocabulary and concepts to explicitly teach the text structures we would like our students to produce.

Writing problems of EFL students are often due to an inability to correctly marshall the resources of content and organization to meet the demands of the argumentative genre. This is not surprising while its structure remains an implicit element of the learning process. By employing genre descriptions, teachers can help students comprehend text structure and hence gain proficiency in making meanings effective.

Knowledge of generic structure has been successfully used to teach writing at primary schools (Rothery 1986a & b; Martin et al 1987). Grade 2 children were taught to recognize elements of narrative structure in familiar texts and then guided to model their own writing on the stages identified. The authors point out that knowledge of staging and grammatical realizations did not frighten the children but promoted

> more effective negotiations and consultations as well as providing each child with their own individual scaffolding that can be deployed as needed to produce successful texts.
>
> (Martin, Christie & Rothery, 1987:142)

The contribution of a language to examine language is therefore of primary pedagogical importance, allowing a greater and more effective degree of intervention by the teacher. This description of the argumentative essay could therefore prove useful in a number of ways.

Firstly, by making explicit the schema characteristics, good examples of the genre can be selected as models. These could then be discussed and exploited stage by stage to show how an essay is developed and meanings convincingly communicated. Conversely, badly organized texts provide opportunities for analysing weaknesses and examples of ineffectual communication.

Secondly, the framework can be used for guided writing practice in the genre. Control over structure means that stages can be worked on separately to polish strategies for, say, formulating a proposition or developing an effective conclusion. This can be achieved gradually by slowly increasing the complexity of how functional units are expressed. Alternatively, constraints can be placed on actual content to develop expression within a larger discourse.

Thirdly, research skills can be improved as they become an integral part of assembling an argument stage. By focusing on the connection between claim and support moves and showing how they are related to the proposition, skills such as library searches, material selection, summarising and note-taking become central aspects of essay writing.

In addition, the teacher's assessment of student's written work can be made more constructive. The genre description provides a paradigm for useful feedback, offering objective criteria for qualitative evaluation and a basis for informed discussion on each stage of the essay. Rather than simply encouraging students with marks and grades, strategies for improvement can be suggested based on explicit understandings of text requirements (Marshall, forthcoming).

Finally, the provision of an explicit approach increases opportunities for group discussion and teacher intervention at each stage of the writing process. Writing becomes more of a collaborative enterprise as students can both consult the teacher and work together to jointly construct their arguments. With explicit knowledge of the argumentative genre, the teacher is better able to provide informed input and fellow students can offer more positive suggestions and evaluations.

Intervention, then, is a deliberate and informed contribution by the teacher to the development of students' metacognitive and metalinguistic knowledge as a means to improve their writing skills.

It is important to be clear about the notion of intervention. An emphasis on structure and use of a linguistic metalanguage do not imply proscriptive rules or constraints on "creativity". This is not the conquest of form over content and the reinstatement of classroom grammar drills. It is a means of making students aware of how language works in the context of the argumentative essay.

I am not suggesting here that we adopt an exclusively "product-based" orientation to teaching writing as students obviously need to develop process skills. However, our understanding of writing processes should not prevent the provision of structural information. Furnishing students with explicit knowledge of target language discourse forms is a necessary correction and can complement process methodologies. Descriptions of text products will offer crucial classroom support for the L2 writer whose linguistic competencies are unlikely to extend to alien discourse conventions.

Genres are culturally formulated activities and represent how language is commonly used to achieve particular goals in our society. Effective argument is as much a matter of organization as content or creativity and constructing meaning involves developing rhetorical steps. In other words, to argue *is* to express ideas in these particular ways.

Conclusion

This preliminary description of the argumentative essay has begun to sketch the circumscribed range of options available to writers when presenting an argument. It is based on the notion that the structure of a text contributes significantly to the realisation of the meanings it contains and that a clarification of this structure can be an important pedagogical resource. Further investigation is necessary to develop the model and reveal the structure of the lowest units. Perhaps a greater degree of delicacy will establish that moves can be more finely distinguished as permissible sequences of "acts" or indeed, that the argumentative essay is more usefully categorised into sub-genres.

Nevertheless, I hope the model will serve as a useful starting point for discussion and prove valuable to teachers trying to develop more effective writing programmes. After all, the more explicit we can make our knowledge of particular genres, the clearer we can be when asking our students to write and the more positive we can be when intervening in the process. Writing is clearly a teachable skill and increasing the visibility of what is to be learnt must be an indispensable part of this teaching.

References

Carrell, PL (1983). Some issues in studying the role of schemata, or background knowledge, in second language comprehension.... *Reading in a foreign language.* 1,2 81-92.

Dudley-Evans, T (1986). Genre-analysis: An investigation of the introduction and discourse sections of MSc dissertations. M Coulthard (Ed) *Talking about text.* ELR, Birmingham.

Halliday, MAK. (1961). Categories of the Theory of Grammar. *Word* 17:241-292.

Hammond, J. (1987). An Overview of the Genre-Based Approach to the Teaching of Writing in Australia. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics* 10, 2:163-181.

Hopkins, A & T Dudley-Evans (1988). A genre-based investigation of the discussion sections in articles and dissertations. *English for Specific Purposes.* 7:113-121.

Kintsch, W (1982). Text representations. W Otto & S White (eds). *Reading expository material.* New York, Academic Press.

Marshall, S. (forthcoming). A Genre-Based Approach to the Teaching of Report Writing. Unpublished Paper, PNG Unitech.

Martin, JR. (1986). Intervening in the Process of Writing Development. *Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, Occasional Papers* 9, 11-43.

Martin, JR, Christie, F & Rothery, J (1987). Social Processes in Education: A reply to Sawyer & Watson (and others). *Working Papers in Linguistics* 5, Linguistics Dept., University of Sydney 116-152.

Peters, P. (1985). *Strategies for Student Writers.* John Wiley.

Rothery, J. (1986a). Teaching Writing in the Primary School: A Genre-Based Approach to the Development of Writing abilities. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 4, Linguistics Dept., University of Sydney.

Rothery, J. (1986b). Writing to Learn and Learning to Write. *Working Papers in Linguistics* 4, Linguistics Dept., University of Sydney.

Sinclair, J McH & Coulthard, RM (1975). *Towards an Analysis of Discourse.* OUP.

Swales, J (1984). Research into the structure of introductions to journal articles and its application to the teaching of academic writing. *Common ground: Shared interests in ESP & communication studies.* ELT Documents 117, Pergamon.

Widdowson, HG. (1983). *Learning Purposes and Language Use.* OUP.

ESL Reading Comprehension Instruction

Leah D. Miller
Northwestern University and
Kyle Perkins
Southern Illinois University

Abstract

Observational studies have shown that very little time is devoted to comprehension instruction in reading classes. In addition, there is a tendency for reading students to practice skills on their own and to determine for themselves how and where to use those skills. In this paper the authors present some techniques for comprehension instruction and some guidance on how to teach students to apply the reading skills they have learned.

Introduction

Reading teachers allot very little attention to reading comprehension *per se*. In a study of 40 intermediate grade teachers Durkin (1978–79) discovered that those teachers devoted less than 25 percent of their instructional activity to comprehension. The majority of time was spent on comprehension assessment and administration and assistance with assigned work.

In content areas like science and social studies teachers tend to duplicate the text. Gallagher and Pearson (1982) studied teacher-student interaction in science and social studies classes and found that the most common pattern involved an oral reading of the text with low-level detail questions. The second most common pattern was a teacher-student dialogue focussing on what the teacher thought was important, after the students had read the text on their own. The third most common pattern involved the teacher paraphrasing the text, after the students had read the text.

The two previously mentioned papers address L1 reading instruction. While we have no similar published observations of L2 instructional practices, we suggest that the same traits are also manifested in ESL reading classes. If our suspicion is indeed confirmed, then much of the time spent on reading instruction is either invalid or misguided.

Our aim in this paper is to present some techniques and strategies for teaching ESL reading comprehension. We hope that the information will help ESL reading teachers focus their attention on instruction in different reading skills and how they can help their students apply those skills. Our sampler — far from being exhaustive — addresses the following issues: (1) providing background knowledge, (2) textual analysis, (3) metacognition and strategy training, (4) increasing academic engagement time and group instruction, (5) reciprocal teaching, and (6) summary writing.

Providing Background Knowledge

There is a significant relationship between a reader's background knowledge and his/her proficient text processing. When the reader's stock of relevant background is meager, the teacher must take steps to fill the lacunae. There are different approaches to building background knowledge.

One approach is to provide a prereading precis. The purpose of a precis is to introduce the characters in the text and to present contextually defined vocabulary. A precis also gives a summary of the problem and the events that lead to a resolution of the problem.

Another approach to enhancing textually-relevant background knowledge involves a higher level of abstraction and generality than the summary precis. Providing an abstract and general overview of the text to be read has its origin in the psychologist Ausubel's (1963, 1968, 1978) theory of meaningful verbal learning. Ausubel's theory predicts that a reader's processing of text material can be facilitated and enhanced by providing a cognitive structure of the material to be read before s/he begins to process it. An abstract and general overview is supposed to build a scaffold of cognitive structure which the reader fleshes out during the reading process by adding lower order information.

A third technique for building background knowledge is to provide an analogical tie between existing knowledge of a topic (i.e., a familiar domain) and knowledge to be gleaned during the comprehension process (i.e., an unfamiliar domain). This technique is a manifestation of one of the principles of reading comprehension — a reader must relate old, given knowledge to novel information. The process discussed in this paragraph could also be thought of as schema activation or schema acquisition.

If a teacher chooses not to use one of the previously discussed techniques employing topically relevant texts to build background knowledge, then s/he could follow Yorio's (1971:114) recommendation:

> Passages or readers should be chosen with extreme care, taking

> grammatical structures *and* vocabulary into consideration. Passages with a story-line should be chosen first; they will be easier to understand and will, in consequence, build up the reader's confidence in his ability to handle "the rules of the game."

When a reader's background knowledge is scant, a second activity is called for — teaching passage specific vocabulary. The first step in this technique is to classify the passage vocabulary in relation to the reader's knowledge of the concept or the word *per se*.

Graves (1984:246–247) has identified four types of vocabulary:

> Type One Words – words which are in the students' oral vocabulary but which they cannot read.
>
> Type Two Words – new meanings for words which are already in the students' reading vocabulary with one or more other meanings.
>
> Type Three Words – words which are in neither the students' oral vocabulary nor their reading vocabulary and for which they do not have an available concept but for which a concept can be easily built.
>
> Type Four Words – words which are in neither the students' oral vocabulary nor their reading vocabulary, for which they do not have an available concept, and for which a concept cannot be easily built.

Teaching Type Three and Type Four Words is the most difficult and the most time consuming. The text being taught is the only source for Type Four Words. Teachers may find word frequency lists such as Harris and Jacobson (1972), Dolch (1945), and Carroll, Davies, and Richman (1971) helpful in establishing the four categories of words for their students.

After the relevant passage specific vocabulary has been identified, the next step is to determine how best to teach the new vocabulary. A semantic field approach to teaching vocabulary has some precedent from learning theory research.

Mackey (1965:76) described the notion of a semantic field as follows:

> ....made of basic key-words, which command an army of others. The semantic area may be regarded as a network of hundreds of associations, each word of which is capable of being the centre of a web of associations radiating in all directions.

We recommend the semantic field approach to teaching vocabulary because Tulving (1962), among others, has shown that data which have been logically organized into semantic categories have a more accurate recall rate than data which have been organized in other manners.

The crucial aspect to a semantic field approach for teaching vocabulary is to reinforce the relationship between key words and related words at all levels of text processing (i.e., from word to discourse). Exercises might include the substitution of key words for related words and the identification of unrelated words from a set.

Textual Analysis

There are several techniques which the reading teacher can use to provide explicit instruction about the structures which underlie texts. We will briefly discuss two techniques — story grammars and text mapping. The term story grammar is used to refer to internal story structures. It is generally assumed that story grammars are naturally acquired by the recurrent telling of stories that contain such structures. Given the fact that the notion of what a text is varies from culture to culture and the internal structure of a story may vary from language to language, we believe that story structures should be explicitly taught to ESL students in order for them to utilize such information for hypothesis formation and testing in future reading.

There are different versions of story grammars. For purposes of illustration, we will present only Thorndyke's (1977) version of a story grammar which has nine categories: (1) Story-setting + theme + plot + resolution, (2) Setting-character + location + time, (3) Theme-stated event and goal or implied goals introduced by events leading up to and justifying goal, (4) Plot-x number of episodes (cluster of actions in attempts to achieve goal), (5) Episode-subgoal + attempt + outcome, (6) Attempt-event or episode, (7) Outcome-event or new state, (8) Resolution-final result (event) or final state, and (9) Subgoal and goal-desired state (Lapp and Flood 1983:170).

Figure 1 presents a simple story and an illustration of Thorndyke's parsing.

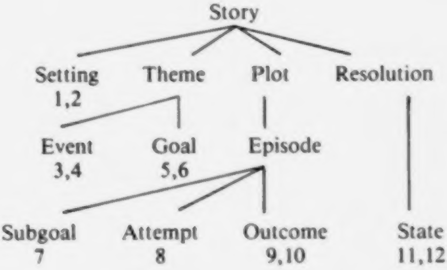
Text mapping is an analogous operation whereby the teacher selects key content ideas and represents them in a visual display, making explicit the idea relationships (Armbruster, 1979).

Figures 2 and 3 present a text and a map derived from Meyer's (1975) analysis.

We recommend the use of story grammars and text mapping because they focus the reader's attention to the text structure underlying the story. An additonal benefit from these instructional materials is the graphic explicit connection between ideas which may have been implicit in the text.

Bernie, the Bear

1. Once upon a time there was a big brown bear named Bernie.
2. He lived in a dark hole deep in the forest.
3. One day, Bernie was wandering through the forest.
4. Then he spotted a big glob of honey on the stump of a tree.
5. Bernie knew how delicious honey tasted.
6. He wanted to taste it right away.
7. So he walked very close to the tree.
8. Then he licked the honey with his tongue.
9. Suddenly, Bernie was surrounded by swarming bees.
10. He had been stung by the bees.
11. He felt sad and hurt.
12. Bernie wished he had been more careful



(Lapp and Flood 1983:169,170)

Fig 1. Simple Story and Its Grammar

Metacognition and Strategy Training

Proficient readers keep track of their successes as comprehension proceeds. They continue to progress through the text as long as they comprehend. When comprehension ceases, the good reader stops or takes some remedial action. The process of keeping track of success in reading comprehension is referred to as the metacognitive activity of comprehension monitoring. Students can be trained to use different strategies in their reading classes.

One suggestion is to give alternative introductions, prior to reading the assigned text and have the students perform the following tasks:

(1) Relate what they [know] (from their prior knowledge) about what to do

The garbage collectors of the sea are the decomposers. Day and night, ocean plants and animals that die, and the body wastes of living animals, slowly drift down to the sea floor. There is a steady rain of such material that builds up on the sea bottom. This is especially true on the continental shelves, where life is rich. It is less true in the desert regions of the deep ocean.

As on the land, different kinds of bacteria also live in the sea. They attack the remains of dead plant and animal tissue and break it down into nutrients. These nutrients are then taken up by plant and animal plankton alike. Among such nutrients are nitrate, phosphate, and manganese, silica, and calcium.

As the nutrients are released, they spread around in the water. But they tend to stay near the bottom until some motion of the water stirs them. As you saw earlier, during those seasons when the water is churned up and mixed, the nutrients are brought up to the surface. They may also be brought up by the upwelling action of deep currents. This is especially so along the west coasts of Africa, South America, and North America. Wherever there are regions of upwelling of nutrients, there are rich "fields" of plant plankton, usually during all seasons of the year.

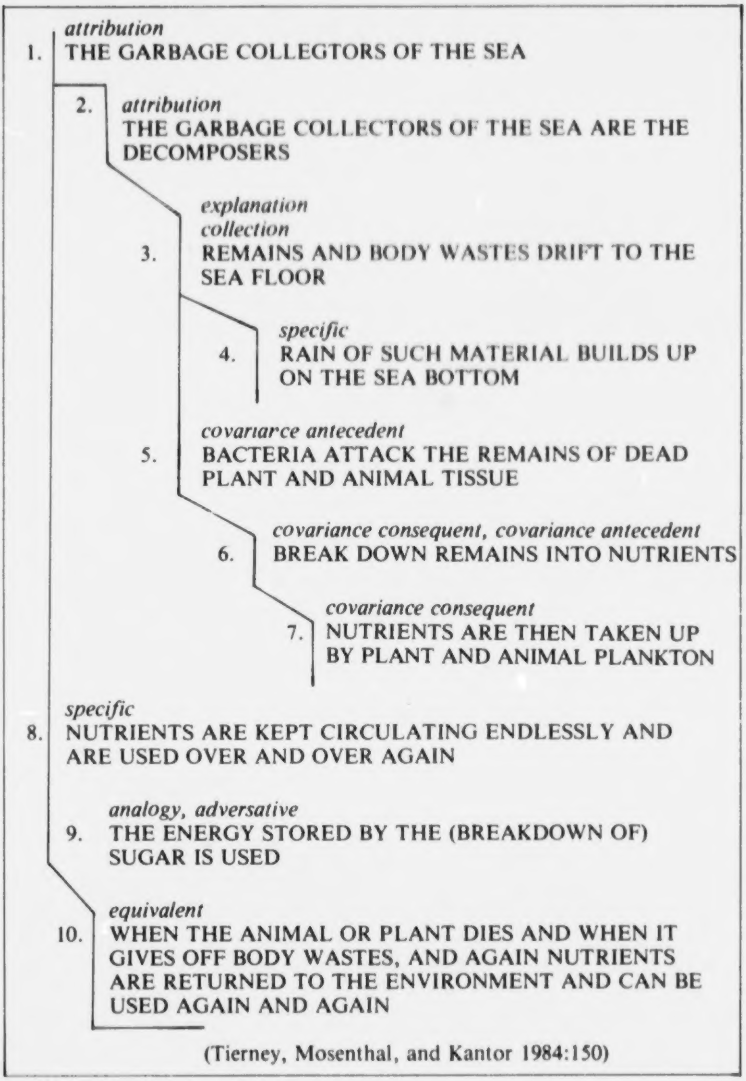
So nutrients are kept circulating endlessly in the oceans, and are used over and over again by plant, plankton and whales alike. When a plant or animal breaks down the sugar-fuel it needs for growth, the energy stored by the sugar is used. Some of it goes into building new body parts and some of it is lost as heat. This is not true of nutrients.

Nutrients are not "used up" in that way. For a while, oxygen, carbon, calcium, and other nutrients that a plant or animal takes in become part of the plant or animal. But when the animal or plant dies, and when it gives off body wastes, the nutrients are returned to the environment and can be used again and again (Tierney, Mosenthal, and Kantor 1984:144).

Fig. 2 The Garbage Collectors of the Sea

> in circumstances like those the upcoming story characters would experience, and (2) predict what the story protagonist would do when confronted with these critical situations from the to-be-read story, and (3) write down their prior knowledge answers on one sheet of paper, their prediction on a second, and then weave the two together to establish the metaphor that reading involves weaving together what one knows with what is in a text. They then read the story to compare their predictions with what actually occurred (Pearson and Gallagher 1983:330).

Raphael and Pearson (1982) suggest another instructional strategy to help students monitor with awareness when attending to inference and literal questions. Students are taught to generate the following types of answers: (1) textually explicit answers which are derived from the same text sentence from which the question was generated and labelled RIGHT THERE, (2) textually implicit answers which are derived from a



1. *attribution*
   THE GARBAGE COLLEGTORS OF THE SEA
    2. *attribution*
       THE GARBAGE COLLECTORS OF THE SEA ARE THE DECOMPOSERS
        3. *explanation*
           collection
           REMAINS AND BODY WASTES DRIFT TO THE SEA FLOOR
            4. *specific*
               RAIN OF SUCH MATERIAL BUILDS UP ON THE SEA BOTTOM
        5. *covariarce antecedent*
           BACTERIA ATTACK THE REMAINS OF DEAD PLANT AND ANIMAL TISSUE
            6. *covariance consequent, covariance antecedent*
               BREAK DOWN REMAINS INTO NUTRIENTS
                7. *covariance consequent*
                   NUTRIENTS ARE THEN TAKEN UP BY PLANT AND ANIMAL PLANKTON
8. *specific*
   NUTRIENTS ARE KEPT CIRCULATING ENDLESSLY AND ARE USED OVER AND OVER AGAIN
    9. *analogy, adversative*
       THE ENERGY STORED BY THE (BREAKDOWN OF) SUGAR IS USED
    10. *equivalent*
        WHEN THE ANIMAL OR PLANT DIES AND WHEN IT GIVES OFF BODY WASTES, AND AGAIN NUTRIENTS ARE RETURNED TO THE ENVIRONMENT AND CAN BE USED AGAIN AND AGAIN

(Tierney, Mosenthal, and Kantor 1984:150)

Fig. 3
A Meyer Analysis of the Structural Properties of "Garbage Collectors of the Sea"

text sentence different from the one from which the question was derived and labelled THINK AND SEARCH, and (3) scriptally implicit answers which are derived from the reader's own background knowledge and labelled ON MY OWN. The teacher asks the students to identify which of the three strategies they had used to answer each question. The point of such instruction is to make students aware that the answers to comprehension questions can be answered from both text knowledge and background knowledge.

Some words of caution about the use of metacognitive strategies are in order. Reading should always take precedent over reading strategies. Before any strategy work is begun, students should be given the opportunity to read as much as possible. Often readers are aware of and actively plan and select strategies to use when they encounter comprehension difficulties; however, it is not clear that metacognitive activities are always deliberate. Good readers and poor readers process text differently, and good readers may not need to stop and think about what they should do if they are not comprehending. They may only need reflect consciously on their misunderstanding and plan how to resolve it when their comprehension difficulties are serious. Poor readers, on the other hand, may not realize when they do not understand, or if they are conscious of their misunderstanding, they may not know how to deal with the problem. It is probably helpful to have poor readers constantly monitor their comprehension of the text. Certainly all beginning ESL readers, regardless of their age, are more like poor readers than good readers. Thus, we can help beginning readers and advanced but poor readers with metacognitive strategies, but such strategies should be secondary to reading itself.

Increasing Academic Engagement Time and Group Instruction

Rosenshine (1979) found that academic engagement time and group instruction affect student learning. The rate of students' academic engagement is higher when they are being supervised by a teacher than when they are working independently. A problem arises when only the teacher or an individual student is allowed to speak at a time. All others must orient silently to the speaker to show that they are paying attention. Students who wish to speak must either wait or be acknowledged by the teacher. Students must be aware of the rules of participation (cf. Coulthard, 1977).

Based on their research with Hawaiian children, Au and Mason (1981) suggest that minority and ESL students may be functioning with different rules of participation in the reading classroom. These rule differences decrease the rate of student academic engagement time with the teacher.

In light of Au and Mason's findings, it is worth considering some of their suggestions to increase the rate of academic engagement time. Teachers should provide substantial teacher-led group activity. What the teacher does with this time allotted for group instruction is central to the reading situation. Instruction in the small group should consist of controlled practice in a sequence where the teacher first models the correct behaviour, then leads students in the response, and finally tests them to see if they can reply correctly on their own. With ESL students, some of the time is spent teaching turntaking rather than focussing on the reading component.

Perhaps one of the reasons why class management takes so much time is that the norms of ESL students' culture may not concur with our cultural teaching norms. Thus, they may experience a different tempo at which teacher-student interactions are conducted, different teacher controls, and different student interactions. All of these can affect the amount of academic engagement time spent in the reading class. Because we cannot be cognizant of the different cultural norms for teacher-student interaction, including the rules governing speaking, listening, and turntaking, we need strategies to manage interaction in the reading class.

If we are aware of the preferred teaching style of our culture, we can balance this preference with the learning style of our students. We tend to teach reading in the following way. After the students have read the assigned text, we discuss it. During the discussion, we tend to ask a question and then choose a student to answer it. Frequently, after the question is asked, many ESL students will shout out the answer. The student who is selected may or may not give only the information elicited. Sometimes the student who has been nominated will not answer. Thus, American teachers tend to stress individual achievement. What is interesting is that students who shout out are undoubtedly responding according to their cultural norms as are the students who do not respond when called upon because they are accustomed to choral responses, or when singled out, they give a specific answer and no more.

Because all reading lessons involve instruction, the teacher must exert some degree of authority over the group to maintain the students' productive responses, i.e., these responses must be toward learning and not just toward verbalizing. Teachers can maximize this instruction by (1) formulating the questions for discussion carefully and (2) accepting the students' responding behaviours, i.e., students should be given the opportunity to respond independently, to receive help from others, to comment on, to contradict, or to complement others' answers (cf. Au and Mason, 1982).

A portion of time must be allotted to accommodate for our cultural preference in teaching. During this time, students need to be made aware that this time is for individual teacher-student interaction. The teacher equalizes the distribution of turns among the students. Each student is given the opportunity to speak. Thus the division of discussion time with two distinct, but equal, portions — group discussion, directed, but not led by the teacher, with all students who so desire interacting, and teacher-individual student interaction time when only the nominated student responds — can accommodate some of the variance between cultural norms. In addition, ESL students are introduced to the dominant teaching preference in American classrooms. By teaching students that we must balance the rights of the groups and the individual as well as the teacher, we can provide a situation in which, hopefully, maximum academic engagement time will be in operation.

Reciprocal Teaching

In reciprocal teaching the teacher and the students take turns assuming the role of teacher in a discussion of segments of the assigned reading. Reciprocal teaching has a two-fold purpose: (1) it teaches students how to maintain a balance of rights between individuals, groups, and the teacher and (2) it teaches students to monitor their own reading and comprehension. Reciprocal teaching places the responsibility for reading comprehension on the student rather than having the responsibility for comprehension generated by the teacher.

As with any reading comprehension teaching strategy, including reciprocal teaching, the teacher should adhere to the following procedure. First, the skill to be taught must be carefully defined. If the skill is a complex one, it should be broken down into small manageable steps. Then an instructional design of model, guided practice, independent practice, and direct practice should be followed (Rosenshine, 1979). In such a design the teacher (1) demonstrates how the skill should be performed, (2) gives guided practice by working through application examples, (3) gives independent practice, and (4) provides feedback by giving application information and correction.

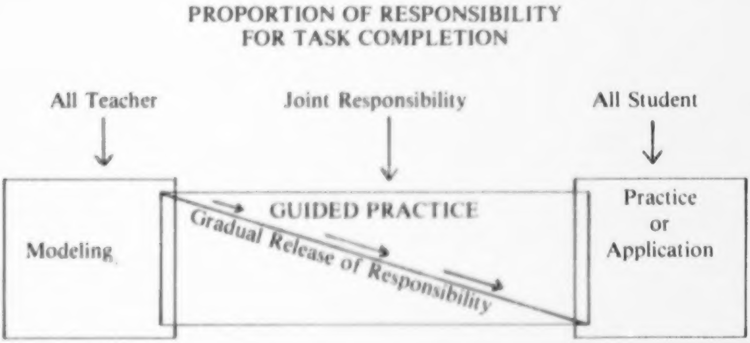
According to Brown and Palinscar (1983) the reciprocal teaching of comprehension-monitoring activities proceeds as follows. Students are first required to read silently the assigned text in order to answer the comprehension questions, ten being the maximum. Students should try to answer these questions from memory because this requires more attentive reading. As they read silently, if they need assistance with vocabulary, they are to ask the teacher for the needed explanation. They should not use a dictionary because this slows down the reading process. The comprehension questions are then given to the students, and they answer them orally. The students are then asked to read the selection again, silently, in order to answer other questions. When the questions are asked, the text is referred to. This is an important aspect of the strategy. Far too often, students do not search the text for the answers. They rely on memory or perceived memory for answers. This strategy can then be carried over for individual reading, i.e., when the teacher does not direct the comprehension exercises.

Prior to beginning teaching the strategy of reciprocal teaching the teacher tells the students the specific activities that their teaching will focus on. The teacher intervenes with one student in order to model her behaviour. The teacher and student engage in a "learning" game that involves taking turns in leading a dialogue concerning each segment of the text. The teacher draws attention to the title, the predictions based upon the title and from these the relationship of the passage to prior knowledge. Thus the teacher models the dialogue in order to teach one student what entities to pay attention to during the reading and the teaching process.

During the modeling process, the teacher frequently asks the student to go back and state the topic and the important points and to make predictions about the subsequent passages of the text. The teacher and student work through the selection paragraph by paragraph (or section by section). The student is then ready to be teacher. She is prompted to ask, "What questions do you think a teacher might ask?" Then the specific strategy is focussed on again, i.e., "Remember, a summary is a shortened version. A summary doesn't have detail." If the student is having difficulty, the teacher suggests that she summarize first and then form her questions.

Once the reciprocal teaching strategy is understood by the class, each student is given the opportunity to become the class teacher. The adult teacher interventions become fewer; they serve the purpose of orienting the student teacher and the class to focus on the specific strategy. Students are supposed to see the relationship between the teaching role and their own individualized reading.

In summary, reciprocal teaching entails the following steps: (1) students read silently, (2) the adult teacher asks comprehension questions about the selection — all questions are related to specific strategies, (3) the adult teacher models the student teacher so that the class can understand the teaching process, (4) the student teachers are responsible for comprehension questions on a given selection, (5) the group process of teaching is carried over into individual reading — the individual is always in the teaching situation as she reads. It is her responsibility to ask the questions related to comprehension as she reads. The teacher no longer assumes the total responsibility for comprehension. The reader, by looking at the text and by asking questions during the reading process, learns to be responsible for meaning.


PROPORTION OF RESPONSIBILITY
FOR TASK COMPLETION
All Teacher
Joint Responsibility
All Student
Modeling
GUIDED PRACTICE
Gradual Release of Responsibility
Practice
or
Application

(Pearson and Gallagher 1983:337)

Fig. 4 A Model of Instruction

In the preceding paragraphs we have mentioned the varying proportions of teacher and student responsibility for mastering a particular reading skill. Pearson and Gallagher (1983) have formulated a model of instruction (Figure 4) which depicts a continuum of responsibility from total teacher to total student. This particular model carries the essence of the goal of reciprocal teaching. Pearson and Gallagher describe the model as follows:

> When the teacher is taking all or most of the responsibility for task completion, he is "modelling" or demonstrating the desired application of some strategy. When the student is taking all or most of that responsibility, she is "practicing" or "applying" that strategy. What comes in between these two extremes is the gradual release of responsibility from teacher to student, or what Rosenshine might call "guided practice." The hope in the model is that every student gets to the point where she is able to accept total responsibility for the task, including the responsibility for determining whether or not she

> is applying the strategy appropriately (i.e., self-monitoring). But the model assumes that she will need some guidance in reaching that stage of independence and that it is precisely the teacher's role to provide such guidance (337-8).

Summary Writing

The last topic which we address is the strategic difficulties in summarizing texts (cf. Winograd, 1983). Good readers are able to identify what the author considers important in the text through the use of textual cues. Even though they may find some elements of the passage important because of their own interest, good readers are able to pay attention to the main ideas. The goal of summary writing is to get readers to read as good readers do.

With ESL readers, summary writing is difficult because they often attend to the words themselves or to their own personal interests. Thus, ESL readers tend to read like poor readers; consequently, their processing load becomes heavier and heavier as they proceed through the text. They become unable to use their own perceptions of what is important. Low-level ESL readers' summaries frequently reflect their inability to use their own perceptions because their summaries are often mere copying of the text. It may be the case that low-level readers need this phase of summary writing; however, if they stay at this level, their comprehension level will not advance — they may continue to be word-level readers. The ability to identify important elements in a text is a strategic skill that underlies both summary writing and comprehension.

There are other points to keep in mind for summary writing. The time for summary writing should be limited because this forces the students to be selective. Watch students while they read. Do they underline? Do they make notes? Do they ask questions after they finish reading or do they only depend on teacher-generated questions? If they rely on teacher-generated questions, this gives a rationale for the strategy of reciprocal teaching. One should also be aware that the proficiency level of the students may, in many instances, determine what questions can be asked. For example, advanced readers need inferencing; elementary to intermediate readers need comprehension via summary strategies. And finally, van Dijk and Kintsch's (1978) rules for summarizing narratives might also be germane: (1) select and create topic sentences, (2) subordinate subtopics, and (3) delete irrelevancies and redundancy.

We conclude our presentation with some general guidelines for teaching reading comprehension skills and strategies: (1) begin with simple skills and work up to the more complex skills, (2) define each skill carefully and clearly, (3) use a model-guided practice-independent practice-feedback instructional design, (4) make certain there is provision for self-monitoring, (5) make certain that the task requirement is unambiguous, (6) provide for interaction so students can pool ideas and experience, (7) build new concepts before students are asked to comprehend them including novel content vocabulary, and (8) provide a scaffold for integrating new ideas with background knowledge.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to present some techniques and strategies for teaching ESL reading comprehension. A secondary aim was to draw attention to the fact that the majority of classroom time should be devoted to teaching comprehension skills and how those skills are applied. Too often it is the case that students must practice reading comprehension skills on their own and independently ascertain when, where, and how to apply those skills.

References

Armbruster, Bonnie Betts. 1979. An investigation of the effectiveness of "mapping" text as a studying strategy of middle schools. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois.

Au, Kathryn Hu-pei and Jana M. Mason. 1981. Social organizational factors in learning to read: The balance of rights hypothesis. *Reading Research Quarterly* 17(1):115–152.

Au, Kathryn Hu-Pei and Jana M. Mason. 1982. *Microethnographic approach to the study of classroom reading instruction: Rationale and procedures.* (Technical Report No. 237). Champaign: Center for the Study of Reading, University of Illinois.

Ausubel, David P. 1963. Cognitive structure and the facilitation of meaningful verbal learning. *Journal of Teacher Education* 14(2):217–222.

Ausubel, David P. 1968. *Educational psychology: A cognitive view.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Ausubel, David P. 1978. In defense of advance organizers: A reply to the critics. *Review of Educational Research* 48(2):251–257.

Brown, Ann L. and A. S. Palinscar. 1982. *Inducing strategic learning from texts by means of informed, self-control training.* (Technical Report No. 262). Champaign: Center for the Study of Reading, University of Illinois.

Carroll, John B., Peter Davies, and Barry Richman. 1971. *The American heritage word frequency book.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Coulthard, Malcolm. 1977. *An introduction to discourse analysis*. London: Longman Group Limited.

Dolch, Edward W. 1945. *A manual for remedial reading*. Champaign: Garrad.

Durkin, Dolores. 1978-79. What classroom observations reveal about reading comprehension instruction. *Reading Research Quarterly* 14(4):481-533.

Gallagher, Margaret and P. David Pearson. 1982. *The role of reading in content area instruction*. Paper presented at the National Reading Conference, Clearwater, FL, December 4.

Graves, Michael F. 1984. *Selecting vocabulary to teach in the intermediate and secondary grades. In Promoting reading comprehension*, James Flood (Ed.), 245-260. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Harris, Albert J. and Milton D. Jacobson. 1972. *Basic elementary reading vocabularies*. New York: MacMillan.

Lapp, Diane and James Flood. 1983. *Teaching reading to every child (second edition)*. New York: MacMillan.

Mackey, William F. 1965. *Language teaching analysis*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Meyer, Bonnie J. F. 1975. *The organization of prose and its effects on memory*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Pearson, P. David and Margaret Gallagher. 1983. The instruction of reading comprehension. *Contemporary Educational Psychology* 8(3):317-344.

Raphael, Taffy and P. David Pearson. 1982. *The effects of metacognitive strategy awareness training on students' question answering behaviour* (Technical Report No. 238). Champaign: Center for the Study of Reading, University of Illinois.

Rosenshine, Barak V. 1979. Content, time, and direct instruction. In *Research on teaching: Concepts, findings, and implications*, Herbert J. Walberg and Penelope L. Peterson (Eds.), 28-56. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Thorndyke, Perry W. 1977. Cognitive structures in comprehension and memory of narrative discourse. *Cognitive Psychology* 9(1):77-110.

Tierney, Robert J., James Mosenthal, and Robert N. Kantor. 1984. Classroom applications of text analysis: Toward improving text selection and use. In *Promoting reading comprehension*, James Flood (Ed.), 139-160. Newark, DE: International Reading Association.

Tulving, Endel. 1962. Subjective organization in free recall of "unrelated" words. *Psychological Review* 69(4):344-354.

Van Dijk, Teun and Walter Kintsch. 1978. Cognitive psychology and discourse: Recalling and summarizing stories. In *Current trends in text linguistics,* Wolfgang V. Dressler (Ed.), 61-68. New York: De Gruyter.

Winograd, P. 1983. *Strategic difficulties in summarizing texts* (Technical Report No. 274). Champaign: Center for the Study of Reading, Univeristy of Illinois.

Yorio, Carlos A. 1971. Some sources of reading problems for foreign-language learners. *Language Learning* 21(1):107-115.

Current Research in Southeast Asia

Yolanda Beh
RELC

One of the objectives of the RELC Library and Information Centre is to serve as a clearing-house of language-related information for the SEAMEO member countries. Towards this end, the Centre attempts to collect reports on relevant research and disseminate them through publication in this journal. It is thus hoped that information on current research is not only provided but also that there will be less likelihood of duplication of research.

Contributions are earnestly sought from researchers who may request a form from the following address:

Librarian and Head of Information Centre
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore.

Alternatively, researchers may send write-ups on their work to the same address under the headings: Title, Description, Principal researcher, Sponsoring or financing body (if applicable).

BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

Title:	**Reading Interests and Habits of Children in Brunei Darussalam**
Description:	The main focus of this survey is centred on the identification of the interest to read, sources of encouragement, reading resources and materials, preferences of time and place for reading, reading in groups or alone and the duration spent in reading. Other factors being considered are the home environment and its location, socio-economic status, gender, class and age levels, ethnic origin, accessibility and availability of reading materials and types of materials read. This survey will involve an estimated sample population of 4,500 students (primary 4, 5 and 6) from the primary schools of Brunei Darussalam. It is a part of a bigger study which involves Sabah, Sarawak and Brunei Darussalam. The survey on

children's reading interests and habits in Sabah has since been completed.

Principal researcher: Elizabeth Liew
Senior Lecturer
Department of Language Education
Universiti Brunei Darussalam
Gadong, Bandar Seri Begawan 3186
Brunei Darussalam

Title: **The influence of Ngoko Javanese in the Non-Standard Use of Spoken Indonesian**

Description: Using as subjects eight Indonesian graduate students from different parts of Indonesia studying at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, the project attempts to find traces of Ngoko Javanese influence in their non-standard use of spoken Indonesian. The aims are to find out the extent to which Ngoko Javanese elements affect their non-standard repertoire of Indonesian as well as the extent to which these elements contribute to the use of non-standard spoken Indonesian and reflect the social and personal relationships between the speakers. The study also looks into the vowel, consonantal and morpho-syntactical changes and lexical borrowings made by the speakers.

Principal researcher: Karyono Purnama
Lecturer
Universiti Brunei Darussalam
Gadong, Bandar Seri Begawan 3186
Brunei Darussalam

Indonesia

Title: **A Pragmatic Study of Speech Act Performance in Two British Plays: Its Relevance to the Teaching of English at Hasanuddin University**

Description: This study is an attempt to identify pragmatic factors in two British plays and to relate them to the Indonesian sociocultural context. The speech act performance in the plays may serve as appropriate data for a pragmatic analysis since it constitutes the repertoire of native speakers in social interaction.

The objectives of the study are (1) to identify what strategies are used in the speech act performance within the plays, (2) to analyse, based on pragmatic theories, the speech act functions in the English expressions used in the plays and to find their equivalents in Bahasa Indonesia, (3) to discover whether the linguistic expressions used in the plays exhibit pragmatic equivalence but do not exhibit formal equivalence in Bahasa Indonesia, (4) to use the findings of the study as models for selecting and/or developing EFL course materials for use at Hasanuddin University.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — Hasanuddin University.

Principal researcher: Jan Hendrik Ruru
Lecturer, Faculty of Letters
Hasanuddin University
Blok F30, Kompleks Perumahaw UNHAS,
Jalan Sunu
Ujung Pandang
Indonesia

Title: **Classroom Verbal Interaction**

Description: This is a naturalistic study of the oral discourse used by the teacher and the students in their classroom communication. With the focus on language use in a classroom in a teacher training institute, the study will cover the three basic levels of oral discourse i.e. speech act, move and exchange. Data obtained through field notes, observation sheets, questionnaires, etc. will be analysed within the framework of the Spradley steps of analysis: domain, taxonomy, componential and thematic analysis.

It is hoped that this exploratory research will help to identify principles for and improve the quality and strategies of language learning and teaching in a country where English is taught as a foreign language.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — IKIP Jakarta.

Principal researcher: Paul Ohoiwutun
Head of Training Implementation Division
Civil Aviation Training Centre (CATC)

Tangerang P O Box 50
Indonesia

MALAYSIA

Title: **The Effect of Journal Writing on the Development of Writing of Primary School Children in a Selected School in Negri Sembilan**

Description: Malaysian teachers still mark written work scanning for structural errors and hardly any meaningful feedback is given to young ESL writers. It is felt that journal writing would have a positive effect on the development of children's writing in the ESL classroom. The main aim of the project is therefore to study the effect of journal writing on Malaysian primary school children who have been exposed only to controlled and guided writing exercises which have somewhat inhibited their style of writing. Pre- and post-tests consisting of two essays, descriptive and narrative, will be administered and the results analysed using the scores obtained.

Thesis (M.A.) — Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Principal researcher: Chandrika Nair
2940 Taman Kian Kee
70450 Seremban
Negri Sembilan
Malaysia

Title: **An Investigation of the Effect of a 'Teaching' Approach as Compared to a 'Testing' Approach on the Listening Comprehension Abilities of Teacher Trainees in Malaysia**

Description: Listening comprehension lessons more often than not set out to 'test' rather than 'teach'. The syllabus for English in Malaysian teacher training colleges has particularly emphasized that teaching the listening skill through active listening practice should be one way of building up the confidence and ability of a student. However, the actual listening ability of a student is far from being achieved. The study aims to find out the effects of a 'teaching' approach as opposed to a 'testing' approach on the listening comprehension abilities of teacher trainees in Malaysia. It also aims to provide the teacher educators with a description of the 'teaching' approach which will be a viable alternative to the existing testing approach.

Thesis (M.A. (Appl. Ling.)) — National University of Singapore.

Principal researcher: Kanagarany Appukuddy
Lecturer
Mohammad Khalid Teachers' Training College
Johor Baru
Malaysia

SINGAPORE

Title: **The English of Singapore and Its Registers**

Description: The project will investigate variations in the grammar and vocabulary between registers of English as used in Singapore. By analysing examples of language taken from a wide range of situations, the research will investigate the amount of variation relating this to descriptive studies of language elsewhere. The variation between the written and spoken forms will be of particular interest.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — National University of Singapore.

Principal researcher: Christopher Stephen Ward
Director, General English Unit
The British Council
11 Napier Road
Singapore 1025

Title: **Factors Affecting Secondary Three Students' Choice of Code in Informal Settings in School**

Description: The problem under study is the failure of many government schools to establish an English-speaking environment. Mandarin seems to be the preferred code used in informal settings among Chinese peers. The aim of this study is to identify the factors that affect secondary three students' choice of languages spoken in informal social settings in school. The three factors which are being studied are (1) students' perception of their oral competence in English (2) students' perception of the importance of oral English (3) students' group solidarity. The data will be collected through an attitudinal survey employing a questionnaire. Both the Likert scale and a semantic differential scale will be used in the questionnaire.

Thesis (M.A. (Appl. Ling.)) — National University of Singapore.

Principal researcher: Lam Lai Ore
Head of Department (English Language)
Rangoon Road Secondary School
15 Rangoon Lane
Singapore 0821

BOOK REVIEW

Intercultural Communication: Between Japan and the United States

Kenji Kitao and S. Kathleen Kitao. 1989. Tokyo: Eichosha Shinsha Co. Ltd., vii + 579pp.

Reviewed by
Kazunori Nozawa
Department of Humanities
Toyohashi University of Technology

The language (especially ESL/EFL) teaching profession throughout the world seems to have been getting more and more eclectic in the last decade. A teacher cannot say that s/he is well-prepared by merely being familiar with methods; the profession is seen under the influence of an ever-wider range of disciplines: psychology (learning strategies and styles/behaviours), neurolinguistics, drama, anthropology, and speech & communication, to name but a few. As a number of departments both for International Relations and Intercultural Communication are being opened in colleges and universities throughout Japan, ESL/EFL teachers are finding themselves increasingly interested in the field of communication; especially, the influence of culture and intercultural communication on language teaching and learning.

Kenji Kitao and S. Kathleen Kitao have put together a compilation of readings which may help to satisfy such a need. This book is a collection of papers they have written over the past 13 years, most of which have been published in different publications such as *World Communication, Human Communication Studies, Speech Education,* and *Doshisha Studies in English*. A number of them were based upon research done originally for Kenji Kitao's dissertation (The Teaching of American Culture in English Courses in Japan; 1977 [University Microfilm No. 77-28. 886]). Many of them function excellently as introductions to various subdisciplines in the field, giving summaries of the best-known works in each. According to the authors, the book is to help those interested in language teaching clear up the type of misunderstandings which "... can be caused not only by language barriers but also by cultural differences between two countries [The United States and Japan]. The purpose of this book is to increase the understanding of these differences and the potential problems they can cause" and in addition, to alert the teacher to extra-linguistic problems which should be more directly addressed in the foreign language class. The descriptions of language teaching in Japanese secondary schools should also make the foreign teacher more aware of his/her students' language learning background.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section, "Introduction to Intercultural Communication", describes the background of the relationship between Japan and the U.S., the historical study of Intercultural Communication in the U.S. and some barriers that make communication between Japanese and Americans more difficult. Some of the sources of these difficulties such as formality and informality, directness of expression, etc. are also discussed. The first paper in this section provides the reader with standard definitions for commonly-used terms in the field, as well as for those less commonly defined terms in other publications.

The second section, "Influences on Culture and Cultural Influences", includes seven papers on various aspects of communication and cultural differences between Americans and Japanese such as natural and social environmental influences on their communication, group interaction, kinesic codes, politeness strategies, colour associations, and reading difficulties in English. The first paper mentions research on the hotly debated subject of the influence of natural environment on the development of value systems and their subsequent influence on language. Work by Japanese researchers is cited to suggest that the physical environment may be responsible for the overuse of the passive voice by Japanese learners of English. In my opinion, the two most interesting papers in this section are the ones which deal with group interaction and politeness strategies. In politeness strategies the author states something that should be of direct interest to ESL/EFL teachers: "In English, including other people in one's own group by use of informal language is polite, but keeping other persons outside the group is polite in Japan." In other words, Japanese students or those who share similar cultural backgrounds can easily recognize which forms are more polite than others, but would have a difficulty in using them appropriately. On the other hand, most textbooks published up to now have focused on the teaching of grammatical structures for request forms, for example, but put less effort into clarifying that the students know when to use them.

The third section, "Japanese Students' Knowledge of American Culture," consists of five studies related to Japanese students' contact with Americans and their culture, their knowledge of American culture and the problems that they face in the U.S. This research ranges from pencil-and-paper tests to in-depth interviews and has involved hundreds of participants in Japan and the U.S. This 107-page section is of particular interest to EFL teachers in Japan since these studies cover some of the most important ideas in intercultural communication aspects within English education in Japan. One paper, "Japanese students' Knowledge of American Culture and Life," reports on the administration of the Test of American Culture in 1976 and 1988. This test in English, which covers 50 aspects of American culture, is aimed at measuring how well Japanese students know the nuts-and-bolts factual aspects of American life: politics, sports, etiquette, forms of address, holidays, customs, gestures, etc. It might be interesting to give this test to other ethnic groups and find out the differences to the Japanese results or might also be a good idea for ESL/EFL teachers to take this test, not to measure how well they can answer the questions, but to reveal how much of this information they are teaching students who might travel or live in the U.S. in the future.

At this point some cautionary words should be stated. First of all, the book is not an overview of state-of-the-art methods for cross-cultural training; in particular, this book is not aimed at telling the ESL/EFL teacher what to teach in the classroom; it does not include experiential learning, interaction approach, or other specific training methods developed over the past decade. It is not a book of recipes to whip up cultural simulations. It does, however, highlight problems ESL/EFL teachers should be aware of which might impede their students' ability to communicate or explain why certain English structures might be over- or under-used. Examples of the former are "Differences in Colour Associations of Americans and Japanese" and "Difficulties Japanese have in Reading English" and examples of the latter are "Differences Between Politeness Strategies Used in Requests by Americans and Japanese" and "Effects of Natural Environment on American and Japanese Communication."

Secondly, the first section includes a list of textbooks in the field of intercultural communication. It is unfortunate, however, that this list doesn't contain titles published after 1979. Thus, no mention is made of Condon's *Cultural Dimensions of Communication* (1980) adapted from his and Yousef's *Introduction to Intercultural Communication* (which the Kitaos do mention in the list), or Samovar, Porter and Jain's *Understanding Intercul-*

tural Communication (1981). Both the Condon (1980) and the Samovar et al. have been translated into Japanese; *Ibunkakan Komyunikeishon: Karucha Gyappu no Rikai*. Translated by Chie Kondo. Tokyo: The Saimaru Press, Inc., 1980, and *Ibunkakan Komyunikeishon Nyumon: Kokusaijin Yosei no Tameni*. Translated by Tsukasa Nishida et al., Tokyo: Seibunsha Co. Ltd., 1983, respectively. On the other hand, it is understandable that they have neglected the past ten years of study of intercultural communication because their original intention for this paper was only to cover the study up to the early 1980's.

Thirdly, as mentioned earlier in this review, some of these papers were written as early as 1976. The Kitaos, however, feel that all of them are still valid. "We do not believe that the situation has greatly changed. For example, we administered the Test of American Culture again in 1988 to a second group of Japanese students in Japan. We found that, although the sample included more English majors ... the students' knowledge of the United States was not much greater than that of the sample of Japanese students in Japan in the original study." (See "Japanese Students' Knowledge of American Culture and Life") And again, "... when we were in the United States from 1985 to 1987, the Japanese students that we knew there had many of the same problems as those described in "Practical Adjustment to the United States: Interview with Incoming Japanese Students at an American University."

One aspect which may frustrate the reader of this book is the style itself. Most of the papers have been published in other publications and are presented here in much their original style, with minimum revisions for the sake of style and clarity. Many sections which are highly repetitive should have been eliminated. It would have been a more succint work if the information in the papers had been presented in chapter form.

Another matter which may also give the reader some dissatisfaction with the book is that some of the papers, collections of brief summaries of research on certain topics, do not attempt to make adequate critical analysis. Umegaki's paper on the influence of nature on language is a typical example of such a case: "The distinctive character of human nature in the monsoon zone, then, can be understood as submissive and resigned. People lack active attitudes toward nature and experience it so emotionally that they grow very explanatory and lyrical (Umegaki, 1961)." Not only does this assertion go unexamined, but also follow-up research which might or might not support it is not referred to.

As mentioned earlier, this book is not a collection of recipes for classroom activities; it is rather a reference work and for those who would use it in such a sense, the most valuable part is the sufficiently extensive bibliography which lists more than 2,200 books and journals published up to 1989 on intercultural communication under 23 different categories: General, Theory, Area Studies, Cross-Cultural Study, Training, Research, Interpersonal Communication, Nonverbal Communication, Mass Communication, Business/Organizational Communication, Culture and Education, Teaching English, Culture in Language Teaching, Teaching Intercultural Communication, Bilingualism and Bilingual Education, International Communication, Interracial and Interethnic Communication, Multicultural Studies, Counseling, Non-Native Speakers and the Law, subcultural Groups, and others. There is however no menton of Barnlund's book. *Communicative Styles of Japanese and Americans: Images and Realities,* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1989. Entries in the bibliography are not annotated. The authors' intention in this section is primarily to provide ESL/EFL teachers with access to information about the range of materials available concerning the effect of cultural influence and intercultural communication on language teaching and learning.

This collection of papers is certainly useful not only for both Japanese and Americans to understand some aspects of their differences and similarities but also for helping them improve their understanding of the process of intercultural communication. It will be a valuable addition to the literature in the developing field of intercultural communication in general and between Japanese and Americans in particular. I would strongly recommend this book for inclusion in any library at a higher institution or in any language teacher's personal collection.

Cultural Studies in Foreign Language Education

by Michael Byram (Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 1989), 165 pp.

Reviewed by
Karl Koch
Department of Linguistic and International Studies,
University of Surrey

The acquisiton of a foreign language is, at the level of linguistic analysis, a complex process which can be divided into many categories to aid the researcher and assist the teacher. Phonetics and phonology, grammatical elements, syntactic relations and semantics are essential concepts for the implicit understanding required in the pedagogics of foreign language teaching. Linguistic research, curriculum development and scholarship in these fields have provided the equipment teachers of foreign language require to discharge their task in an efficient manner.

However, languages are not simply, in their entity, a composition of these analytical elements, neither are they just communicative tools or nomenclatures of the universe in which they exist — they are mirrors reflecting individual speech communities; in effect they include the *culture* in which they operate. Each culture has clearly marked characteristics and is part of language, indeed an integral part, which is uniquely related to each language and can be said to be one of the most important parts.

It is, therefore, surprising that this aspect, that is the acquisiton of understanding of foreign cultures, has frequently been neglected in language teaching. In part this is due to the long tradition of harnessing the literature of a language and employing it as the vehicle for the cultural dimension. The development of the 'Area Studies' concept in Europe and the increasing necessity of the international community, be it on the political or the economic and commercial plane, to aim for a unification of the cultural context, has made language teachers more aware of this neglected area.

Michael Byram's book is consequently a very welcome addition, particularly as it is aimed at the language teacher. The significance of his work is spelled out in the introduction where he defines his use of the concept 'Cultural Studies' as "... to any information, knowledge or attitude about the foreign culture which is evident during foreign language teaching". This pragmatic approach is the basis of the work, is adopted throughout and makes it so useful for the teaching profession.

Individual chapters tackle, in a lucid and down-to-earth fashion, questions of foreign language teaching and education, the problems encountered in foreign language teaching in a multi-ethnic society and the broad question of cultural studies within foreign language teaching. The chapters dealing with the place and role of cultural studies in the foreign language teaching field are well researched, give sound examples and conclude that this subject is still in a developmental phase. One conclusion reached is that "culture teaching" does need *"to draw on the disciplines of the social sciences, especially cultural and social anthropology, in order to determine what shall be taught and why"*.

The book's final chapter picks up this point and presents the reader with a model of foreign language education which joins four elements: language learning, language awareness, cultural experience and cultural awareness. Each section is explained and, in keeping with the pragmatic nature of the work, the example of a five-year course of secondary school foreign language learning is given as a concrete example of how to use this approach in the classroom.

The work presents a thought-provoking addition to the language teacher's pedagogic aids and should provide an understanding of the educational value of incorporating the cultural dimension within foreign language learning.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

1. Adamson, Donald. 1990. Practise your tenses. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
2. Adrian-Vallance, D'Arcy. 1990. Practise your comparatives. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
3. Akinyemi, Rowena. 1989. Love or money? (Oxford bookworms, stage 1) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
4. Barnfield, Fred and Saunders, Lisa. 1988. No problem. Activity 1A. — Activity 1B. — Pupil's book 1A. — Pupil's book 1B. — Boardgames book. Basingstoke, Hamps.: Macmillan.
5. Bassett, Jennifer. 1989. Milo. (Streamline graded readers, level 5). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
6. Bates, H.E. 1989. Go, lovely rose: three short stories. (Oxford bookworms, stage 3). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
7. Border, Rosemary. 1988. The flyer. (Start with English readers, grade 5) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
8. ______. 1988. The kite. (Start with English readers, grade 1) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
9. ______. 1988. A new tooth. (Start with English readers, grade 1) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
10. ______. 1988. The queen's handkerchief. (Start with English readers, grade 3). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
11. ______. 1988. Pat and her picture. (Start with English readers, grade 1) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
12. ______. 1989. Ghost stories. (Oxford bookworms, stage 5) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
13. ______. 1989. The piano. (Oxford bookworms, stage 2) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
14. Brancard, Ruth and Hind, Jeanne. 1989. Ready to read. New York: Oxford University Press.
15. Briley, John. 1989. Cry freedom: a novel. (Oxford bookworms, stage 6). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
16. Couper, Dave. 1988. George sees stars. (Streamline graded readers, level 1). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
17. Dainty, Peter. 1989. The love of a king. (Oxford bookworms, stage 2). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
18. Davies, Susan and West, Richard. 1989. English language examinations. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
19. Doyle, Arthur Conan. 1989. The hound of the Baskervilles. (Oxford bookworms, stage 4). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
20. ______. 1989. Sherlock Holmes: short stories. (Oxford bookworms, stage 2). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
21. Duckworth, Michael. 1989. Voodoo island. (Oxford bookworms, stage 2). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
22. Edge, Julian. 1989. Mistakes and corrections. (Longman keys to language teaching). London: Longman.
23. Emecheta, Buchi. 1989. The bride price (Oxford bookworms, stage 5). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
24. Formula one. 1989. Student's book, by Ron White and Eddie Williams —

Teacher's book, by Hazel Imbert, Ron White, Eddie Williams. — Workbook, by Hazel Imbert. Basingstoke, Hamps.: Macmillan.

25. Graham, Carolyn. 1988. Jazz chant: fairy tales. Teacher's edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
26. Haarman, Louann; Leech, Patrick; Murray, Janet. 1988. Reading skills for the social sciences. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
27. Hardisty, David and Windeatt, Scott. 1989. CALL. (Resource books for teachers). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
28. Harmer, Jeremy and Elsworth, Steve. 1989. The listening file: authentic interviews with language activities. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
29. Heyer, Sandra. 1990. More true stories: a beginning reader. White Plains, N.Y.: Longman.
30. Hopkins, Felicity. 1988. An apple for the monkey. (Start with English readers grade 4). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
31. ______. 1989. Get ready! Activity book 1. — Handwriting book 1. — Number book 1. — Pupil's book 1. — Teacher's book 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
32. ______. 1989. Get ready! Activity book 2. — Handwriting book 2. — Number book 2. — Pupil's book 2. — Teacher's book 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
33. ______. 1988. In the cave. (Start with English readers, grade 4). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
34. ______. 1988. Tonk and his friends. (Start wtih English readers, grade 2). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
35. Jacobs, W.W. 1989. The monkey's paw. (Oxford bookworms, stage 1). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
36. Keane, L.L. 1990. Practise your prepositions. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
37. Kitao, Kenji and Kitao, S. Kathleen. 1989. Intercultural communication between Japan and the United States. Tokyo: Eichosha Shinsha.
38. Lester, Alice. 1989. Longman elementary dictionary. Activity book. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
39. Lindop, Christine and Fisher, Dominic. 1989. Something to read 2: a reader for lower-intermediate students of English. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
40. Maple, Robert. 1988. New wave 1. Student's book. — Activity book. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
41. Mugglestone, Patricia and O'Neill, Robert. 1990. Third dimension. Study book. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
42. Naunton, Jon. 1989. Think First Certificate. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
43. O'Connor, J.D. and Fletcher, Clare. 1989. Sounds English: a pronunciation practice book. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
44. Parnell, E. C. 1988. The new Oxford picture dictionary. Monolingual English ed. Student's book. — Teacher's guide. New York: Oxford University Press.
45. Seidl, Jennifer and McMordie, W. 1988. English idioms. 5th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
46. ______. 1989. English idioms: exercises on idioms. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
47. Sheerin, Susan. 1989. Self-access. (Resource books for teachers) Oxford:

Oxford University Press.

48. Shelley, Mary. 1989. Frankenstein. (Oxford bookworms, stage 3) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
49. Soars, John and Soars, Liz. 1989. Headway. Advanced. Student's book. — Teacher's book. — Workbook. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
50. Strange, Derek. 1989. Chatterbox. Activity book 1. — Pupil's book 1. — Teacher's book 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
51. ______. 1989. Chatterbox. Activity book 2. — Pupil's book 2. — Teacher's book 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
52. ______. 1988. Start reading. Book 1. — Book 2. — Book 5. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
53. Swan, Michael and Walter, Catherine. 1990. The new Cambridge English course. Student's book 1. — Practice book 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
54. Underwood, Mary. 1989. Teaching listening. (Longman handbooks for language teachers). Harlow, Essex: Longman.
55. Vicary, Tim. 1989. City of lights. (Streamline graded readers, level 5) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
56. ______. 1989. The elephant man. (Oxford bookworms, stage 1). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
57. ______. 1989. The hitch-hiker. (Streamline graded readers, level 4). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
58. ______. 1989. Skyjack. (Oxford bookworms, stage 3). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
59. ______. 1989. White death. (Oxford bookworms, stage 1). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
60. Viney, Peter. 1989. Casualty! (Streamline graded readers, level 2). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
61. Watsins, Mike. 1990. Practise your modal verbs. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
62. Wells, J.C. 1990. Longman pronunciation dictionary. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
63. Wilde, Oscar. 1989. The picture of Dorian Gray. (Oxford bookworms, stage 3). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

612

RELC

ANNOUNCEMENT

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

Language Acquisition and the Second/ Foreign Language Classroom

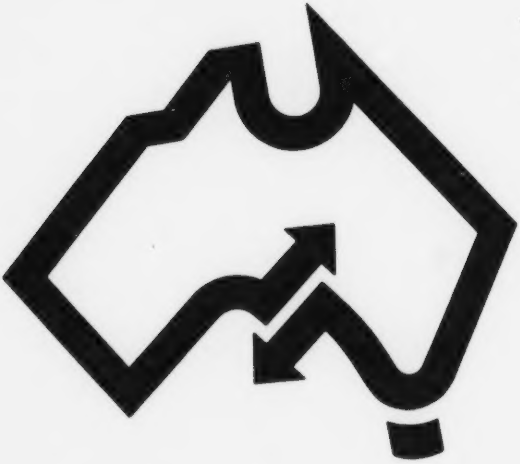
22–26 April 1991

For more information, please contact:

CHAIRMAN,
SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE,
SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
30 ORANGE GROVE ROAD
SINGAPORE 1025

PROSPECT

THE JOURNAL OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM



Prospect is the national professional journal of the Australian Adult Migrant (Immigrant) Educational Program (AMEP). This Commonwealth-funded program offers English as a Second Language and Orientation tuition to approximately 100,000 adult immigrants to Australia from all over the world each year.

Jill Burton, Editor

Reference Panel includes
Professor J. Anderson
Flinders University of S.A.
Professor H. Holec
Universite de Nancy 11
Dr. D. Ingram
Brisbane College of Advanced Education
Mr. H. Nicholas
La Trobe University
Dr. M. Pieneman
University of Sydney
Professor J. Richards
University of Hawaii

It publishes articles, notes, reports and reviews on applied linguistic and teaching concerns related to the adult E.S.L. field. Prospect is published three times a year by the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research. Information about subscription rates and advertisements can be obtained from:

GERD S. STABLER
SALES AND MARKETING MANAGER
NCELTR ◆ SCHOOL of ENGLISH and LINGUISTIS ◆ MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY ◆
SYDNEY ◆ NEW SOUTH WALES 2109 ◆ AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE (02) 805 7673 TELEX MACUNI AA122377 FACSIMILE (02) 805 7849

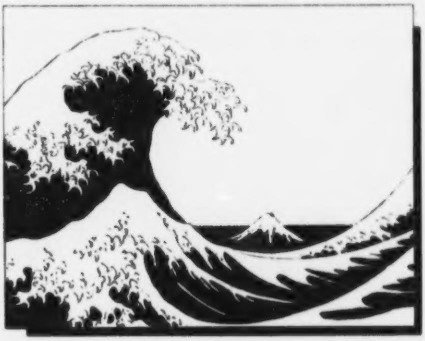
CROSS CURRENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Cross Currents is a semi-annual publication of the Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) which provides a forum for the interdisciplinary exchange of ideas within the areas of cross-cultural communication and language skill acquisition and instruction. At _Cross Currents_, we are particularly committed to issues concerning both the theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, English language teaching as it applies to Japan, and English as an International Language.

Recent contributors to _Cross Currents_ include:

Robert O'Neill
Braj Kachru
Alan Maley
Walter Hirtle
Richard Via
Larry Smith
Paul LaForge



SUBSCRIPTIONS	**Single issue**	**1 year**	**2 years**
Inside Japan*	¥1,300	¥2,600	¥5,150
Outside Japan — Individual Subscription	$8.00	$15.00	$25.00
Outside Japan — Institutional Rate		$19.50	$35.00

* *Special rates available for JALT members. (See postal form in the Language Teacher.)*

- ***Japan Subscriptions***:
  School Book Service
  FI Building 4F
  1-26-5 Takadanobaba
  Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
  03-200-4531
  (By postal transfer to Tokyo postal account No 9-86192, or cash delivery – Genkin Kakitome.)

- Current Issues are also available in major Japanese bookstores through YOHAN in Japan
- Back Issues are available from Cross Currents.

- ***Outside Japan***:
  Cross Currents
  Language Institute
  of Japan
  4-14-1 Shiroyama
  Odawara, Kanagawa 250
  Japan
  (Make checks payable to *Cross Currents* (LIOJ) drawn on a U.S. bank.)

ARE THESE ON YOUR READING LIST?

ISSN 0289-7938
全国語学教育学会
VOL. XII, NO. 12
NOVEMBER 1988

THE Language Teacher

THE JAPAN
ASSOCIATION OF
LANGUAGE TEACHERS
JALT
¥350

JALT JOURNAL

Publications of

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

The Language Teacher
A monthly magazine with features, reviews, meeting announcements, employment opportunities, etc.

JALT Journal
A semi-annual journal featuring articles relevant to language teaching/learning in Japan and Asia

---

Annual Membership Fees (including subscriptions to both publications):
Domestic: Regular, ¥6,000; Joint, ¥10,000; Student, ¥4,000; Associate, ¥50,000
Overseas: sea mail, US$30; air mail, US$40
Send remittance by bankers draft in yen drawn on a Japanese bank, or dollars drawn on an American bank.
The postal giro account may also be used by international subscribers.
Postal furikae (giro) account: Kyoto 15892, "JALT"

JALT International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning
An annual event featuring over 300 lectures/workshops/demonstrations.
Over 2,000 participants yearly.

November 3-5, 1989 — Okayama
November 23-25, 1990 — Tokyo area
November 2-4, 1991 — To be announced

Send requests for further information and remittances to:
JALT, Lions Mansion Kawaramachi #111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-agaru
Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan. Tel.: (075) 361-5428; Fax: (075) 361-5429

Subscription form

RELC JOURNAL

A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and a subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is eighteen Singapore dollars (S$18.00) for subscription within SEAMEO countries and US$18.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and sent it to

The Publications Officer
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
RELC Building
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at S$7.00*/US$7.00 + per copy.

For the complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications Officer.

I enclose S$18.00*/US$18.00 + . Please send me the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for..

Name: ....

Address: ....

....

....

* within SEAMEO countries
+ other countries

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Clarification:

The present members of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) are: Negara Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

GUIDELINES

A PERIODICAL FOR CLASSROOM LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Every issue of *Guidelines* is a unique collection of practical ideas that have direct usefulness for the classroom teacher. Articles are written in a simple, readable style.

• Vocabulary Teaching	June 1980	• Drama Activities	Dec. 1983
• Audio-Visual Aids	Dec. 1980	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No. 1)	June 1984
• Language Games	June 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No 2)	Dec. 1984
• Writing Activities	Dec. 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 1)	June 1985
• Study Skills	June 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 2)	Dec. 1985
• Group Activities	Dec. 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 8 No. 1)	June 1986
• Classrooms Tests	June 1983	• Classroom Interaction	Dec. 1986

From the June 1984 issues onwards each issue covers a variety of topics in its selection of articles.

Guidelines is published twice a year, in June and December.
Individual copies can be ordered for S$7.00/US$6.00. Reserve future copies with the detachable money-saving coupon below. The annual subscription is S$14.00 (within SEAMEO countries) and US$14.00 for other countries.

Please begin my subscription for Guidelines with the issue for

(month) ____________ 19 ____________.

Enclosed is S$/US$ .... (Bank draft/Money order)

Name .... (Block letters)

Address (in full) ....

....

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copy must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, e.g., the suffix-*s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text.

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221-222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14-16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, 221-254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

VOLUME 21 NUMBER 2 **DECEMBER 1990**

Articles

Goh Soo Tian **The Effects of Rhetorical Organization in Expository Prose on ESL Readers in Singapore** 1 ✓

A Conrad K Ozog and Peter W Martin **The *Bah* Particle in Brunei English** 14 ✓

Richard Tuffs and Ian Tudor **What the Eye Doesn't see: Cross-Cultural Problems in the Comprehension of Video Material** 29 ✓

B Kumaravadivelu **Ethnic Variation in Classroom Interaction: Myth or Reality** 45 ✓

Sara Cotterall **Developing Reading Strategies Through Small-Group Interaction** 55 ✓

Emma S Castillo **Validation of the RELC Test of Proficiency in English for Academic Purposes** 70 ✓

Book Reviews

M L Tickoo **The Lexical Syllabus** 87

Tony T N Hung **Longman Pronunciation Dictionary** 95

620

PUBLISHED BY THE SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, SINGAPORE

Editorial Committee

Makhan L Tickoo *Editor*
Eugenius Sadtono *Review Editor*
Lim Kiat Boey
Thomas Khng
Yolanda Beh
Melchor Tatlonghari
John Honeyfield
Paroo Nihalani
Joseph Foley
V K Bhatia

NOTES FOR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Asia.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$18.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$18.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal*, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of the respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Regional Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization.

(Notes for Subscribers continued on inside back cover)

© REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1990
ISSN 0033-6882

621

RELC JOURNAL

Volume 21

Number 2

December 1990

RELC P381-90

622

The Effects of Rhetorical Organization in Expository Prose on ESL Readers in Singapore

Goh Soo Tian
Institute of Education
Singapore

Abstract

This paper reports an experimental study carried out at the Institute of Education in 1987 to find out the effects of rhetorical organization in expository prose on ESL readers in Singapore. The study was undertaken mainly to test the findings of a study by Carrell (1984) on ESL readers in USA. As an extension of the earlier study, which used foreign students at an American university as subjects, the present study incorporated three levels of language proficiency: school, college* and university graduates. Results of the study confirm two of the findings in the Carrell study: that different rhetorical organizations have differential effects on the recall of Singapore readers, and that readers who recognized and used the rhetorical organization of the original texts recalled more idea units in their recall protocols. The finding that readers with different native languages showed different recall patterns for the various rhetorical organizations is not confirmed in the present study. The paper discusses the findings with some possible explanations where the results do not confirm those of the earlier study, and also implications for further research.

Introduction

Research within the framework of schema theory has shown that reading comprehension is an interactive process between the reader and the text. More specifically, the interaction involves among other things the reader's prior knowledge and the rhetorical organization of the text. The reader's prior knowledge is seen to be organized as a set of schemata. Two types of schemata have been identified, context schemata and form schemata.

Earlier studies on prose processing from the schema perspective have employed the activation of relatively specific content schemata derived from a particular domain, for example, the "Washing Clothes" passage from Bransford and Johnson's experiment (1972). While this type of content schema clearly plays an important role in the comprehension and recall of ambiguous and usually artificial texts, it was increasingly felt that such specific content schemata might not apply in the case of academic material normally encountered by students at various education levels. Furthermore, it was felt that the processing of academic material would be facilitated more by form or structure schemata than content schemata (Brooks and Dansereau, 1983).

---

*The word "college" is used to refer to an institution for tertiary education, e.g. the Institute of Education.

Previous Research

Over the last two decades, a great deal of research on prose structure has focused on analysis of narrative passages e.g. story grammar (Stein and Glenn, 1979; Mandler and Johnson, 1977). Empirical studies showed that though the ability to retell well-written stories is acquired at an early age, most children are unfamiliar with non-narrative forms of prose. This realisation has led to an interest in studying the rhetorical structure of expository prose and its effect on readers' comprehension and recall. In particular, Meyer (1975) has gathered empirical evidence that five different types of expository prose structures differentially affect reading comprehension and recall. These five basic rhetorical organizations are: time-order, listing or collection of description, causation, problem/solution, and comparison.

In one study (Meyer, Brandt, and Bluth, 1980), ninth graders read two texts, one written with the comparison structure and.the other with the problem/solution structure. The students were asked to write down what they could recall of what they had read immediately and one week later. The analysis of the recall protocols, both immediate and delayed, showed that students who organized their recalls using the original text structure remembered more content, both main ideas and supporting details. In another study (Meyer and Freedle, 1984) involving college undergraduates as well as graduate teachers, it was found that the more organized text structures of causation, problem/solution and comparison were more facilitative of recall than the more loosely organized text structure of a collection of description.

Carrell (1984) replicated the Meyer and Freedle study with ESL undergraduate readers of varying linguistic backgrounds studying at an American university. The results confirmed that discourse type did have a significant effect on comprehension and recall. In addition, Carrell's study found that the native language group factor (i.e. Spanish, Arabic, Oriental and Other) also had a significant overall effect on the pattern and amount of recall.

The Study

The present study was undertaken to test the findings of the Carrell (1984) study using Singapore readers at the school, college and university graduate levels of English language proficiency. To facilitate valid comparison of results, the experimental texts used in Carrell's study, based in turn on the Meyer and Freedle study, were adapted for use. The study addressed the folowing three research questions:

1. Do the four types of rhetorical organization of expository prose (collection of descriptions or listing, causation, problem/solution, and comparison) have different effects on the reading and recall of Singapore readers at the three levels?
2. Are there any differences among the various home language groups (Chinese, Malay, Tamil) related to the rhetorical organization of the texts?
3. Is there any relationship between the readers' ability to recognize and utilize the rhetorical organization of the texts and the amount of information recalled from the texts?

Method

Subjects

A total of 240 subjects participated in this study, 80 subjects for each of the three educational and language proficiency levels: school, college and post-graduate. The 80 subjects at the school level were drawn from two secondary four classes (Express Stream) in an average government school in the East Zone. The 80 college level subjects were first-year students in the 2-year Certificate in Education programme for 'A' Level holders at the Institute of Education. The 80 post-graduate subjects were university graduates undergoing the Diploma in Education programme at the Institute of Education, and were all enrolled in the English Methods course.

As the subjects in all the three levels were members of naturally occurring classes, it was not possible to control the sample for the home language factor (Chinese, Malay, Tamil) within each level. Because the number of subjects representing the Others category in each sample was very small (1 in the school sample, 4 in the college sample, and 3 in the post-graduate sample) it was decided not to include them in the experiment, as not every one of the text-types will receive one such subject at each level. The home language distribution within each sample is thus shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Distribution by Home Language

Level	Home Language			
	Chinese (N)	Malay (N)	Tamil (N)	Total
School	51	18	11	80
College	41	20	19	80
Post-graduate	57	7	16	80

Materials

Four texts dealing with a common topic, the danger of excessive loss of body water to athletes, but each written with a different discourse structure (collection of description, causation, problem/solution, comparison) were used. These were adapted versions of the texts used in the Carrell (1984) study.

Procedures

The 80 subjects in each level were assigned randomly to one of the four texts. The test was administered during regular class hours. The subjects were instructed through written instructions to read the text at their own pace. The texts were then collected and the subjects were asked to write down as much as they could recall of the text. They were asked to use their own words and write in complete sentences, not just points in note form. The subjects were instructed to write a second recall one week later. They had not been told in advance that they would be required to write this second recall. The same procedure was followed for all the three levels, except that for the school level, the written instructions were supplemented by oral explanations when necessary.

Scoring

The recall protocols were scored using a list of 21 idea units common to all four text versions (see Carrell, 1984, p. 455). Each script was scored twice, once by the author and once by a graduate assistant. A reliability coefficient of $r = .91$ was obtained for the two scorings. Each protocol was also scored for the rhetorical organization (or macrostructure) used. A protocol was awarded 2 points if it utilized the same rhetorical organization as the original text (collection of descriptions or listing, causation, problem/solution or comparison), 0 if it did not. A score of 1 was awarded to a protocol which used only partially the original text structure. Examples of partial use of macrostructure are: use of the listing structure with "firstly" but no follow through "secondly" etc.; stating a problem but no mention of solution. Examples of recall protocols are found in the Appendix.

Results

Data on the immediate and delayed recall of the 21 identical units for the four discourse types and three proficiency levels were subjected to a three-factor analysis of variance (Recall Condition X Discourse type X Proficiency Level). The procedure used was the General Linear Models (GLM) procedure of the SAS package of statistical programmes. All the three main effects were significant at the $p < .05$ level (see Table 2).

Table 2
Recall Condition X Test X Level; General Linear Models Statement and F Values

Recall Condition	Text	Level	Recall Condition X Text	Recall Condition X Level	Text X Level	Recall Condition X Text X Level
*F = 363.14	*F = 13.15	*F = 56.20	F = 2.15	*F = 12.51	F = 0.68	F = 1.05
P = .0001	P = .0001	P = .0001	P = .0949	P = .0001	P = .6653	P = .3938

Exact p values are reported
*p = < .05

As would be expected, there are statistically significant effects of Recall Condition (immediate versus delayed) across the three proficiency levels (Table 3). The overall difference between immediate and delayed recall varies between 30% and 20% of the total possible score of 21 for the school level, 42% and 31% for the college level and 55% and 37% for the post-graduate level. More importantly, there is a distinct difference in the recall pattern for the four discourse types: The recall for the comparisons text type is consistently better than that for the other three text types (listing of descriptions, causation and problem/solution) across the three proficiency levels. This is depicted graphically in Figure 1.

A separate three-factor analysis of variance was carried out with the Language Group replacing the Proficiency Level as the third factor (Recall Condition X Discourse Type Language Group). Of the three main effects, only the Recall Condition and Discourse Type are statistically significant at the $p = < .05$ level. The Language Group effect is not statistically significant (see Table 4). In other words, the language group factor (Chinese, Malay or Tamil) did not have a significant effect on the

Table 3
Mean Recall Scores on Immediate and Delayed Free Recall Tests for 21 Identical Idea Units by Four Different Discourse Types

	Time of Free Recall Test		
Discourse Types	Immediate	Delayed	Grand Means
Level 1 (School)			
1 Collection of Descriptions	6.00	4.20	5.10
2 Causation	4.95	3.25	4.10
3 Problem/Solution	5.75	3.35	4.55
4 Comparison	8.45	6.15	7.30
Grand Means	6.29	4.24	
Level 2 (College)			
1 Collection of Descriptions	8.33	5.80	7.06
2 Causation	7.66	5.90	6.78
3 Problem/Solution	8.41	5.41	6.91
4 Comparison	11.05	8.76	9.90
Grand Means	8.86	6.47	
Level 3 (Post-graduate)			
1 Collection of Descriptions	10.40	7.65	9.02
2 Causation	11.30	7.35	9.32
3 Problem/Solution	11.50	7.65	9.57
4 Comparison	13.00	8.65	10.82
Grand Means	11.55	7.82	

Max score = 21
N = 80 for each level
(20 for each discourse type)

Table 4
Recall Condition X Text X Home Language General Linear Models Statement and F Values

Recall Condition	Text	Home Language	Recall Condition X Text	Recall Condition X Home Language	Text X Home Langauge	Recall Condition X Text X Home Language
F = 202.36*	F = 7.21*	F = 1.26	F = 1.40	F = 2.42	F = 0.41	F = .55
P = .0001	P = .0001	P = .2875	P = .2434	P = .0912	P = 0.8707	P = .7710

Exact p values are reported
*p = < .05

recall for the four discourse types. This was consistently so across the three proficiency levels.

Organizations of Recall

Table 5 shows the relationships between the discourse type of the original text and that used in the recall protocols for the three proficiency levels. It can be seen that for both the recall conditions (immediate and delayed), protocols which were organized using the text structure of the original discourse type also show a higher number of idea units recalled.

Table 5
Relationship between the Discourse Types of the Original Text and those used in the Recall Protocols

	No. of Recall Protocols with Same Structure	No. of Recall Protocols with Partial Structure	No. of Recall Protocols with No Structure
Level 1 (School)			
Immediate Recall	(N = 14)	(N = 2)	(N = 64)
Collection of descriptions	2	0	18
Causation	2	0	19
Problem/Solution	3	0	17
Comparison	8	2	10
Mean No. of Idea Units	8.58	8.00	5.58
Delayed Recall	(N = 8)	(N = 4)	(N = 68)
Collection of descriptions	1	0	19
Causation	1	0	19
Problem/Solution	1	1	18
Comparison	5	3	12
Mean No. of Idea Units	6.40	4.33	3.97
Level 2 (College)			
Immediate Recall	(N = 38)	(N = 14)	(N = 28)
Collection of descriptions	5	1	15
Causation	6	7	8
Problem/Solution	9	3	5
Comparison	18	3	0
Mean No. of Idea Units	10.42	9.65	6.19

Table 5
Relationship between the Discourse Types of the Original Text and those used in the Recall Protocols *(cont'd)*

	No. of Recall Protocols with Same Structure	No. of Recall Protocols with Partial Structure	No. of Recall Protocols with No Structure
Delayed Recall	(N = 30)	(N = 10)	(N = 40)
Collection of descriptions	3	1	17
Causation	4	4	13
Problem/Solution	5	3	9
Comparison	18	2	1
Mean No. of Idea Units	7.43	7.00	5.32
Level 3 (Post graduate)			
Immediate Recall	(N = 39)	(N = 14)	(N = 27)
Collection of descriptions	3	3	14
Causation	10	5	5
Problem/Solution	11	4	5
Comparison	15	2	3
Mean No. of Idea Units	13.90	11.14	9.08
Delayed Recall	(N = 33)	(N = 6)	(N = 41)
Collection of descriptions	3	0	17
Causation	5	2	13
Problem/Solution	10	2	8
Comparison	15	2	3
Mean No. of Idea Units	10.32	6.00	6.60

In other words, recognising and utilizing the discourse structure of the original text has a positive effect on the amount of information recalled from the original text.

A second point that can be noted from Table 5 is that there is a significant difference in the ability to recognize and utilize the discourse structure of the original text between the school level and the college/postgraduate level samples. In the school level sample, only 14 out of the 80 subjects (roughly 18%) did recognize and utilize the discourse structure in the immediate recall, and only 8 (10%) did so in the delayed recall. In the college level sample, the corresponding figures are 38 (roughly 47%)

and 30 (roughly 37%) respectively, and in the post-graduate level sample, 39 (roughly 49%) and 33 (roughly 41%). This shows that recognizing and utilizing the discourse structure of a text is relatively a more difficult task for school-level readers than for college- or post-graduate level readers, while there is practically no difference between college-level readers and post-graduate readers in their ability to recognize and utilize the discourse structure in recalling the original text.

Discussion

As can be seen from Table 2, all three of the main effects are statistically significant at the $p < .05$ level. In other words there are statistically significant effects of Recall Condition and Level, as would be expected. There are also statistically significant effects of Text or Discourse type, thus answering affirmatively the first research question. The finding of the Carrell Study (1984) that there are differential effects of the four types of rhetorical organization of expository prose on reading recalls of ESL readers is confirmed by the present study.

The answer to the second research question, whether the home language group factor made any significant differences is in the negative. As is shown in Table 4, the Home Language factor $F(3,237) = 1.26$ is not statistically significant at $p = < .05$. The finding in the Carrell study is thus not confirmed in the present study. Several reasons can be advanced for this. In the original study, the native language (Spanish, Arabic, Korean, Japanese and Malay) was very probably the true native language of the various groups, actively in use alongside English as a second language.

In the case of the present study, though Chinese, Malay and Tamil may be designated the 'home language', it refers more to the ethnic origins of the subjects who might speak the language at home but who, in most cases, were not highly literate in the language concerned. Another explanation is that all the subjects at the three proficiency levels were attending institutions in which English was the medium of instruction. The homogeneity of the language environment could have exerted a levelling effect and neutralised any home language effects if they existed.

The answer to the third research question, whether there is any relationship between the readers' ability to recognize and utilize the rhetorical organization of the texts and the amount of information recalled, is strongly affirmative, confirming the finding of the earlier study. As can be seen from Table 5, the mean number of idea units recalled for both the immediate and delayed recall conditions at all three levels was significantly higher for the recall protocols organized with the same structure as the original texts than those without the structure of the original texts.

Future Research

The generally accepted notion that the more tightly organized cause and effect, problem/solution, and comparison rhetorical structures are more facilitative of comprehension and recall than the more loosely organized collection of descriptions or listing structure, which was shown to be true in the Carrell (1984) and the Meyer and Freedle (1984) study, is only partially confirmed in the present study. As is seen in Figure 1, while the comparison structure is clearly the most facilitative of comprehension and recall at all three levels, the picture is not at all clear for the other rhetorical structures. The listing structure, which ought to be the least facilitative of recall, appears to be slightly ahead of the cause and effect and problem/solution structures for the school and the college level subjects. One possible explanation is that the subjects (specially at the school level) applied rote memory to help them in their recall in both the immediate and delayed conditions. Further research is required to throw more light on this important issue in the context of ESL reading instruction in Singapore.

Another question that could be taken up in future research is that of the effects of the native language or Mother tongue of the subjects on ESL readers. With the phasing out of Chinese/Malay/Tamil language medium schools in the Singapore education system, it will be extremely difficult to match groups which use these languages exclusively as the actual home languages. However, it is possible to select subjects who are proficient in their mother tongue or native language. In the context of bilingualism and bilingual education in Singapore, the question of the differential effects of a person's mother tongue or first language on his/her reading comprehension, recall, and cognitive processes would provide an important area for ESL research.

References

Bransford, J.D. and Johnson, M.K. 1972. Contextual pre-requisites for understanding: some investigations of comprehension and recall. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behaviour,* 11:717–726.

Brooks, L.W. and Dansereau, D.F. 1983. Effects of structure schema training and text organization in expository prose processing. *Journal of Educational Psychology,* 75:811–820.

Carrell, P.L. 1983. Some issues in studying the role of schemata, or background knowledge, in second language comprehension. *Reading in a Foreign Language,* 1:81–92.

Carrell, P.L. 1984. The effects of rhetorical organization on ESL readers. *TESOL Quarterly,* 19(4):727–752.

Kieras, D.E. 1981. Component processes in the comprehension of simple prose. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behaviour,* 20:1-23.

Kintsch, W., Greene, E. and Yarborough, J.C. 1982. The role of rhetorical structure in text comprehension. *Journal of Educational Psychology.* 74:828-834.

Mandler, J.M. and Johnson, N.S. 1977. Remembrance of things parsed: story structure and recall. *Cognitive Psychology,* 9:111-157.

Meyer, B.J.F. 1975. *The Organization of Prose and its Effects on Memory.* Amsterdam, North Holland Pub. Co.

Meyer, B.J.F., Brandt, D.M. and Bluth, G.J. 1980. Use of top-level structure in text: key for reading comprehension of ninth-grade students. *Reading Research Quarterly,* 16(1):72-103.

Meyer, B.J.F. and Rice, G.E. 1982. The interaction of reader strategies and the organization of text. *Text 2,* (1-3):155-192.

Meyer, B.J.F. and Freedle, R.O. 1984. Effects of discourse type on recall. *American Educational Research Journal,* 21(1):121-143.

Stein, N.L. and Glenn, C.G. 1979. An analysis of story comprehension in elementary school children. In R.O. Freedle (Ed) *New Directions in Discourse Processing.* Norwood, N.J., Ablex.

Van Dijk, T.A. 1980. Macrostructures: An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction and Cognition. Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.

Appendix

SAMPLE RECALL PROTOCOLS

Comparison/Contrast

Athletics coaches often required sportsmen such as judo contestants, boxers, karate contestants and football team members to lose body water to reach a specified weight. This specified weight is often below the normal. This is in contrast to the American Medical Association which states that a loss of body water could effect the cardio-vascular action and work of the body. A loss of 3% could result in impairment of cardio vascular motion. A 5% loss would mean heat exhausation. A 7% body water loss could cause hallucinations. A 10% leads to heat stroke, coma and death.

Problem/Solution

The problem with athletic coaches of games such as judo, wrestling and football is that they expect players to lose body-water to gain specified weights of players. The players will have to lose their body-water to gain specified weights which are less than their actual weights. School administrators should suspend such coaches, as this practice would cause problems in their cardio-vascular movements. The loss of 3 percent of body-water would cause problems in physical movement, 5 percent would cause heat-exhaustion, 7 percent would cause hallucinations, and 10 percent would cause coma, heat-stroke and paralyze them which would lead to death.

Cause and Effect

It is true that coaches of wrestlers, boxers, judo contestants, karate contestants and football team members require their athletes to lose some body-water in order to maintain a specified body weight. More often than not, this specified body weight is lower than the athlete's usual weight. Tragedies often result when the coaches desire this. More specifically, a loss of three percent of body-water impairs physical performance and a five percent loss results in heat exhaustion. More seriously, a loss of ten percent or more will result in heat stroke, deep coma and convulsions; if not treated, death will result.

Listing

Several aspects of the loss of body-water are discussed. Firstly, athletic coaches demand that the wrestlers, swimmers and other athletes lose body-water in order to attain specified body weight. The specified body weight is below the individual's normal weight. Secondly a 150 pound individual may be required to lose about 3 pints of water. Thirdly, loss of body water can cause cardio-vascular impairment. The degree in the loss of body-water resulted in different impairment. Loss of body-water can cause much physical impairment and death.

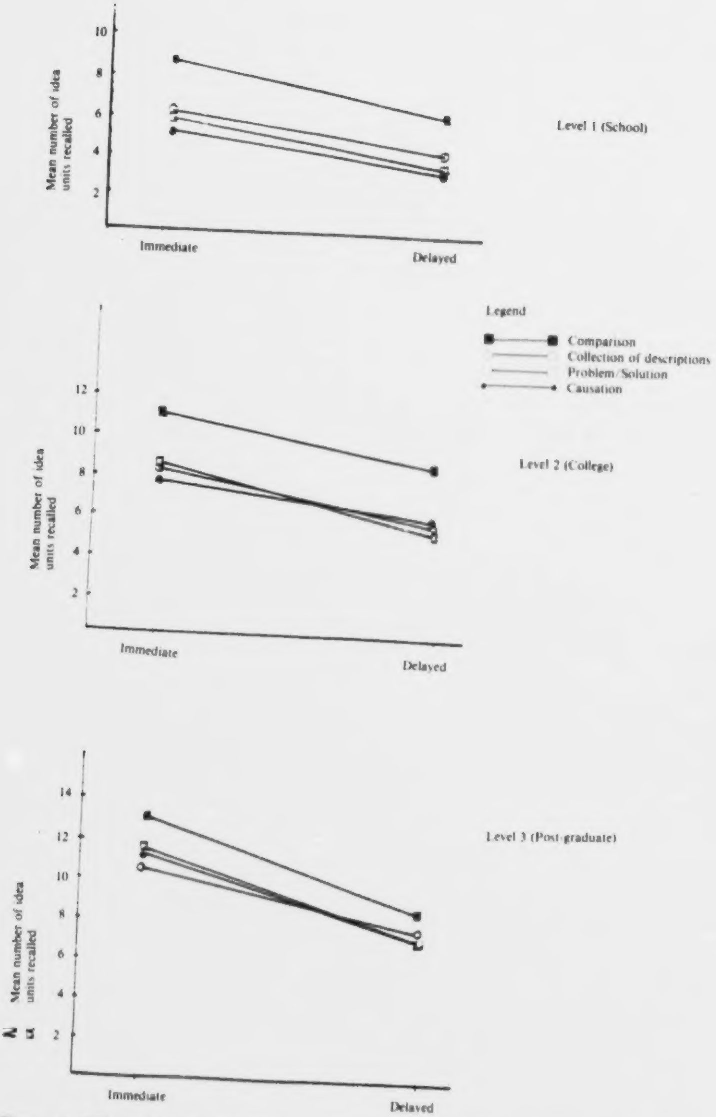


Figure 1. Effects of the Four Discourse Types on Immediate and Delayed Recall.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The *BAH* Particle in Brunei English

A. Conrad K. Ozòg and Peter W. Martin
Universiti Brunei Darussalam

Abstract

The variety of English used in Negara Brunei Darussalam is largely unresearched. It has similarities with other Southeast Asian varieties, most noticeably Singapore and Malaysia, but there are important differences. One such difference is the particle *bah*, which we recognise as one of the salient features of Brunei English. In order to understand the particle it is important to look at its use in both Brunei Malay and in the local variety of English. The literature on particles in Singapore and Malaysian Englishes, as well as the limited literature on *bah* in Malay is reviewed. An analysis of the particle is attempted based on data collected from spontaneous speech, tape-recordings, questionnaires and informant comment. While a discussion of the syntactic behaviour of *bah* is deemed necessary, prominence is given to a discussion of its functional behaviour. We conclude that the particle is extremely versatile and very different in most aspects to the *la/lah* of Singapore and Malaysia. A further conclusion is that the use of *bah* plays an important role in signifying membership of the Brunei speech community.

1. Introduction

Although small in area and population, Negara Brunei Darussalam (henceforth Brunei) is linguistically and culturally complex. The largest ethnic group, the Malays, comprise approximately 65% of the total population of 241,000 (Government of Brunei 1989). Bahasa Melayu is the official language and a dialect, Brunei Malay, is the most common code in informal discourse. Two other varieties of Malay, Kadayan and Kampong Ayer are also widely spoken (Maxwell 1980; Simanjuntak 1987). Other languages spoken are Tutong, Dusun, Belait, Murut/Lun Bawang, Iban and Penan.

Historically the centre of a large maritime empire, Brunei was under British "protection" from 1888 to 1984, when it regained full independence. This historical link has resulted in English having a clearly defined role in the country. Previous to 1985 there were separate English and Malay schools. Since 1985 the Government has pursued a policy of bilingual education with all secondary subjects, except Malay, religion, art and sport, taught in English. English is also the medium of instruction in the upper primary schools. The products of this policy have not, as yet, finished schooling, but the ex-students of English schools play prominent roles in society.

The variety of English used in Brunei has not, as yet, been studied in any detail. However, some preliminary comments can be made. The English of Brunei appears to be similar to the variety of English used in Singapore and Malaysia, with some important differences. This article examines one of them. Other features which can be noted are the limited use of local lexis, and a much less frequent use of the basilectal variety of English. This is caused, in part, by the limited use of English in informal communication, despite the bilingual policy.

Brunei English remains in a fluid state, making a detailed analysis difficult, if not impossible. Unlike Singapore and Malaysia, where outside influences on the language come largely from the mass media, in Brunei, expatriate personnel play a major role. Many of the teachers, and most of the English teachers, are expatriate, introducing varieties from the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, as well as Singapore and Malaysia.

A longer term influence on the Brunei variety of English may come from the vast number of foreign maids employed in the country. Numbers are not available, but it would seem safe to suggest that the vast majority are from the Philippines. Most English-speaking Bruneian households employ at least one maid. These maids use their own variety of English with their employers' children and we have noticed that the speech of many children beginning school has been influenced by the Filipino accents of these maids.

The extent of English usage in the country is undetermined but we are, at present, researching this. Codeswitching certainly occurs amongst the bilinguals (Ozóg 1987b), although again, this has not been researched in depth.

The purpose of the present study is to examine the use and function of one of the distinctive features of Brunei English, namely the particle *bah*. This particle is a common feature of Brunei Malay.[1] It is also used by Bruneians when speaking English and is found in the mixed language of Bruneian bilinguals (Ozóg 1987b). Observation suggests that this particle is frequently used in parts of Sabah and in those parts of Sarawak around Brunei Bay, but we have been unable to find this documented.[2]

2. Background to the Study

Because of the paucity of data on Brunei English, and because we believe such comparisons are valid, it is necessary to look to research conducted on other varieties of English in Southeast Asia, notably those of Singapore and Malaysia. As well as being geographically close, these countries share a similar, British-influenced linguistic history.

One of the most characteristic items in the English of Singapore and Malaysia is the particle variously written as *la* or *lah*. According to Tongue (1974:114), it is considered sub-standard but is "frequently used by educated speakers of English in very informal discourse with friends". The particle has a number of meanings, itemised by Tongue (1974:114):

> it can function as an intensifying particle, as a marker of informal style, as a signal of intimacy, for persuading, deriding, wheedling, rejecting and a host of other purposes.

In addition to Tongue, and a brief account in Platt & Weber (1980), there are a number of other works which describe the use of *la/lah* in the English spoken in other parts of Singapore and Malaysia. In a paper on the *la* particle in Singapore English, Richards and Tay (1977) suggest that *la*

> serves to mark that the speech act is one involving dimensions of informality, familiarity, solidarity and rapport between the participants. It has its own complex socio-linguistic rules and is not used haphazardly, except by those with a minimal control of English.

In another contribution to the function of *la* in Singapore English, Kwan-Terry (1978) recognizes two forms of *la*. The stressed *la* indicates "emotional nuances like that of obviousness, consultativeness, uncertainty and persuasion" as well as indicating "a certain explanatory attitude on the part of the speaker [helping] to soften the tone of the discourse". The unstressed *la* indicates authority in the utterance, with a possible hint of impatience.

Bell and Ser (1983) look at the formal and functional characteristics of *la/lah* and comment on the role of this particle as a code-marker and an emphatic-marker, and as an indicator of pragmatic value. The particle is seen as having a traditional sociolinguistic function, that is, "to act as a signal of the use of a particular code and, thereby, to act as an index of group membership." They make the point that the different variants of the particle carry contrasting pragmatic value. Thus *la* signals "solidarity, friendship, a reduction of social distance between participants" whereas *lah* indicates hostility and an increase in social distance.

Loke & Low (1988), in a paper describing the pragmatic meanings of *la* in colloquial Singapore English, conclude that "la utterances can perform various communicative functions that can be marked with various subtle emotive attitudes expressed by the speakers." The particle *la* is described as a "pragmatic particle" which can express a large number of communicative functions, the most common being asserting, requesting, suggesting, pleading, refusing and disagreeing.

Platt (1987), in a paper on the communicative functions of particles in Singapore English, lists three of the problems associated with particle analysis. These are, the extent to which the particles function as stylistic markers and/or speech community indicators, whether they are uni- or multi-functonal and whether the functions of the particles vary according to the tone they carry.

The works quoted so far are concerned mainly with Singapore English where a number of Chinese dialects are spoken. In Malaysian English the particle is also found, but is conventionally represented as *lah*.[3] Ozóg (1987a) comments that the *lah* particle in Malaysian English has not been sufficiently researched for any definitive conclusions to be drawn. He suggests, however, that Tongue's (1974) view that it is a marker of informal style and intimacy is more probable than it "being a Malaysian substitute for many of the functions normally served by the complex intonation system of standard formal English" (Wong 1983:142 and see also Augustine 1982:256).

Having considered descriptions which emphasize the importance of *la/lah* in the varieties of English in Singapore and Malaysia, it can be said that the particle *bah* is similarly a characteristic feature of English in Brunei, but there is little information available on the subject. Ozóg (1987b), in a preliminary enquiry into how Malay-English bilinguals of Brunei manipulate the two languages, makes reference to the particle in code-switched discourse, but does not discuss it in any detail. This is the only reference to the use of the particle in English or mixed discourse that we have found.

It is necessary, therefore, to study the literature on the Malay dialects of Brunei to get some insight into the use and function of *bah*. According to Simanjuntak (1988), *bah* is one of the eight clitics found in Brunei Malay. Stressing the importance of this particle, he calls it one of the "unique features" of Brunei Malay. We could extend this by calling *bah* a unique feature of Brunei English and by suggesting that *bah* will come to be recognised as a stereotype of Brunei English.

In his work on Brunei Malay, Simanjuntak (1988) states that the clitic *bah* can function both as a proclitic and an enclitic. It can be placed at the beginning, middle or end of an utterance. Its function is to soften or to give clarity to the clause in which it is contained. It is often followed by the clitic *tah*, in which case it serves to soften the force of the utterance, as in the following example used by Simanjuntak:

Bah, maritah kitani bajalan.	(Brunei Malay)
Marilah kita berjalan.	(Standard Malay)
[Come on, let's go.]	

Here, the *tah* particle functions in a similar way to *lah* in Standard Malay.[4]

Both Asmah (1982:187–189) and Abdullah Hassan (1974:122) consider the functions of *lah* in Malay. According to them, it is one of the three emphatics in standard Malay and it is always attached as an enclitic to other forms for emphasis.

There is little written material in Brunei Malay although some folk tales have been recorded and published (Matasim 1985, 1986). From a brief analysis of the use of *bah* in these texts, it appears that its function is to show concurrence and acceptance. There are no instances of *bah* being used as an emphatic particle.

Kimball (1971) records instances of the use of *bah* in her data on the language acquisition of a young Brunei Malay child. From the evidence obtained she records instances where she perceives the use of *bah* as being equivalent to *lah* (as used in Standard Malay), and classifies both as general purpose emphatics.

We shall show that, in Brunei English, *bah* is much more versatile than *lah* in Malaysian English, although the two particles obviously do share some similar functions. One very noticeable difference, however, is that *bah* can stand on its own (in other words it has a non-clitic function), whereas *lah* cannot.

3. Data Collection

To examine the use of the *bah* particle a corpus of data was obtained and analysed. As far as possible naturally occurring spontaneous speech was collected from a variety of situations. This collection has been supplemented by the selective use of questionnaires and interviews in order to give a greater and more comprehensive insight than a single methodology would allow.

In all the procedures below, with the exception of 3.1, students of Universiti Brunei Darussalam were used as informants. The informants represented all districts of Brunei and a variety of socio-economic groups. The use of students was deliberate, as all are Brunei citizens, an important point in a land with such a large expatriate community. Furthermore, the students were studying in English and therefore more likely to use English in informal discourse with each other than the population at large. Most of the student informants were female primary teachers undergoing re-training.

3.1 Noting Spontaneous Utterances

Over a period of 2 years we attempted to note down as many occurrences of *bah* as possible. This included the use of *bah* in conversations in both English, and mixed English-Malay discourse.

On occasion the interlocutors were aware of our presence and conscious of the fact that we were taking notes of the conversation. They were not, however, aware that our interest was in *bah*. They were led to believe that we were noting English intrusions into the Malay discourse. Although it could be argued that data collected in this way are not spontaneous, we believe that our presence, peripheral to the conversation, did not inhibit the participants, all of whom were well-known to us.

Over 80 percent of the data, however, were collected in situations where the participants were unaware that we were noting elements of their conversation. For example, some data were noted while we were conducting our own business in government offices, banks, travel agents, restaurants, shops and other places where English is spoken. Further data were collected from telephone conversations and radio and television broadcasts.

On its own, this method of collecting data would have been suspect as it was not always possible to note the complete utterance, and, in the case of telephone conversations, the full context. However, it was extremely useful and allowed us a much greater insight into many more 'real-life situations' than was possible with tape recording a limited number of informants.

3.2 Tape Recording

In order to supplement the naturally occurring spontaneous conversation, and to provide us with longer stretches of discourse to analyse, a series of tape recordings was made. A small tape recorder was placed on a table around which a group of informants were casually sitting. As this took place in a student common room, the group was not stable and participants came and went during the recording sessions. We were not present and there was no prior arrangement with any of the speakers to control the topic. As in 3.1 above, those who knew the conversation was being recorded believed that we were interested in English interventions in Malay discourse. Some were aware of the presence of the tape recorder, but generally those who joined the group after the session had begun, were not. For the first few minutes of each recording session, there is no question that the tape recorder was an inhibiting factor to the development of natural conversation, an observation made by many researchers, (see, for example, Romaine 1984:22). However, it is clear from listening to the recordings that this initial inhibition dissipated after a while and spontaneous speech in English, Malay and mixed language resulted, especially when new persons arrived who were completely unaware of the presence of the recorder.

3.3 Questionnaire

At times, analysing the data proved to be difficult, for example in determining why *au bah* rather than *bah* was used on occasion.[5] A short questionnaire was devised in which informants were asked to respond to a series of questions and statements with an appropriate response. This, coupled with interviews, provided valuable insight into the use of the particle.

3.4 Interviews

The taped informants were asked to listen to the recordings and comment on their use of *bah* and other particles. Many of their comments were incisive, and while we disagreed with some of their conclusions, such self-analysis by speakers seems to us to be an essential part of any study such as this.

4. Analysis of Data

While the collected data lends itself to both a syntactic and functional analysis, and while there is indeed an overlap between the two, we feel that the data cannot be examined effectively in a linguistic vacuum. Sociolinguistic factors are of great importance in determining the use of *bah* in Brunei English and, for this reason the functional analysis will be given pre-eminence. However, we start with a brief account of the syntactic behaviour of *bah*.

4.1 Syntactic behaviour of *bah*

The particle *bah* occurs most frequently in an unbound form and in constructions with *au*. This will be discussed in 4.2 below. In its bound form it is not category-specific and is commonly found following adjectives, nouns and verbs. It is found in other constructions, such as following imperatives, adverbs and pronouns, but our data suggest that such occurrences are less frequent. A number of examples of its more usual behaviour are given below.

4.1.1. After Adjectives:

(1) That car expensive *bah*.
(2) I am lazy *bah*.
(3) He is careless *bah*.
(4) I'm not sure *bah*.
(5) It's so difficult *bah*.

In Brunei English a predicative adjective is almost always followed by *bah*. The following statement, therefore, would be marked in Bruneian speech:

(1a) That car expensive.

It appears to be an incomplete utterance without the particle and we would suggest that *bah* is almost obligatory in such cases, particularly when the adjective has a negative association, as in examples (2), (3), (4) and (5) above.

4.1.2. After Nouns

The occurrence of *bah* is common after nouns in utterances that convey a negative meaning.

(6) I don't know his name *bah*.
(7) A: Can you come tomorrow?
B: Sorry, ah. I got appointment *bah*.
(8) A: You use the hand lens to see the spores.
B: *Au,* because we can't get the microscope *bah*.

However, in (9) and (10) below, the nouns *wedding* and *amah* (house-servant) are nouns of significance in the family domain in Brunei and this fits in with our hypothesis that *bah* is being used as a marker of solidarity in these and other utterances.

(9) You should come to my wedding *bah*.
(10) *Au,* I really need amah *bah*.

4.1.3 After Verbs

From our data it appears that *bah* occurs after verbs but only in negative utterances and after imperatives.

(11) I don't understand *bah* with his lecture.
(12) The rice is not cooked *bah*.
(13) I don't know *bah*.
(14) Keep quiet *bah*.

Throughout the above discussion of the syntactic behaviour of *bah* consistent reference has been made to the fact that it often occurs in constructions which convey negative meaning or at least there is a negative connotation in the utterance. We suggest, in such cases, that the function of *bah* is to "soften" the force of the utterance. This is particularly important in the Malay social and cultural environment where politeness rules dictate a less than direct approach. Utterances, such as (14), without *bah* would be marked and perhaps even considered impolite. We also suggest that *bah* is used as an emphatic marker and this is confirmed by informants. Thus, in example (9) above, the thrust of the utterance is that you really must come. The role of *bah* here in "softening" an utterance and as an emphatic particle is similar to the role of *lah* in Malaysian English.

4.2 Functional behaviour of *bah*

Central to the understanding of the function of *bah* is the need to recognise that *bah* is first and foremost a particle whose correct usage signifies that both the speaker and the listener are members of the Brunei speech community. In other words, to members of the speech community, neither the illocutionary nor the perlocutionary force of an utterance containing *bah* is ever in doubt, although to others peripheral to, or outside, the speech community confusion and misunderstanding may occur. So, we can say that the use of *bah*, like the *la/lah* of Singapore and Malaysia, conveys the solidarity and rapport as recorded by Richards and Tay (1977). However, the particle does much more than this. Its functional territory extends beyond the frontiers of *la/lah*. This is most keenly demonstrated when *bah* stands alone in an unbound utterance or in combination with *au* (*au bah*).

We recognize a number of pragmatic functions in the use of *bah* in Brunei English. The following will be discussed below: concurring, inviting, parting from company and closing a conversation. Although these are listed individually, we are conscious of the fact that these functions are not necessarily clearly defined and that there is often considerable overlap. This supports our view that the particle is extremely versatile.

4.2.1. Concurrence

In Brunei English *bah* is commonly used to affirm, agree, confirm or to signify acknowledgement to an accession or command. The particle can occur by itself or in the construction *au bah*.

(15) A: You want to come with me?
B: Bah.
(16) A: Let's go for coffee.
B: *Bah.*
(17) A: Have you finished yet?
B: *Bah.*
(18) A: You follow me.
B: Au bah.
(19) A: It's true, isn't it?
B: *Au bah.*
(20) A: Are you sure with the answer?
B: *Au bah.* Don't worry.
(21) A: That girl is very talkative ah.
B: *Au bah.* So noisy.
(22) A: You use the hand lens to see the spores.
B: *Au,* because we can't get the microscope *bah.*
A: *Au bah,* I also think like that.

In these utterances, *bah* is acting as a "reaction signal" for assent or agreement (Quirk et al. 1972:413), carrying the meaning *Yes, All right, OK, Certainly, Absolutely, Right.* It seems to be used in utterances where an affirmative answer is expected or even obvious, and so its function is really one of confirmation.

In utterances such as (18) to (22), *bah* is used in construction with *au.* The difference in the use of *bah* and *au bah* is not clear and the relationship of these two particles when used in Malay discourse has not yet been studied. However, informants suggest, and data collected from a questionnaire confirms, that the choice of *au bah* and *bah* is functionally significant with the former indicating that the affirmative answer may not be so obvious. It has also been suggested that *au bah,* in contrast to *bah,* might, in certain circumstances, suggest a degree of impatience.

In examples (20), (21) and (22), *au bah* is followed by a clause. It is almost as if, in certain situations, the *au bah* is not adequate in itself to signal agreement. Context is obviously of crucial importance.

4.2.2. Invitation

In informal Brunei Malay an obvious invitation is often rendered by using *bah*. For example, if a hostess has provided drinks for her guests she might say "*bah*" in order to invite them to drink. Here, *bah* would be equivalent to the English *please* in a similar situation. The utterance would usually be accompanied by a gesture pointing to the drinks on the table.

We have observed that *bah* also performs this function in Brunei English. As well as being used as an "invitation" or a signal to drink it is also used in other, similar situations such as an invitation to partake of food and to enter a house.

In situations where there may be only partial solidarity and rapport between the participants it would be necessary for the speaker to further clarify the message and indicate what she intends the speaker to do. Thus, in (23) and (24) below, the intention of the speaker is made clear.

(23) *Bah*. Please eat.
(24) *Bah*. Help yourselves.

4.2.3 Parting comment

A very common use of *bah* in both Brunei Malay and Brunei English is as a signal that one wishes to leave company or that one is ready to leave. For example, it would be quite natural for a person to announce his intention to leave by merely using the utterance "*bah*". Typically this would follow a break in the discourse and would usually be accompanied or followed by some movement from the individual concerned. The use of *bah* here is an important part of the leave-taking ritual. It might seem rather abrupt and can be both surprising and disconcerting for those used to a more elaborate leave-taking ritual of the "Well, I suppose I ought to be getting back" type, but it is wholly appropriate to members of the Brunei speech community.

A slightly different use of *bah* in this context is shown in (25) below.

(25) A: Let's go.
B: *Bah*.

Here, the response, *bah*, is seen as acceptance that one is ready to leave. It is, in essence, concurrence, but such a use of *bah* is exemplified here as it is important in the leave-taking process.

The function of *bah* in this context is similar to the use of *jum* in parts of Peninsular Malaysia. This particle, like *bah*, can be used by itself in order to indicate the desire to leave company, or as a response to an utterance such as *Let's go.*[6]

4.2.4 Closing Comment

The particle *bah* is also used as a closing remark in both face-to-face and telephone discourse and can incorporate the function of closing greetings such as the informal *Bye* or the more formal *Goodbye*. Two examples are given below.

(26) A: See you.
B: *Bah.*

(27) A: OK, Bye.
B: *Bah.*

This use is extremely common and appears to be almost obligatory. A telephone conversation would not seem complete without the closing comment *bah*. Informants have consistently stated that a major function of *bah* is to close a conversation. We would further add that this is one of the few instances where we have observed *bah* being used in more formal discourse.

The particle *bah* thus plays an extremely important role in concurrence, invitation, parting from company and as a closing comment. Among other functions is the use of *bah* as a phatic acknowledgement to *thank you*-type utterances (for example, *don't mention it*), and in constructions with *anu* as in the following examples.

(28) A: That's kind of you.
B: *Bah.*

(29) A: Thank you.
B: *Bah.*

(30) We call this ... *anu bah.*

(31) Compared between two ... *anu bah* ... system.

(32) I forget bring my ... *anu bah* ... form

In examples (30) to (32), *anu* is similar in meaning to the use of the English *what's its name* or *thingummyjig*, when one cannot remember, or does not know the proper term. It could also be described as having a function similar to the English hesitation particle, *er.* In the Brunei speech community, the construction *anu bah* is extremely common.

Observation from Brunei Malay suggests that *bah* is often used as a marker in utterances where the interlocutor is pleading or complaining.

Evidence from our data is sketchy but we have recorded a number of instances which indicate that this function occurs in English.

(33) I want to follow you *bah*. ('pleading')
(34) Difficult *bah*. ('complaining')

Our informants confirm this and indeed have commented that this function is much more common in Brunei English than our data suggests.

In utterances such as (33) and (34) we have observed a noticeably longer *bah* and informants have also mentioned the use of a longer *bah* which carries the meaning *of course*. However, any further comment on this must await further research, such as spectrographic analysis to determine both the quantity and quality of *bah* in various utterances.

5. Conclusion

When we began our research we knew that *bah* had a crucial role to play in Brunei English, but we did not realise how crucial. Our first, and perhaps major, conclusion is that the use of *bah* is compulsory for Bruneians using English in informal discourse. We cannot now envisage a long stretch of discourse without it.

We have itemised a number of functions of *bah* in its unbound form, and have suggested that it may play a role as an emphatic marker or a "softener" in longer constructions. However, underlying all these functions, we conclude that the use of *bah* suggests solidarity and rapport between the participants. Furthermore, it is an invitation to be part of, or the acceptance of a participant into, the Brunei speech community.

Although much of the initial intuition on the uses of the particle *bah* came from studies on *la/lah,* we must emphasize that, although there are a number of areas where the functions of *bah* and *la/lah* overlap, in many instances the functions differ. The *la/lah* of Singapore and Malaysia cannot exist in an unbound state. The particle *bah,* however, does so frequently, giving it a versatility far greater than that of *la/lah.*

There are numerous questions that still need to be asked. For instance, in what circumstances is *bah* predictable? What other functions does *bah* have? What are the syntactic rules for *bah*? Is the sound quality and quantity of *bah* significant? What is the role of *bah* in code-switched discourse? It is our hope that future researchers might wish to look into some of these questions in a bid to shed more light on this unique and versatile particle.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Dr. Anne Pakir of the National University of Singapore, Mr. David Ellis of the International Islamic University, Malaysia, and Dr. Gloria Poedjosoedarmo of the University of Brunei Darussalam, for reading earlier drafts of this paper. Our greatest thanks, however, should be reserved for the many informants without whom this paper would not have been possible.

NOTES

1. The functions of *bah* in the Malay dialects of Brunei are at present being studied by the authors.
2. The particle *bah* occurs in some of the other Bornean languages, for example, Lun Bawang and Bisaya, in areas bordering Brunei. It also occurs in Tagalog, where it functions as an interrogative particle, and in the Batak language (as *ba*) of North Sumatra (Simanjuntak 1988).
3. Although we here use the singular form for English, we believe that there are, in fact, at least three overlapping varieties of English in Malaysia, all of which are influenced by the mother tongue of the speaker.
4. In Brunei Malay *tah* is the usual emphatic particle and, like *lah,* always acts enclitically.
5. In the Brunei varieties of Malay the usual functon of *au* is to confirm or to concur with a statement.
6. There is an important difference between the use of *bah* and *jum.* Whereas the former can be used by a single person announcing his intention to leave company, *jum* is usually only used when two or more people are leaving company.

References

Abdullah Hassan. 1974. The Morphology of Malay. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Asmah Hj Omar. 1982. Nahu Melayu Mutakhir. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.

Augustine, J. 1982. Regional Standards of English in Peninsular Malaysia. New Englishes, ed. by John Pride, 249–258. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Bell, R.T. & Ser, P.Q. 1983. 'To-day la?' 'Tomorrow lah!'; the LA Particle in Singapore English. RELC Journal, 14:2, 1–18.

Government of Negara Brunei Darussalam. 1989. Brunei Darussalam Newsletter, 44.

Kimball, L.A. 1971. More first words of a Brunei Child. Brunei Museum Journal, 2(3), 39–55.

Kwan-Terry, A. 1978. The meaning and source of the "la" and the "what" particles in Singapore English. RELC Journal, 9:2, 22–36.

Loke Kit-Ken & Low Mei-Yin. 1988. A proposed descriptive frame-work for the pragmatic meanings of the particle LA in colloquial Singapore English. Asian-Pacific Papers, ed. by Brian McCarthy, 150–161. ALAA, Occasional Papers, 10.

Matasim Hj Jibah. 1985. Pertuturan, Brunei: Brunei Museum.

__________. 1986. Pertuturan II, Brunei: Brunei Museum.

Maxwell, Alan R. 1980. Urang Darat, An Ethnographic Study of the Kadayan of the Labu Valley, Brunei. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Yale University.

Ozóg, A. Conrad K. 1987a. The Syntax of the mixed language of Malay-English bilinguals. RELC Journal, 18:1, 72–90.

__________. 1987b. Codeswitching in Brunei. A Preliminary Enquiry. Paper presented at AILA World Congress, Sydney, (16–20 August),

Platt, John. 1987. Communicative functions of particles in Singapore English. Language Topics Essays in honour of Michael Halliday, Volume 1, ed. by Ross Steel and T. Threadgold, 390–401. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Platt, John & Weber, Heidi. 1980. English in Singapore and Malaysia: Status, Features, Functions. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.

Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., Svartvik, J. 1972. A Grammar of Contemporary English. London: Longman.

Richards, Jack C. & Tay, Mary J. 1977. The La Particle in Singapore English. The English Language in Singapore, ed. by William Crewe, 141–155. Singapore: Eastern Universities Press.

Romaine, S. 1984. The language of children and adolescents. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Simanjuntak, Mengantar. 1988. Serba serbi Bahasa Melayu Brunei. Beriga, April–June.

Tongue, R.K. 1974. The English of Singapore and Malaysia. Singapore: Eastern Universities Press.

Wong, Irene F.H. 1983. Simplification features in the Structures of Colloquial Malaysian English. Varieties of English in Southeast Asia. ed. by Richard B. Noss, 125–149. Anthology Series 11. Singapore: Singapore University Press.

What the Eye Doesn't See: Cross-Cultural Problems in the Comprehension of Video Material

Richard Tuffs
Ian Tudor
Institut de Phonetique,
Universite Libre de Bruxelles,
Brussels
Belgium

Abstract

Video is frequently used in second language teaching, the most common reason given being its ability to illustrate language use in context, teachers having assumed that the visual channel provides support for the verbal message. However, little research has been carried out on the relationship of the visual and verbal channels in video material and particularly whether the information available in the visual channel is exploited differently by native speakers and non-native speakers.

This paper reports on an experiment designed to test differences in story comprehension of an ELT video played silent sequence to one group of British native speakers of English and to three groups of non-native speakers of English from different cultural backgrounds. Comprehension was measured by the use of summary writing and comprehension questions. Results showed that the native speakers were significantly better able to infer the story line and related background information than the non-native speaker groups. The results indicate that although native speakers are able to derive benefit from the visual channel in video, non-native speakers, particularly from cultures further removed from that of the target video material, are less able to recognise and exploit the facilitative potential of the visual cues present in this channel.

Introduction

When the use of video materials in language teaching began to become widespread in the early eighties, the advent of this new medium was seen as offering language teachers the possibility of presenting their students with a richer and fuller representation of the spoken language than had been possible previously. Casler (1980:16) argues that video allows learners to perceive "human behaviour in the whole communication process", Pike (1984:201) that video material provides "a more effective contextualization of the language than any other aid", Lonergan (1984:4) that "the outstanding feature of video films is their ability to present complete communicative situations", and Allan (1984) claims that video material makes it possible to bring the "real world" into the classroom. The intuitive plausibility of this view of the supportive or contextualizing function of the visual channel, combined with the undeniable motivational force of video materials and, indeed, the force of student expectation and accepted teaching practice, have made video materials an increasingly standard language teaching resource.

At the same time there has been a distinct lack of detailed research into the interaction of the visual and verbal channels in the comprehension of video material by second language learners. In fact, MacWilliam (1986) sounds a note of caution by suggesting that the visual element may not play as supportive a function as might intuitively be expected and may even serve to distract attention from the verbal message.

The current experimentation represents an attempt to investigate the potential role of the visual channel in providing contextual support for the verbal channel. The study compares the ability of one group of native speakers and three groups of non-native speakers of English to infer the storyline and content of an ELT video film in silent sequence, the goal being to assess how far the four groups were able to make effective use of the visual elements present in the video material as a support for comprehension and as a basis for making successful inferences as to how the story developed.

The Study

Overview

The study involved the playing in silent sequence of a video sequence, produced for ELT use, to four sets of subjects: one group of British native speakers, and three groups of non-native speakers. Subjects were required to watch the video sequence and attempt to infer the storyline of the sequence. Following the viewing they were asked to write a summary of the story and then answer a set of comprehension questions.

The initial hypothesis was that native speakers would derive greater benefit from the visual clues as a result of their familiarity with the cultural background of the target sequence and would thus be more successful than the non-native speakers in understanding what the story was about and inferring the storyline.

Subjects

Four groups, each comprising 10 subjects, were involved in the experiment. The native speaker group was composed of British adult students following a one-year MSc in Teaching English for Specific Purposes at Aston University in Birmingham U.K. All members of the group were experienced teachers aged between 30 and 50.

The first of the three non-native speaker groups was composed of non-native teachers of English as a Foreign Language all following the same MSc course. They were experienced teachers aged between 30 and 50. Seven were from Africa, two from Peru and one from India.

The second non-native speaker group was composed of Algerian postgraduate students in their early twenties following a one-year English and study skills course at Aston University prior to pursuing postgraduate studies at various British universities. Both the MSc group and the Algerian group had been in Britain for 9 months at the time of the experiment.

The third non-native speaker group was composed of Belgian students in their early twenties who were in their final year of a four year degree course in English and another European language at the Universite Libré de Bruxelles.

Both the native speaker and the Msc groups participated voluntarily in the experiment. The Algerian and Belgian groups participated in the experiment as part of their class activities.

Method

Video Sequence

The video used was an ELT video 'Challenges-Somewhere to live' produced by BBC English by Radio and Television, Longman, and the Institut für Film und Bild, Munich in 1976. The video is one of a series of six based on different themes which form part of a multi-media package recommended for an international audience of students who have been learning English for four or five years. Just after its release the video was described as breaking new ground by

> "...exposing the advanced learner to documentary material, designed to stimulate the use of idiomatic English communicatively and to improve comprehension of English 'in the raw' ... there are no actors used in the series and no specially structured studio sequences." (Howse 1979:21)

The video lasts 20 minutes and shows the problems of a young woman looking for accommodation in London in the early 1970's. The story follows the woman through a succession of encounters with flat agents, landlords, and potential flatmates and a visit to her parents' home where she receives a telephone call informing her that she has been accepted to share a flat. The story ends with her moving into her new flat.

The video was adapted for experimental purposes. The title sequence was not shown and the final sequence of moving into the new flat was cut in order to make the outcome of the narrative less evident. The experimental version of the video shown was 17 minutes in length.

The video was chosen because it represented a purpose-made ELT video produced to reflect the authentic use of language in authentic situations. The video as part of the *Challenges* multi-media package has received positive reviews and it has also been commercially successful (Howse 1979, Bevan 1986).

Together with the fact that the commercial and critical success of the video would mean that it had and may continue to have a large audience, the video presented the target language in a clear geographic and cultural context and as such it was considered that it would provide insights into the role of the visual element as a potential information source and support element.

Experimental procedure

The experimental procedure was identical for all groups. Subjects were told that they were going to watch a video sequence without sound and then they would be asked to write a narrative summary, in English, of the story as if they were telling the story to a friend who had not seen the video, and then after writing and handing in the summary they would receive some comprehension questions. Although no minimum or maximum number of words was specified for the summary, subjects were informed that a summary length of between one and two sides of A4 paper would be acceptable.

The video was shown once only and the subjects took as long as they wanted to write a summary, the average time being around 30 minutes. Once the summary was completed it was collected in and the comprehension questions were distributed. Following the completion of the comprehension questions the subjects were free to leave. The total experiment took around 60 minutes.

Elicitation Procedures

Summaries

The completed summaries were scored in terms of idea units. The idea units had been identified by the authors who had watched the video with sound and extracted 29 idea units corresponding to the main elements of the story content. Subject summaries were analysed and scored according to the number of the idea units identified present in the summary, the maximum being 29. No deductions were made for incorrect references or the addition of extraneous material. Total scores for each group are given in Figure 1.

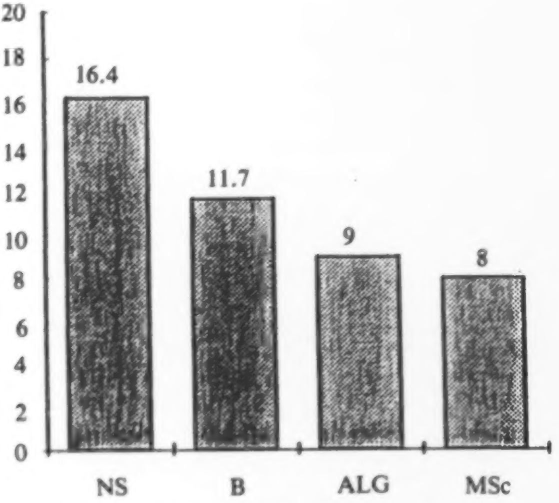


Figure 1. Idea Units: mean scores for each group.

Comprehension questions

Comprehension questions were handed out after the intake of the summaries and were intended to check comprehension and also to elicit information about how the subjects justified some of their answers.

Eleven questions tested background knowledge relating to the film such as where and when the film was made and specific comprehension points in the video sequence. The answers to these questions were marked correct or incorrect and the scores are indicated in Figure 2.

65

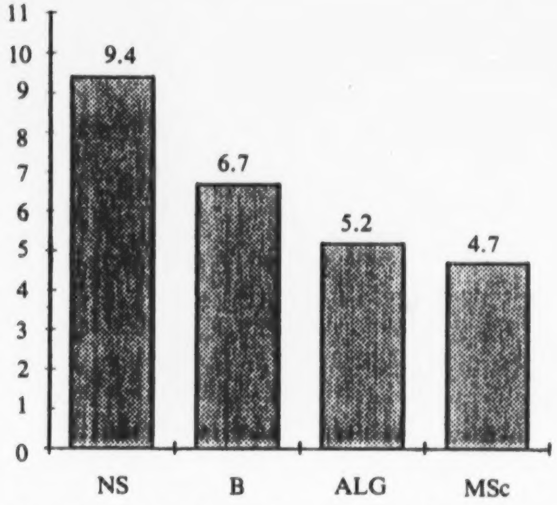


Figure 2. Comprehension questions: mean scores for each group.

Three other questions were included in order to gain more insight into the subjects' comprehension of the film. Two questions attempted to elicit reasons why the subject had chosen a certain location of the film and a certain date of production. The responses to these two questions are shown in Table 1. A further question elicited the perceived social class of the principal girl character in the film, the answers to which are shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Social class of the girl in film: as assessed by each group

	NS	B	ALG	MSc
upper middle class	3			
middle class	6	7	4	
lower middle class	1	1		2
upper working class		1		1
working class		1	4	7
no response			2	

656

Table 1
Identification of location and date of film

		No. of correct responses	No. of reasons given	Examples of reasons given			
				Geography	Setting	Technology	Society
NS	Where	8	18	Farnham is near London, bus destination, railway station name	buses (×6), streets and houses (×6), bus stop sign, signs		problems of accommodation
	When	10	17			type of car (×3), presence of desk computer, telephone switchboard not modern, cost of telephone call	people look happier, lack of black people, money, fashion (×5) hair styles (×3)
B	Where	3	7	station	buses (×3), architecture, taxis, language used on signs		
	When	7	15			type of car	fashion (×7), hairstyles (×6), way they adorn their houses
A1	Where	7	10	'Tottenham' sign, some well-known places	buses (×6), architecture		people
	When	3	3			type of car, colour of film (?)	clothes
MSc	Where	4	6	a sign on the bus	buses (×2), architecture, signs, general setting		
	When	2	2				clothes, hairstyles

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Results and Discussion

Both sets of data were analysed by means of a univariate analysis of variance. For both sets of data the analysis indicated a group effect significant at 0.01 (cf. Table 3). Figure 1 shows the average number of idea units obtained for each group in the summary writing task. The native speaker group, with an average of 16.4 idea units correctly identified, was clearly much more effective at interpreting the visual information and inferring the storyline than the three non-native groups. On the basis of a comparison for differences among means, this difference was statistically significant from the Belgian group at 0.05, and 0.01 for the other non-native speaker groups.

Table 3
ANOVA: Idea Units

Source of variation	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Between groups	423.48	2	211.74	8 8.29*
Within groups	944.50	37	25.53	
Total	1367.98	39		

ANOVA: Comprehension questions

Source of variation	Sum of squares	df	Mean square	F
Between groups	133.80	2	66.90	17.41*
Within groups	142.20	37	3.84	
Total	276.00	39		

*p < 0.01

Following the native speaker group comes the Belgian group wi
an average of 11.7 idea units per subject. This score is better than
does not reach a statistically significant difference at the 0.05 leve
the two following non-European groups, the Algerians with an
of 9 idea units and the MSc group with an average of 8 idea uni

The results clearly indicate the superior ability of the native speaker group to follow the video and write down the salient idea units in the summary. However, the results also indicate that there seems to be a difference between the Belgian group and the non-European groups in their ability to summarise the story.

Although the non-native groups were expected to write the summary in English, which might have had some effect on their ability to produce an adequate summary, both the Belgian group and the MSc group could be described as advanced learners and should have had few difficulties in producing an adequate summary. As the Algerians had a lower level of English than the MSc group at the time of the experiment, a lower score in the number of idea units might have been expected. The slightly higher average score achieved may be due to the fact that, as they were intending to remain in Britain to study they had made more effort to integrate into British culture than the MSc group, and having a lighter workload they had more time to watch television and socialize in the evenings.

Figure 2 shows the number of comprehension questions correctly answered. Once again the native speaker group performs better, the difference between the native speaker group and each other group being statistically significant at 0.01. Out of a total of eleven questions, six subjects from the native speaker group correctly answered ten or more. Only one other subject in the experiment, an Algerian student, correctly answered ten questions. The same order of comprehension is retained for the following three non-native speaker groups but the difference between the Belgian group and the two other non-native speaker groups is less marked.

Taking the two measurements together it seems that the cultural and geographical proximity of Belgium to Britain, possibly coupled to the fact that Belgium also receives two BBC television channels, allowed the Belgian group to perceive and derive meaning from the visual clues present in the video to a greater extent than the more culturally and geographically distant Algerian and MSc groups.

Analysis

Quantitative analysis based on the idea units and the comprehension questions clearly showed that the native speaker group were better able to infer the necessary information from the visual channel to understand and follow the storyline in the video.

However, in order to gain more insight on why the native speaker group performed better at the task we analysed the written summaries and the three comprehension questions (when and where the film was made and the social class of the main character) which indicated the visual elements in the video which were used to infer the storyline. The analysis is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the knowledge of background information of all the groups and the second dealing with insights into the comprehension processes of the native speakers, as illustrated by their interaction with the video and the inferences they explicitly make.

Knowledge of Background Information

Where and When was the Video Made?

Table 1 illustrates the numbers of subjects in each group who correctly identified the setting and the date at which the film was made. The reasons the subjects gave for their choice of place and date have been divided into four categories under the headings of geography, physical setting, technology and society, these categories being derived from an analysis of the subjects' responses.

Geography refers to the basic abstract knowledge of where places are together with the logical connections which are part of this knowledge. If this is Brussels we must be in Belgium or in Europe.

Physical setting refers to the more concrete knowledge of what one finds in a specific location. This is the knowledge one needs to design Hollywood film sets. The stereotypical features one would expect to find in Paris might be a backdrop of the Eiffel Tower or the Arc de Triomphe together with cobbled streets, pavement cafes etc. This knowledge may be very basic such as knowing Big Ben is in London or recognising a picture of the Sydney Opera House or alternatively it may be highly specific relating to architectural design, typical street furniture and building materials.

Technology is a category which covers knowledge of technological development in transport, communications and office and household equipment etc. Technological development, as many film makers have found to their cost, can easily 'date' films. One glance around Bob Orpenshaw's laboratory in the Bellcrest Story, a BBC video based Business English course, would date the film around 1970. As technological development continues at an ever faster pace the story may lose its face validity and become dated. This is an element which is clearly shown by changing fashions which come under the *Society* category. In the above Bellcrest story, Paul Malone's (a character in the story) hair style and clothes certainly date the video. So also do the problems that may be typically discussed by society in any one period. For example in Britain, unemployment now receives far less press attention than it did in the early 1980's. Certain topics are 'in', for example 'the environment'. The ability to recognise and predict certain topic areas which frequently appear in conversation is an important aid to comprehension.

Table 1 indicates the number of subjects who were able to correctly identify the location and the period of the film and the reasons they gave to justify their choice. Eight out of ten native speakers were able to identify that the video was filmed in London (Britain or England was rejected as being too vague) and all the subjects correctly identified the period. The relative ease with which the native speaker group were able to identify the location and the period contrasts with the greater difficulty of the non-native speaker groups especially the MSc group where only four subjects correctly identified the location and two the period.

Not only were the native speakers better able to identify the location and the period of the video, they also used a greater range of visual clues to justify their answers. Although the native speaker group used a greater range of clues, there does seem to be a set of 'core' elements which are perceived by all the subjects correctly identifying the location and the period. These core elements are buses, architecture, signs and clothes.

These elements amongst others are obviously perceived by all subjects including those who failed to identify the location and the period. These subjects, then, are unable to make appropriate use of the indexical power of the visual information as an aid to comprehension.

Social class

Subjects were asked to identify the social class of the main woman character in the video. The results in Table 2 illustrate the range of answers. Although there can be no absolute right or wrong answer, the native speakers all agree that the woman is middle class. This view tends to be shared by the Belgian group but the Algerian group and the MSc group veer towards working class.

The reasons for the marked divergence between the two European groups and the two non-European groups may be explained by the fact that the subjects in the latter two groups were composed of an educated elite and who may not have had any experience of, or would expect to have, any problems in finding accommodation. They may have assumed that if someone did have accommodation problems, this person would probably be poor. Again we can note the increasing distance away from the native speaker norm as the cultural distance between the groups widens.

Native Speaker Comprehension Processes

Interaction

A major distinguishing feature between the native speakers' summaries and the non-native speakers' summaries was the presence or absence of value-oriented personal comments about the story or reactions to the characters, places and situations illustrated in the video. While nine out of ten summaries in the native speaker group contained such comments, only three of the non-native speakers' summaries did so.

In other words, while native speakers interacted with the video, bringing to bear their own experience, values and opinions on what they were watching, the non-native speakers viewed the video with a much greater air of detachment, with little personal or emotional involvement.

Obviously, the ability to express such values and opinions may have been restricted in the non-native speaker groups, but the differences between the groups do seem to indicate a significant difference in the nature of the reactions that different groups had to the video.

For example, at the start of the story we see the heroine sharing a flat with two friends. The non-native speakers generally report this fact with no additional comment, whereas six native speakers refer to the flat and the surroundings in the following terms:

"a typical slobby pre-yuppie ex-student establishment"
"a scruffy Victorian house in Kennington"
"it was perhaps a squat. Very poor"
"a decaying Victorian house"
"a rather tatty flat"
"in a fairly scruffy student-type flat"
"in a scruffy part of north London"

The family house of the woman and the location near Farnham in Surrey also receives considerable comment.

"a very plush part of Surrey ... and just as you'd expect, the car pulls up outside a large stone house"

"(in Surrey - stockbroker belt? - background of family wealth?)"

"Mummy and daddy work as live-in caretakers of a rich man's country house"

"and takes her back to the family pile, big enough to hold all the flats and houses she's seen so far."

"very nice house in the country"

> "drives the girl up to a very large house - not I think her home, as it seems rather institutionalised"
>
> "she goes home to Mummy in Farnham in a big snazzy house"

Clearly, then, for the native speakers, the opening situation is more meaningful and hence provides more clause to the situation and likely subsequent events which are in part reinforced by confirming expectations. This helps to explain why the native speakers were able to predict the outcome of the story better than the non-native speakers.

Similarly the native speakers reacted much more directly to the characters in the video. For example the man in the flat agency in the opening scene is described by one native speaker subject as

> "a seedy looking well-fed middle-aged fellow with glasses and the falsely concerned manner of a psychiatrist"

The heroine is described as a

> "typical young woman up from the country"
>
> "quite attractive rather appealing in manner"

and the heroine's brother as

> "a real slob with black curtains for hair"

and a tenant in one of the flats the heroine visits as

> "a drippy young man with long blond hair"

and a landlady as

> "a rather posh landlady who didn't look as though she'd be very easy to live with"

and potential flatmates as

> "laid back dope smoking students".

In addition to such reactions to places and people, two native speakers made politically and socially oriented comments on the storyline. For example, one native speaker makes a direct reference to Mrs Thatcher's politics with a postscript to the summary.

> "Labour will bring back seventies girls. Part II will show how it is nowadays. She will end up in a cardboard box under Charing Cross bridge"

Another native speaker comments on the content of the story at the end of the summary.

> "It is not typical. Most girls in London come from nice homes but not so nice as the commuter belt. The sheer squalor and desperation of flathunting and bedsitters is authentic however"

The above comments illustrate the way that native speakers became personally involved in what they were viewing and related this to their personal experience or political opinions.

The native speaker is thus able to bring relevant schemata to bear on the video which are constantly checked against the range of clues and inferences available. The video is thus interpreted within a comprehensive framework not only of background knowledge but also personal opinions and prejudices.

In contrast, the non-native speakers are less able to infer information and their lack of relevant background cultural knowledge means that they have a limited base from which to construct a relevant storyline and, even when they are able to do so, the storyline tends to be much more factual in content. Non-native speakers with more limited familiarity with the target culture are less able to exploit their background knowledge and opinions. When they do, their lack of knowledge of the culture is often exposed. This is illustrated in a comment made by one subject from the Algerian group.

> "The film itself was relatively straightforward, a relatively simple case of a young lady looking for a shelter. But what surprised me was the existence of such a problem in England. Where I have noticed a huge offer of flats as shown by the mushrooming adverts and the relative ease in acquiring council houses if compared to the country where I live...."

This postscript to what was a very short summary of the video shows not only the admitted lack of background knowledge that the subject had to contribute to the video sequence but also the confusion generated by contradictory messages of on the one hand 'a housing problem' and on the other the subject's inability to comprehend that there is (or was) such a 'problem' in Britain. Compared to many countries the housing problems of the girl may be regarded as trivial.

Conclusion

Before drawing any conclusions it should be noted that the experiment was limited to one video extract from a particular genre of video material and also the number of subjects was relatively limited. The following points we wish to raise should thus be seen more as starting points for further research, rather than definitive conclusions.

The ability of the native speaker group to infer a coherent and generally accurate storyline on the basis of the visual information alone would seem to indicate that, for native speakers at least, the visual channel offers a powerful support to comprehension. However, the substantially lower scores of the non-native speaker groups on both the comprehension questions and the summary writing task indicate that these subjects were far less able to avail themselves of the potentially supportive function of the visual channel than the native speaker group. Furthermore, the relative ability of the non-native speaker groups to exploit the visual information in the video sequence as an aid to comprehension seems strongly linked to the proximity of their native culture to that of the target video. These results would thus tend to call into question the potentially supportive function of the visual channel for second language learners often cited in the literature on the use of video in ELT – and particularly in the case of learners from cultural backgrounds which differ markedly from that of the target video.

Depending on the type of video material exploited in class and the cultural background and education of the students, it is possible to envisage situations where the visual channel may be of almost no benefit and may, in fact, serve only to distract from the verbal message. This situation takes on added importance if we are to believe Willis (1983) that non-native speakers of English rely more heavily on visual clues to support their comprehension of video material than native speakers.

The results of the experiment would indicate that we need to think more carefully about the way in which we use video materials in the second language learning classroom. Where video materials are being used for comprehension purposes or language input we may need to reconsider the difficulty level not only in terms of the verbal message but also as regards how well the visual channel supports the verbal message, paying particular attention to aspects of the visual channel that may be culturally unfamiliar. In the case where video material is being used as an exemplification of the culture of a different country we may wish to isolate particular aspects of the visual message and directly teach the possible information that native speakers might derive from a selection of visual clues.

Finally, recent research in second language comprehension in different mediums indicates that relevant background cultural knowledge is an important component of successful comprehension (Floyd and Carrell 1987, Johnson 1981, Steffensen 1986). The results of this experiment show that background cultural knowledge is also an important factor in the comprehension of video material set in a different culture from that of the viewer. More research in this area would not only help to develop our knowledge of an increasingly important teaching medium but also be useful in developing classroom techniques which help to exploit the medium more effectively.

References

Allan, M. 1985. *Teaching English with video.* London: Longman.

Bevan, V. 1986. *Purpose-made videos for English language teaching.* ELT Journal 40:2. 156-167.

Byram, M. 1989. *Cultural studies in foreign language education.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Casler, K. 1980. *Video materials in language learning.* Modern English Teacher 8:2. 16-22.

Floyd, P and P. Carrell. 1987. *Effects on ESL reading of cultural content schemata.* Language Learning 37:1. 89-108.

Howse, H. 1979. *BBC English by radio and television: an outline history.* The use of the media in English language teaching. London: British Council. 15-22.

Johnson, P. 1981. *The effects on reading comprehension of language complexity and cultural background of a text.* TESOL Quarterly. 15:2. 169-181.

Lonergan, J. 1984. *Video in language teaching.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

MacKnight, F. 1983. *Video and English language teaching in Britain.* Video applications in English language teaching. ed. J McGovern. Oxford: Pergamon Press. 1-16.

MacWilliam, I. 1986. *Video and language comprehension.* ELT Journal 40.2. 131-135.

Pike, H. 1984. *Video as a teaching aid.* World Language English. 3:3. 201-203.

Riley, P. 1981. *Viewing comprehension: l'oeuil ecoute.* The teaching of listening comprehension. London: British Council. 143-155.

Steffensen, M. 1986. *Register, cohesion and cross-cultural reading comprehension.* Applied Linguistics 7:1. 71-85.

Willis, J. 1983. *The role of the visual element in spoken discourse: implications for the exploitation of video in the EFL classroom.* Video applications in English language teaching. ed. J McGovern Oxford: Pergamon Press. 29-42.

Ethnic Variation in Classroom Interaction: Myth or Reality

B. Kumaravadivelu
The University of Alabama
USA

Abstract

A balanced view of ethnic variation in a multilingual, multicultural classroom is imperative in the context of maximizing learning potential in the second/foreign language classroom. The study reported here supports the hypothesis that the rules and norms governing L2 classroom interactional patterns will take on new dimensions depending as much on the teachers' pedagogic orientation and practical management of turn allocation as on the learners' disposition and motivation to participate in classroom communication; as much on interactional opportunities created by the teacher as on interactional opportunities utilized by the learner. The study cautions against forging any hasty linkage between ethnicity and styles of classroom interaction.

Background

Research on conversational analysis conducted during the seventies (Duncan 1972, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974, Goffman 1976) has given us valuable insights into rule-governed patterns of participation in social interaction. We have learnt that the signals and norms for taking turns in conversations, which are used and responded to in a relatively structured manner are identifiable and describable in terms of a set of rules. We have also learnt that these rules of conversational behaviour are, to some extent, culture-specific, that is, they may vary from society to society. Scholars such as Gumperz (1978), Scollon and Scollon (1981) and Tannen (1984) have extensively documented cultural differences of patterns of behaviour observed in interethnic communication.

Following the lead provided by studies in interethnic communication, researchers in second/foreign language (L2) learning and teaching wondered whether classroom discourse would also show ethnic variations similar to the ones found in social conversations. Studies conducted so far on ethnic variations in classroom interaction show some interesting results. I shall review some of those studies below.

In a pioneering work on ethnic styles in L2 classroom discourse, Sato (1983) investigated the relationship between ethnicity and the distribution of talk in English as a second language (ESL) classes consisting of Asian and non-Asian learners. She found significant differences between

Asian and non-Asian learners with respect to the distribution of talk; the former group has been characterized as taking significantly less speaking turns on their own initiative and as being more dependent on teacher-allocated turns in class discussions. She also found that the teacher gave greater opportunities for non-Asians to participate in the classroom discourse by nominating non-Asians significantly more often than she nominated Asians.

Sato offered two plausible explanations for her results: (a) the Asian learners' perception of the teacher-as-authority role, which is based on their native cultural tradition, may have contributed to their infrequent self-selection in classroom discussions, and (b) the teacher's perception of unwillingness to talk among Asians may have induced her to call upon them less often.

The doubts raised by Sato on the role of teacher perception have been reinforced by Schinke-Llano (1983) who studied the patterns of behaviour of talk in content classes consisting of native speakers of English and non-native (Spanish) speakers with limited-English proficiency (LEP). She mainly focused on patterns of talk employed by twelve native-speaking teachers in these content classes. She found that LEP students in content classes were interacted with significantly less frequently than their native-speaking counterparts. Even when they were interacted with, the interaction was generally managerial in nature, rather than instructional; thus the LEP students were given very few opportunities for meaningful interaction in class. She concluded that the LEP students were treated differentially not because of their limited-English proficiency but because of their teachers' perception of their inability to function in the content class.

In a study on patterns of interaction in English as first and second language classrooms involving British and Indian school children, Kumaravadivelu (1986) found no remarkable variation in the number of teacher as well as student turns in the L1 and L2 classes in spite of the obvious cultural and ethnic variations between the groups. He concluded that ethnic variations in patterns of interaction in classroom discourse form just the tip of the iceberg. He argued that other variables which have the potential to influence classroom interaction patterns, such as the nature of the task given to learners, the teachers' pedagogic orientations, their teaching techniques, and their style of classroom management, and affective factors shaping learner behaviour, etc., must be looked into in order for us to have an informed view on the role of ethnicity in shaping L2 classroom participation.

Kumaravadivelu's argument was strengthened by Malcolm (1987) who investigated "a long history of communication problems" between Aboriginal pupils learning English in Australian primary schools and their teachers. He focused, among other things, on the belief widely held among Australian teachers that "Aboriginal children in the classroom were shy, reluctant to initiate communication with the teacher, very hesitant in answering, embarrassed at being singled out either for praise or reproof...." (p. 39).

Malcolm recorded and observed lessons in over one hundred classes in Australian primary schools. His observations on two classes are of interest to us. One of the classes was taught by an inexperienced teacher who seemed to be following a pre-determined, rigid agenda paying very little attention to the creation of learning opportunities in class. The most noticeable feature of this class "is the passive resistance exercised by the pupils in the fact that they neither make bids to respond to the teacher's elicitations nor, when she seeks to overcome their reluctance by nominating individuals, do they make any response to nomination" (p. 44). This class which obviously is every teacher's nightmare, seems to lend credence to the belief that Aboriginal learners are culturally-disposed to be passive listeners rather than active participants in classroom interaction.

Malcolm, however, provided evidence from another class to show that Aboriginal learners are not always passive and uncooperative in their classes. The teacher of this class "has an educational agenda and she makes it explicit, yet unlike the other teachers, she adopts the passive and receptive role with regard to the interaction. A totally different pattern emerges" (p. 50). What emerges is a lively class where "the children all talk more than the teacher." Commenting on the patterns of participation in the two classes referred to here, Malcolm observes: "There we had a linguistic power struggle: here we have the kind of real communication which makes up everyday life.... In the sequence of forty acts there is only one in which she (the teacher) attempts to impose structure on the discourse. The teacher does not regard herself as the only source of knowledge, and the children are learning from one another. The minority group is having some say in its own learning" (p. 52).

Based on his extensive investigation, Malcolm concluded that (a) "minority children's discourse patterns may vary vastly according to the routine employed by the teacher" (p. 39), (b) "as a complete explanation of minority deviations from classroom communicative norms, cultural differences are not sufficient" (p. 55), and (c) "where serious communication problems persist for minority groups in classrooms the reasons may well be affective rather than linguistic or cultural" (p. 56).

Interestingly, a common thread that runs through the findings of the studies reviewed above is the idea of cultural stereotypes and pedagogic prescriptions that teachers themselves seem to bring to bear on classroom participation. These studies make one wonder whether the teacher's performance itself operates as an unintended *causal* factor in triggering the variation in classroom participation often attributed to ethnicity. The studies raise reasonable doubts but provide no categorical answers, mainly because data for each of these studies came from classes taught by different teachers with different pedagogic orientations, following different teaching strategies and using different instructional materials. There is thus a need to conduct a study in a much more controlled environment which seeks to minimise as far as possible the influence of as many of these variables as possible, and the present study attempts to do that.

The Present Study

Keeping in mind the primary focus of the study, that is, the classroom participatory behaviour of the teacher and the learners, the following research questions (and corresponding null hypotheses) were formulated:

are there any significant differences between the Japanese group and the Hispanic group with regard to

a. the distribution of teacher turns?
b. the distribution of student turns?
c. teacher turn allocation behaviour?
d. learner response to teacher solicits?
e. individual/choral response to teacher general solicits?

Participants

Twenty advanced level ESL learners belonging to two easily identifiable ethnic groups participated in this study. They were selected mainly on the basis of their willingness to participate in the study, rather than by random selection. One group consisted of ten Japanese learners (6 male and 4 female) and another consisted of ten Hispanic learners (7 male and 3 female) from Latin American countries. The length of their stay in the United States ranged from 7.8 to 9.4 months, the mean length being 8.1 months. The study focused on Japanese and Hispanic learners for two reasons: (a) a sizable number of advanced level learners from these two ethnic groups were available during the academic term the study was conducted, and (b) one often hears, at least in the corridors of English Language Institutes in the United States, epithets like "the silent Japanese" and "the talkative Hispanic." It was felt that if any two ethnic groups of ESL learners are perceived to vary considerably in their patterns of classroom behaviour, these two groups fulfil the expectation.

The teacher who volunteered to participate in the study was an American female with 3.7 years of teaching experience, and was, at the time of data collection, teaching two sections of "Communication skills" classes from which the student volunteers were selected. Thus, the teacher and the students were familiar with each other. The two groups were taught for three consecutive sessions (50 minutes each) one unit on "Expressing opinions" (Unit 5 of the ESL textbook written by Porter, Grant and Draper 1985). The teacher was advised by the experimenter to teach the same unit and follow the same instructional strategy. She was also advised to conduct classes for the two groups of learners two weeks apart in order to avoid any repetition, from memory, of classroom question-answer sequences. The classroom method suggested by the textbook writers and followed by the teacher can be described as "communicative" in the sense that there were information-gap and opinon-gap activities, and the primary focus was on communicative fluency rather than grammatical accuracy.

Analytical Framework

The data for the study was collected through audiotaping and in-class observation. The transcribed data formed the corpus for analysis and the following categories were followed for coding purposes:

1. Teacher turns
2. Student turns
3. General solicit (a question addressed to the whole class, not to any particular person)
4. Personal solicit (a question addressed to a particular individual by nomination)
5. Response to general solicit
6. Response to personal solicit
7. Individual response to general solicit (one learner self-selecting to respond to the teacher's general solicit)
8. Choral response (several learners self-selecting at the same time to respond to the teacher's general solicits)

These categories are slightly modified from the turn-taking category system proposed by Allwright (1980). Data from both the groups was pooled together for purposes of analysis and comparison. Since we were dealing with frequency data, it was decided to apply the chi-square test for statistical analysis, and the alpha level selected was $p < .001$. The following section presents the results of the analysis followed by a brief discussion.

Results and Discussion

Table 1 presents the figures for the distribution of teacher turns in the two classes. The analysis shows that 52% of the teacher's turns came from the Hispanic class and 48% from the Japanese class. Statistically, there is no significant difference in the distribution of number of teacher turns. This may be attributed to the fact that the teacher was teaching the same unit to both the classes following similar instructional strategies.

Table 1
Distribution of Teacher Turns

Group	No. of turns	%
Japanese	336	48.13
Hispanic	362	51.87
Total	698	100.00
$\chi^2 = 0.96$, df = 1, $p > .001$, two-tail, non-directional		

As far as the distribution of the number of learner turns is concerned (Table 2), the Hispanic learners had nearly five percent more turns (52.4%) than their Japanese counterparts (47.6%) but the difference is not statistically significant. The observed differences reflect the fact that there were fewer teacher turns in the Japanese class than in the Hispanic class. Incidentally, there were more student turns than teacher turns (cf: Table 1) because sometimes the same question asked by the teacher was answered by more than one learner.

Table 2
Distribution of Student Turns

Group	No. of turns	%
Japanese	358	47.60
Hispanic	394	52.40
Total	752	100.00
$\chi^2 = 1.72$, df = 1, $p > .001$, two-tail, non-directional		

Table 3
Teacher turn allocation

Categories	Japanese		Hispanic	
	Turns	%	Turns	%
Personal solicit	154	45.83	150	41.44
General solicit	182	54.17	212	58.56
Total	336	100	362	100
$\chi^2 = 1.27$, df = 1, $p > .001$, two-tail, non-directional				

Table 3 shows that in both Japanese and Hispanic classes the teacher resorted more to general solicits, that is, addressed her questions to the whole class without nominating any particular learner (54%), than to personal solicits, that is, asked questions by nominating particular learners (46%), but there is no significant difference in the teacher turn allocation between the two groups.

Now, consider the figures given in Table 4:

Table 4
Learner response to teacher solicits

Categories	Japanese		Hispanic	
	Turns	%	Turns	%
Respond to a personal solicit	142	39.66	116	29.44
Respond to a personal solicit made to another	2	0.56	6	1.52
Respond to a general solicit	214	59.78	272	69.04
Total	358	100	394	100
$\chi^2 = 9.88$, df = 2, $p > .001$, two-tail, non-directional				

The table shows remarkable, but not statistically significant, variation in the way the Japanese and Hispanic learners respond to teacher solicits. The learners in both the classes got their turns by responding to teacher solicits, and they did so in one of three ways: by responding to a personal solicit, by responding to a general solicit, or by responding to a personal solicit made to another learner. Relatively speaking, the Hispanic learners appear to respond to general solicits more often (69%) than to personal solicits (29%) whereas the Japanese learners seem to feel more comfortable with responding to teacher's personal solicits (40%).

A related learner behaviour is the way in which learners respond to the teacher's general solicits addressed to the whole class, a situation where learner turn-getting is up for grabs. In both the classes, the teacher received either an individual response, that is, one learner self-selecting to answer the teacher's question while the rest quietly listened, or a choral response, that is, several learners self-selecting and responding at the same time. Once again, as Table 5 shows, the differences between the two groups are not significant.

Table 5
Individual/choral response to teacher general solicits

	Japanese		Hispanic	
	Turns	%	Turns	%
Individual response	151	82.97	163	76.89
Choral response	31	17.03	49	23.11
Total	182	100.00	212	100.00
$\chi^2 = 2.24$, df = 1, $p > .001$, two-tail, non-directional				

Summary and Conclusion

The quantitative analysis of classroom interaction clearly reveals that there is no significant difference between the Japanese and the Hispanic groups of learners with regard to (a) the distribution of teacher turns, (b) the distribution of student turns, (c) teacher turn allocation behaviour, (d) learner response to teacher solicits, and (e) individual and choral response to teacher general solicits. The study shows that when the teacher, unshackled by any preconceived notions about learner participatory behaviour creates interactional opportunities for all learners, the learners, regardless of their ethnic background, are only too willing to make an attempt to utilize those opportunities and enthusiastically participate in classroom interaction.

Based on these observations, it is then possible to suggest that the significant role played by ethnicity in interethnic communication in the larger, context-free society may not have the same pronounced influence on interethnic interaction in the smaller, context-specific classroom community. This may be due to the fact that classroom interaction, unlike social communication, is conditioned by the immediate context of learning/teaching and also by the accepted norms of learner/teacher role relationship. As Breen (1985:145) convincingly argues, the culture of the classroom is "highly normative", that is, "the language class is a highly normative and evaluative environment which engages teacher and taught in continual judgement of each other, less as persons, but as members who are supposed to learn and a member who is supposed to teach." Such a normative and evaluative character of the language classroom may contribute to constrain the variation that we may find in interethnic communication in the larger society.

It may also be hypothesized that the rules and norms governing L2 classroom interactional patterns will take on new dimensions depending as much on the teachers' pedagogic orientation and practical management of turn allocation as on the learners' disposition and motivation to participate in classroom communication; and, as much on interactional opportunities created by the teacher as on interactional opportunities utilized by the learner.

As reported earlier, an important point of departure for this study, compared to the previous studies reviewed here, is that care was taken to minimise the influence of variables such as teacher orientation, teaching strategies and instructional materials. Each of the groups constituted for this study consisted of learners from the same ethnic background. This was done primarily to neutralize any teacher bias towards any particular ethnic group. There is no way of assessing whether such a contrived environment itself contributed to the observed phenomena. Besides, the learners who participated in this study knew that they were being investigated, and hence, an element of Hawthorne effect cannot be ruled out.

There is however no gainsaying the fact that any positive correlation between ethnicity and L2 classroom interactional behaviour is yet to be established beyond doubt. The current study, therefore, cautions us against forging any hasty linkage between ethnicity and styles of classroom interaction. In fact, the study has provided enough evidence to suggest that the L2 classroom interactional behaviour of learners may have more to do with the teacher's effort to establish an emphathic atmosphere in the classroom than to do with the learner's ethnic background. Any observed "ethnic differences" in the classroom community reported in the literature may be due less to cultural factors than to what Donahue and Parsons (1982) called, "cultural fatigue", that is, physical and emotional exhaustion resulting from adjustments that people living in a new country make in order to cope with their new environment.

References

Allwright, R.L. 1980. Turns, topics and tasks: patterns of participation in language learning and teaching. *Discourse analysis in second language research,* ed. by D. Larsen-Freeman, 165–187. Rowley. Ms.: Newbury House.

Breen, M.P. 1985. The social context for language learning — a neglected situation? *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 7:2. 135–158.

Donahue and Parsons. 1982. The use of roleplay to overcome cultural fatigue. *TESOL Quarterly* 16:3. 359–366.

Duncan, S. Jr. 1972. Some signals and rules for taking turns in conversation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 23. 283–292.

Goffman, E. 1976. Replies and responses. *Language in Society* 5:3. 257–313.

Gumperz, J. 1978. The conversational analysis of interethnic communication. *Proceedings of the Southern Anthropological Society,* ed. by E. L. Ross, Atlanta: Georgia.

Kumaravadivelu, B. 1986. Patterns of interaction in English as first and second language classroom discourse. *Papers in Applied Linguistics-Michigan* 1:2. 41–55.

Malcolm, I.G. 1987. Continuities in communicative patterns in cross-cultural classrooms. *Communication and learning in the classroom community,* ed. by B.K. Das, 37–63. Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, Singapore.

Porter, P.A., M. Grant and M. Draper. 1985. *Communicating effectively in English.* Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Sacks, H., A. Schegloff and G. Jefferson. 1974. A simplest systematics for the organization of turn taking in conversation. *Language* 50:4. 696–735.

Sato, C.J. 1981. Ethnic styles in classroom discourse. *On TESOL '81,* ed. by M. Hines and W. Rutherford, 11–24. Washington D.C.: TESOL.

Schinke-Llano, L.A. 1983. Foreigner talk in content classrooms. *Classroom-oriented research in second language acquisition,* ed. by H. Seliger and M.H. Long, 146–168. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury.

Scollon, R. and S.B.K. Scollon, 1981. *Narrative, literacy and face in interethnic communication.* New Jersey: Albex Publishing Corporation.

Tannen, D. 1984. *Conversational style: analyzing talk among friends.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Developing Reading Strategies through Small-Group Interaction

Sara Cotterall
Victoria University of Wellington
New Zealand

Introduction

The study reported on in this paper arose out of a desire to provide L2 students with strategies to assist them in their reading of academic texts in English. It examined the reading behaviour of a group of students involved in an interactive reading strategy training programme. The study paid particular attention to the learners' processing of text in a foreign language while consciously applying particular reading strategies.

Among reading researchers, it is generally agreed that given reasonable facility with decoding, reading comprehension is the product of three main factors:

1. coherent texts
2. compatibility of the reader's knowledge and text content
3. the active strategies the reader employs to enhance understanding and retention, and to circumvent comprehension failures.

The present study was conducted with students enrolled in a pre-university English Proficiency Course. In the context of their future studies, it was judged that students would have no control over either of the first two factors. It was decided therefore to concentrate on expanding their knowledge of and expertise in employing active reading strategies.

The technique trialled seeks to bridge the gap between students' current level of reading performance in English and that required for successful reading of prescribed texts, through a combination of strategy training and group interaction.

The study was inspired by a number of studies conducted by Annemarie Sullivan Palincsar (Michigan State University) and Ann L Brown (Center for the Study of Reading, University of Illinois at Urbana). They conducted their studies with subjects diagnosed as poor comprehenders, reading in their own language. The experimenters coined the term "reciprocal teaching"[1] to describe the instructional procedure.

It was hypothesised that an instructional procedure which proved successful in teaching poor comprehenders to read with greater efficiency and success in their own language, would also assist students reading in a foreign language.

Instructional Procedure

The instructional procedure involved training in and use of four strategies:

1. clarifying
2. identifying the main idea
3. summarising
4. predicting

These four strategies were selected because they meet a number of criteria:

1. They are strategies spontaneously engaged in by successful readers (Brown and Lawton, work in progress).
2. They serve as a means of both comprehension monitoring and comprehension fostering.
3. Each strategy can be used in response to a concrete problem of text comprehension.[2]

A typical reciprocal teaching session included the following phases:

1. Teacher distributes the day's reading text.
2. Students and teacher look at the *title* of the day's text and make predictions about the likely content of the passage, based on the title.
3. Group reads first paragraph of the passage silently.
4. One member of the group leads a discussion concerning the first paragraph in the following way:
   (a) She provides or seeks clarification of any difficulties identified by the group.
   (b) She locates and states the main idea of that paragraph.
   (c) She summarises the content of that paragraph.
   (d) She predicts the likely content of the next paragraph.

   Throughout the four steps outlined above, the leader of the discussion is encouraged to seek feedback on each of the four steps. (The teacher repeatedly models all four steps by assuming the role of leader at least once every session, and by intervening when necessary to provide correction or guidance.)
5. The leader nominates another student to lead the discussion on the following paragraph in the same way.

   (This procedure continues until the entire text has been read.)

Experimental Design

The design of the study was fairly complex. It involved a group of 4 adult ESL learners who worked with a teacher for one hour each day, over a period of 20 days.

Before the 20-day intervention period began, subjects attended two training sessions. During these sessions the teacher explained what strategies the students would be learning, why they were learning these particular activities, and how they would go about learning the strategies (i.e. taking turns as teacher). This explanation was followed by instruction on the four strategies and practice in them. This pre-intervention period was aimed at increasing subjects' awareness of the types of strategies that could be employed.

Each day the group co-operated in the reading of one 500-word expository text. The instructional procedure followed the phases outlined above. At the end of each session, learners read one assessment passage (a 500-word expository text accompanied by 10 comprehension questions) independently and completed in writing the questions based on it. Scores on daily assessment passages were calculated and returned to subjects the following day.

All sessions (except two - due to technical failure) were videotaped. The experimenter also observed each session.

Evaluating the Instructional Procedure

The study involved both a process and a product analysis. The product analysis consisted primarily of a pre- and post-test which incorporated the kinds of skills which were worked on through the strategy training sessions. Scores on daily reading assessment passages were also calculated.

Because of the small numbers involved, a quantitative approach to analyzing the data was considered unlikely to reach any significant conclusions concerning potential or actual learning gains. For this reason a qualitative approach was adopted.

The process-based evaluation of the procedure consisted of examining excerpts from the transcripts of daily reciprocal teaching sessions, and analyzing the contribution of firstly the strategy training and secondly the interaction to learners' ability to comprehend the texts.

This type of analysis is notoriously complicated. There are many variables involved and learning gains do not follow a pattern of steady and uninterrupted development; on the contrary they are idiosyncratic and unpredictable. For example, although overall, learners displayed an increasing amount of interest and expertise in making predictions, there were sessions where enthusiasm for doing so seemed to dissipate and the quality of the resulting predictions suffered accordingly.

Preliminary Findings

Perhaps the best way to present the preliminary research findings is to address some of the questions that motivated the research.

a) Is the Technique Pedagogically Sound?

Clearly the reciprocal teaching technique is attractive. It fits in with the methodological trends of the eighties in so far as it is learner-centred, interactive and co-operative.

Firstly, the technique seeks to train learners in *generalisable* skills – strategies which can be applied to the reading of any text. To take an example – *predicting* serves several functions. In addition to its broadly recognized role of purpose-setting, constructing meaningful predictions requires readers to activate relevant background knowledge and/or knowledge of text structure. Assisting learners to become more efficient in these processes must be the goal of every classroom teacher.

Secondly, the technique is learner-centred. It responds to the articulated needs and interests of the students with immediate, focused assistance. In contrast to a more traditional reading comprehension class methodology, this technique allows learners to inquire about and explore whichever features of the text puzzle or interest them. This also provides a framework for learners to contribute valuable background information, as the following excerpt from the transcript of Day 19 will show:

S: Line 7 – um "lobe"?
T: OK, what do you think?
S: (Indicates her ear lobe)
T: That's right. So that's this part here. So – good guess. Lobe. Sometimes, sometimes called your ear lobe.
S: Lobe?
T: Ear lobe. OK. Lobe of your ear, or your lobe. Some people have big ones. Some people have little ones. Some have rings in them!
S: The Chinese believe, um, when people have big lobes – they have ah more luck.

(S = Student; T = Teacher)

The effect of learner contributions is an increase in commitment to obtaining meaning from the text, and a personalisation of the reading activity. In the example quoted above, it is also likely that the student's contribution of background information on the topic will assist her in learning the new vocabulary item (i.e. *lobe*).

Thirdly, interactive modelling is the hallmark of this technique. All members of the group share a common goal i.e. understanding the text. They work together to achieve this goal by proposing suitable main ideas, clarifications, summaries and predictions.

In addition, the instructional procedure requires all participants to assume the role of the teacher at least once each day. This imposes an additional responsibility for obtaining meaning from the text, and obliges participants to develop sensitivity to each other's needs and comprehension difficulties. The effect of this experience is both to increase learners' commitment to the task, and also to provide encouragement as they successfully model the strategies to their peers.

Often a learner's summary is modified by another member of the group. In this way, learners have the opportunity to view a summary in the making. Rather than instructing learners in the strategies and putting the onus on them to develop skill in using them, this procedure allows for repeated practice through observation and imitation of good models, as well as critical evaluation of poor ones.

b) Is Comprehension Assisted by Interaction?

In many instances, the interaction clearly assisted students in understanding portions of text which they would have been unable to understand had they been working independently. Interaction generally followed the pattern described by one of the following scenarios:

1. One participant knows a lexical item which another doesn't, and succeeds in explaining it.
2. One participant seeks clarification of a difficulty and another helps out e.g.

   Day 15:

   S1: Three crouch ?????

   S2: Three lions crouch.

   One student was unable to understand this example of ellipsis, and understood the two words as forming a noun group. The other student had no difficulty with this item and replaced the "missing" subject "lions" for her.

3. One participant states the main idea of the paragraph and another disagrees or doesn't understand. The ensuing discussion obliges students to justify conclusions they reach and make their reasoning overt.
4. One participant makes a prediction and another suggests a contrary prediction. The discussion resulting from this kind of divergence allows teacher and students to heighten their sensitivity to features of text organization and structure.
5. One participant makes a summary of a paragraph and another suggests a modification or alteration. Once again, the discussion obliges participants to explore the reasons for the conclusions they reach concerning the meaning communicated by a portion of text, and to express and justify these to others.
6. One participant requests clarification of a section of the text which the others have either overlooked or read successfully. All benefit from the discussion and explanation. The procedure mirrors the self-questioning procedure which efficient readers engage in regularly.

Each of these scenarios is repeated dozens of times in a session. Each scenario is valuable for two reasons: firstly it deals with a localised problem, but secondly it presents a recurrent error type or comprehension breakdown, and then proceeds to model a means of dealing with that problem by applying a problem-solving strategy appropriate to the situation.

In addition, by prescribing interaction as an essential component of the technique, learners are involved in problem-solving situations where successful negotiation of meaning is crucial to completion of the task. The technique thereby provides language practice (of the type believed to foster language acquisition) at the same time as it provides focused comprehension-fostering activities. Here is a sample of the kind of interaction which learners constantly engage in as they read the texts following the reciprocal teaching procedure.

S1: What does it mean "procedure"?
S2: "Procedure" Ah - "procedure" means ....
S3: A step or ah further -
S2: "Procedure" means ah -
S3: Proceed?
S2: No.
S4: Step in -
S3: Step.
S2: All the steps together in one.

S1: Procedure.
S2: Do you understand? Procedure is is ah is ah you do something and ah from the start to the beginning, and from the start to the beginning that what you do is a procedure. I think. Anything else?
S1: One more - "X-ray'?
S2: X-ray is ah when you go to the hospital - with a broken leg and then - (Laughter) ....
S1: Aah.
S2: X-ray. You know?
S1: Yes.
S2: Anything else K?
S1: No.

However, certain factors inherent in the present study inhibited the interaction:

1. Differences in L2 proficiency levels amongst group members. (Participants were in fact selected to participate in the study because they represented the four quartiles of ability in the class from which they were extracted. L2 proficiency level was predictably a crucial factor. Where a student had difficulty not only locating the source of her difficulty with the text, but also expressing that difficulty in English - the comprehension-assisting function of the procedure was impaired.)
2. Personality differences amongst the students. (One student was extremely confident and outgoing, and often dominated discussion in the sessions. Both female participants were quiet; one was very shy. The fourth group member was reluctant to display ignorance and often chose to say nothing rather than to "lose face" by asking a question.)
3. Major cultural differences amongst the participating students. (The experimental group included one female Japanese student, one female Malaysian Chinese student, one male Iranian student and one male Austrian student. Perhaps the instructional procedure is suited to some cultural settings more than others. It appears that whereas the activities of verbalising one's thoughts and discussing ideas are very much a part of the North American educational tradition (where the original studies were conducted), perhaps such patterns of learning behaviour are unfamiliar and uncomfortable for participants from the national groups represented in this study. In this connection it is interesting to note that the most vocal and confident participant was the Austrian student, who comes from a European culture less likely to find oral interaction intimidating or unusual. He also had the highest proficiency level of the four participating students however, and this factor may explain his greater willingness to interact.)

4. The natural tendency of students to prefer to read texts alone. (For the most able student in the group, the procedure was often tedious and may have appeared at times to be less efficient than reading alone.)

5. The presence of the teacher. While the teacher's role and function was clear at the beginning of the instructional procedure, the interaction *may* have been less awkward if he had withdrawn from the room after a certain point each day. His presence appeared to inhibit the interaction in that students naturally referred to him rather than to their peers as source of knowledge or explanation. In this respect the "scaffolding"[3] model discussed by Palincsar and Brown worked less successfully with these L2 subjects than with theirs. The subjects in the present study appeared reluctant to assume responsibility for controlling the dialogue, despite the teacher's insistence that they do so.

c) Is Comprehension Assisted by The Strategy Training Procedure?

As the study has only recently been completed and as the focus has been on analyzing the data from a process point-of-view, I am unable at this stage to provide any hard evidence that the strategy training is effective in improving reading comprehension performance.

However the indications are that students made progress in their application of particular strategies. In addition the experimenter obtained unanimous positive feedback about the procedure when participants were interviewed at the end of the study. All participants reported that the procedure had helped them understand what they read, and that they had adopted the procedure when reading other texts in other situations.

Let's look at the strategies one by one to assess their individual contributions to the "getting of meaning" from text which the procedure aims to achieve.

a) Clarification Strategy:

The gains in students' application of this strategy were both global and local. By constantly being required to locate lines within the text and words within lines, learners became more expert at dealing with textual conventions such as the use of subheadings, footnotes, capital letters for acronyms etc.

In addition learners had numerous opportunities to repeat new lexical items, segments of text, and set negotiating phrases such as "What does X mean?" or "Could you tell us your main idea again?"

In the present study the clarification strategy focused predominantly on items of *lexical* difficulty. It therefore gave learners extensive practice in breaking unknown words into parts, and guessing the meaning of words from context.

The procedure also provided learners with a *phonological* clue to word meaning which more than once solved a problem. The simple fact of having an opportunity to *hear* a word which in written form may look unfamiliar, can be sufficient to show a student that the word is in fact quite familiar in its spoken form. The following example illustrates this scenario:

S: There's actually one word in there which I don't get here.
T: OK?
S: The Mar-tians.
T: Martians.
S: Martians. Which would be the people uh who lived in there.
T: Yeah, lived on Mars.

However some of the most interesting examples of learners using the clarification strategy related to more global comprehension problems. On Day 10 the participants were required to read a text about the process of extracting rubber from the rubber tree. One paragraph in the text dealt with the structure of the rubber tree. The subjects had great difficulty understanding this paragraph until one of the subjects exclaimed -

S: I don't know. I .... I think that - well, for myself I think that is a description, you should have actually a picture or something with it, because it's hard to imagine what it is, I mean.

The significance of the student's comment is that he realised that the text writer had in fact not provided all the necessary support. So, instead of blaming himself for his inability to understand, he identified the source of his comprehension difficulty as a failure on the part of the materials writer. He then proceeded to discuss possible ways of solving the problem including reference to a dictionary or an encyclopedia. This reaction characterises the behaviour of the proficient reader. A less proficient reader in the group was anxious to proceed with the paragraph even though he had not understood. He preferred to ignore his comprehension problem, and may have attributed it to his own weakness. Perhaps he had a higher tolerance of incomprehensible text because of habitual failure to understand what he read.

b) *Summarising Strategy:*

Learners were exposed to a number of models of good summaries and also increased their awareness of the type of content which is appropriate for inclusion in a summary. For example on Day 2, when a student included a lengthy list of examples in her summary, the teacher exploited the opportunity to indicate the value of constructing one sentence in the summary to replace a long list of examples.

The benefits of practice in this strategy are linguistic as well as cognitive, as it gives learners a great deal of practice in the very important academic skill of paraphrase, as well as providing natural contexts for repetition.

In constructing a summary, learners are being asked to overtly demonstrate the current level of their understanding of the content of a given paragraph. This provides a wealth of diagnostic information for the teacher and forces an often passive and invisible process to become active, dynamic and partially visible.

While one of the participants had difficulty constructing summaries in any way other than stringing together sections of the text, the other three subjects demonstrated the ability to observe the modelling of the teacher, apply the same principles to portions of text they were asked to summarise, and often came up with highly original and creative re-statements of the content of the paragraph in question.

One feature of a more sophisticated summary was the inclusion of words or phrases not included in the text but provided by the reader's own background knowledge.

c) Main Idea Strategy:

This strategy is critical. Overall learners became better at isolating the main idea in a paragraph of text and learned to look for and interpret a variety of "clues" such as discourse markers like "but" and topic sentences located in strategic positions in a paragraph.

This strategy fosters comprehension by requiring readers to agree on the main idea of a segment of text before they can proceed. The fact that the task of identifying the main idea is embedded in a dialogue concerning the text, encourages learners to justify and defend their selected main idea. The strategy develops learners' ability to differentiate between main idea and detail and benefits from the interaction of group members to produce superior main idea statements.

The following dialogue occurred on Day 15 when one participant took issue with the main idea stated by one of the other members of the group:

S1: So- main idea is ah hunting techniques and some ways which the lions that ah intended to hunt their victims - they surround their enemy that they will to hunt - and they circle and approach to the? (inaudible) at opposite sides and -

S2: There's one thing I would like to add to your main idea. That is, that is there that they have that paragraph is about their *cooperative* hunting technique - meaning, they're hunting not singly, all in group.

d) Predicting Strategy:

By the end of the study, learners were far readier to make predictions about the likely content of subsequent paragraphs and had become familiar with a range of likely options including

— the next step in the process
— more detail about X
— a contrasting statement
— a solution to the problem
— a parallel situation

The acquisition of this kind of awareness of text structure and organization through a process of inductive discovery interested and motivated students. They often referred back to predictions of text content made at the beginning of the day's session, and enjoyed the friendly competition generated by checking whose prediction would turn out to be most accurate. The benefits of practice in this strategy lie in the activation of relevant background knowledge as well as the setting of a purpose in reading a portion of text.

In addition the teacher exploited numerous opportunities to raise students' awareness of the writer's attitude to given topics. For example, when reading a passage entitled "The Fur Trade", the teacher encouraged learners to predict not only the likely content of the passage but also the general tone. He did this by asking:

T: OK. What will the writer's attitude be?

S: Mmm, maybe not so good.

T: You mean bad? The same thing. My guess it'll be how cruel it is and how terrible ....

Recommendations:

1. The role of the teacher:

In the context of the present study, the role of the teacher appeared problematic. Whereas in Palincsar's and Brown's original experiments, the dialogue made a gradual transition from being teacher-led to being truly interactive and "reciprocal", several factors appeared to inhibit this in the present study.

Firstly, it is not clear whether all participants *wished* to assume control of the procedure. They seemed to prefer to rely on the teacher to control and regulate the discussion. This probably emanated from a perception of the teacher as source of superior knowledge of the text.

Secondly, some researchers would argue that for group work to be successful, all participants must have equal status while participating in the activity. This is clearly not the case with the teacher sitting in the room, whether or not he is participating. If he is not participating but he is monitoring the activity, his presence is bound to inhibit interaction.

RECOMMENDATION: It would be interesting to trial the activity with a limited and clearly defined phase of training administered by the teacher, followed by a number of sessions where learners worked independently of the teacher and reported at a later date on problems encountered.

RECOMMENDATION: It would also be interesting to spend more time at the beginning of the procedure raising learners' awareness of strategies, paying particular attention to the desirability of achieving greater independence in reading. While this was done in the initial training sessions and in the first week of the study, interest in directly employing the strategies on specific textual problems took over as the days proceeded.

2. The Use of L2 as the Medium of Discussion:

Learners were required to use their L2 to articulate and explore textual difficulties. The addition of a linguistic burden to the already significant cognitive demands of the procedure may have been too much for some participants, particularly those with weaker L2 skills.

RECOMMENDATION: It may be feasible to use L1 while working on texts in L2. For the present study this was unfeasible because of the varied language backgrounds of the participants. In an EFL situation however, learners could be trained in the procedure in their L1 and asked to follow it (in L1 or L2 depending on their level of oral proficiency in L2) while reading demanding texts in English. Gains made by using the strategies are likely to occur regardless of the language used as the medium of communication.

3. The Wide Range of L2 Proficiency Levels in the Group.

The group was deliberately selected in order to represent the range of L2 proficiency levels in the class. The rationale behind this was to provide a number of good models amongst the students in addition to that of the teacher.

However, the range in proficiency was so great that at times it inhibited the interaction. Learners frequently had difficulty understanding each other's explanations, pronunciation, and questions.

In a situation where all learners share the same L1, this problem may not be so significant. Problems in understanding learners' L2 pronunciation are greatly reduced when learners share the same L1. Therefore even if these students were asked to interact in L2 during the procedure, it is unlikely that they would experience significant difficulties understanding each other.

RECOMMENDATION: Groups could be organized within ability levels so as to minimise the range of skill level. It remains desirable however to include some more able students in each group to perform the function of modelling the strategies effectively to weaker learners. More able students benefit from the experience of making explicit to others what is already clear to them. Clearly the grouping should be mixed in ability but not too mixed!

4. The Lack of an Outcome:

It has been suggested[4] 'that having a clear observable outcome may increase interest in the activity by giving the learners an additional tangible purpose in following the procedure. Adopting a more task-based approach to the procedure would involve the design of an authentic task as outcome. While there was a certain sense of satisfaction experienced by learners in completing the reading of a passage cooperatively this could perhaps be enhanced.

RECOMMENDATION: Learners could be asked to complete some kind of diagrammatic representation of the text at the end of each session. This might consist of a series of linked summarising statements requiring explanation of the type of relationship between paragraphs.

Alternatively, the outcome might be in the form of an oral summary of the entire text, arrived at through a process of cooperative negotiation.

Conclusion

Reading researchers have long speculated as to what actually happens when we read. The activity of reading in a foreign language adds one more level of complexity to an already complex process.

This technique provides researchers with a means of making some of the reader's "on-line" processes transparent, and with an opportunity of observing them in action.

The chief benefit of this procedure to the classroom teacher is the wealth of diagnostic data which it generates concerning the learners' current level of comprehension of a text. In addition it provides teachers with a classroom procedure which frees them to observe their students while they are engaged in the process of reading, and to offer help only when requested.

Finally this technique seeks to equip students with problem-solving strategies which they can apply whenever they encounter reading difficulties. This should bring students one step closer to the goal of independence in their learning.

Notes

[1] Brown & Palincsar, 1985; Palincsar & Brown, 1984.

[2] Palincsar & Brown, 1985, p. 148.

[3] Derived from Vygotskian developmental theory, scaffolding refers to the support given to a novice by an expert through use of dialogue to model and explain cognitive processes. The assistance is gradually withdrawn as the learner demonstrates increased competence with the task. (Palincsar, 1986).

[4] Nation & Thomas, 1988.

References

Brown, A. and Palincsar, A. 1985. *Reciprocal Teaching of Comprehension Strategies: A Natural History of One Programme for Enhancing Learning* (Tech. Rep. No. 334). Urbana: University of Illinois. Center for the Study of Reading.

Nation, I.S.P. and Thomas, G.I. 1988. *Communication Activities* (Occasional Paper No. 13). English Language Institute, Victoria University of Wellington.

Palincsar, A. 1986, "The Role of Dialogue in Providing Scaffolded Instruction" *Educational Psychologist*. 21, 1&2:73-98.

Palincsar, A. and Brown, A. 1984. "Reciprocal teaching of comprehension fostering and monitoring activities". *Cognition and Instruction* 1:117-175.

Palincsar, A. and Brown, A. 1985, "Reciprocal Teaching Activities to Promote Reading with Your Mind" in *Reading, Thinking and Concept Development*. Harris, T.L. and Cooper, E.J. (Eds) College Entrance Examination Board, New York.

Validation of the RELC Test of Proficiency in English for Academic Purposes

Emma S Castillo
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
Singapore

1. Background

In 1970, the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre (RELC) began assessing the English proficiency of its course members through the Michigan Tests and the Davies English Proficiency Test Battery. It was agreed that these tests filled the long-felt need for an English proficiency test suited to RELC's purposes.

Of late, however, problems regarding the use of the Davies and Alderson (1977 Form D) test with RELC's course members coming from different language backgrounds presented themselves. It was noted that the test could be biased against course members from countries not exposed to British English. Another observation was the fact that the aforementioned test was validated on non-native English speakers wishing to study in Britain. While it could be argued that RELC's course members would not be significantly different from the sample employed in the validation and standardization of the Davies and Alderson Test, it remains to be seen whether such is really the case. Furthermore, it must be noted that RELC does not represent, or may not be exactly like, any university or tertiary-level educational institution in Britain whose prospective students are the target clientele of the Davies test. Therefore, using the above test with RELC's course members and interpreting their scores on this test on the basis of set norms would be open to question.

The arguments above provided the impetus for the RELC English Proficiency Test development project.

2. Statement of Objectives

The project staff agreed that the RELC English Test would be one that measures proficiency in the particular kinds of language tasks that the RELC course members need in order to cope with their courses.

The specific aims of the test development project were thus:

2.1 to develop an English proficiency test for academic purposes, and

2.2 to establish the validity and reliability of the test.

3. Methodology

3.1 Subjects

Various groups of course members at RELC during the academic years 1985–1986, 1986–1987, and 1987–1988 participated as tryout subjects for the project. However, the most complete data were gathered from the following groups:

(a) Course 101/102 - AY 1986–1987
(b) Course 101 - AY 1987–1988

3.2 The Instrument

The RELC English Proficiency Test consists of four subtests: Part IA (Making an Outline of a lecture); Part IB (Making a summary of a lecture); Part II Reading (A Cloze Test), and Part III (Oral Interview). Parts IA and IB involve listening and notetaking skills. The cloze test measures general reading comprehension ability and grammatical sensitivity. The oral interview for its part assesses oral language performance with focus on fluency, independence and speed of response, pronunciation accuracy, and grammar.

3.2.1 In Part IA (Making an outline of a lecture), the examinees are expected to develop an outline of a lecture on the topic "An Organized Syllabus." The expected outline should indicate (1) the main topic of the lecture; (2) the three sub-topics; and (3) the ideas subsumed under each topic. Each point in the outline is worth one (1) mark. The full outline carries 14 marks.

3.2.2 Part IB (Making a summary of a lecture) requires the examinees to write no more than a page summary of a lecture on "The Teaching of the Different Language Skills." Two methods of rating were tried out on this subtest. In the first tryout, the purely impressionistic method was used where, for purposes of determining inter-rater reliability, two raters were asked to make a composite rating of the summaries considering the content and the language used. The highest mark a summary might get was 5 while the lowest was 0. For the second tryout, a simple analytic writing scale to mark not only listening comprehension but writing ability as well was devised. All the members of the professional staff helped to mark this subtest.

3.2.3 Part II uses the cloze technique to test reading comprehension and grammar. A news item on Mexico City's pollution problem was taken from a February, 1986 issue of *THE STRAITS TIMES*. The first tryout version of the cloze passage, with every fifth word deleted, had fifty blanks. Two methods of scoring were used: the exact-word method (EWM) and the semantically acceptable word method (AWM). One mark was awarded for every correct acceptable word replaced. In the second tryout, every sixth word was deleted. Only the exact-word method of scoring was employed this time since findings of the first tryout showed the two methods not to be significantly different from each other.

Parts IA, IB, and II are paper-and-pencil tests.

3.2.4 Part III (the Oral Interview) was administered separately. An oral interview scale was used for rating this subtest. For the first tryout, two interviewers who were also the raters, conducted the interviews. During the second tryout, due to the tight programme/schedule of the course members, interviews were held in groups instead of individually. Three of RELC's professional staff who participated in each interview session, simultaneously rated the interviewees' performance using a slightly revised interview scale.

3.2.5 The subtests of the RELC English test can thus be seen as mainly tests of linguistic competence and partly pragmatic (discourse) competence but without the connotations of sociolinguistic competence. The only component of pragmatic competence dealt with is that which relates to representational meaning, the locutionary act, i.e. a test of language use ability in an academic context, such abilities as listening to and understanding lectures. To demonstrate these abilities, the examinees should be able to make an outline of a lecture as well as be able to summarize another lecture.

3.3 Procedures

3.3.1 Planning the test

Members of the professional staff were consulted during this stage of the test development project as to what kind of test in English would be the most appropriate for RELC's purposes. Though worldwide the interest was (and still is) on communicative competence testing, the group felt that RELC's most practical concern was academic English, i.e. those skills in the English language that the course members must possess to be able to cope with RELC's courses. Due to certain constraints, e.g. the testing time was limited, only a limited number of skills could be tested.

The table of specifications below indicates the components of the test and the skills that each component tests.

Table 1
Specification for the RELC English Proficiency Test for RELC Course Members

SUBTEST/COMPONENT	SKILLS TESTED
Part IA Making an outline of a lecture	listening comprehension notetaking (tacit) sequencing ideas
Part IB Making a summary of a lecture	listening comprehension notetaking (tacit)
Part II Cloze Test	reading comprehension vocabulary knowledge grammatical sensitivity pragmatic competence
Part III Oral Interview	general speaking proficiency in an interview situation (a) speed and ease of comprehension (b) fluency and independence response (c) appropriateness of response (d) pronunciation (e) grammar

3.3.2 Drafting the test items

Drafts of test items were prepared and presented to the professional staff for their feedback. Changes were made where necessary.

Two members of the professional staff were then requested to prepare and tape-record a lecture each (one to be audiotaped and the other one to be videotaped). The audiotaped lecture was to be the stimulus for the *outlining* subtest while the videotaped one was for the *summarizing* subtest.

3.3.3. The test tryouts

3.3.3.1 *A-pretryout* of the test was conducted with the Course 101/102 members of Academic Year 1985-1986. This was for the purpose of detecting gross errors in the test as well as for determining the length of testing time sufficient for the actual tryout.

3.3.3.2 *The first tryout*

Course 101/102 and members of AY 1986-1987 participated as subjects for the first tryout of the test.

The first trial test data were analyzed using the usual test statistics primarily to determine whether revisions would be necessary to prepare the test for a second tryout.

3.3.3.3 *The second tryout*

Course 101 members of the subsequent academic year, 1987-1988, were the subjects for the second trial administration of the test. Notwithstanding the favourable outcomes of the first tryout, for purposes of research, a second trial version of the RELC Test was prepared incorporating the following changes.

(1) Whereas in the first version, in Part IA, a skeleton outline was provided for the examinees to fill in the missing points, in the second version, only guide questions were given and the examinees had to make the outline from scratch.

(2) In Part IB (making a summary) the videotaped lecture on "Language Acquisition and Learning" was replaced by an audiotaped lecture by the same professional staff member, only this time the topic shifted to "The Teaching of the Different Language Skills". The change was made because the first tryout group felt that the videotaped lecture tended to be distracting. They preferred an audiotaped lecture. Thus, both lectures (for Parts IA and IB) were presented on audiotape.

3.3.4 *Data Analysis*

On both the first and second tryout test data, the following statistical analyses were performed to determine the validity of the RELC test.

(1) item analysis (but this was done only on the objectively-scored cloze test);

(2) intercorrelations between the RELC subtests and the total score, to serve as estimates of the validity coefficients of the subtests;

(3) intercorrelations between the RELC subtests and the Davies and Alderson (1977 Form D) subtests to determine the concurrent validity of the RELC test;

(4) multiple linear regression analysis, to determine the collective contribution of the four subtests to the variation of the predicted variable. This was done with the first and second tryout test data. The course members' grade-point average on the diploma course was the dependent variable while their scores on the RELC subtests were the independent or predictor variable.

(5) to determine the inter-rater reliability of the impressionistic method of marking the Part IB subtest (Making a Summary), correlational analysis of two raters' assessment of the course members' written summaries was carried out on the first tryout test data.

As a measure of reliability, on the other hand, the test-retest method was employed. During the second tryout, the diploma course 101 members were tested twice on the RELC Test within an interval of two weeks. The scores on the two administrations of the test were correlated.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Item analysis of the cloze test data

Item analysis is the procedure for determining the difficulty level and discriminating power of items, usually of an objectively scored test. These two indices serve as the quantitative criteria for judging whether an item is 'good', i.e., its difficulty index is any value between +20 (20%) and .80

(80%) and its discrimination index is equal to or greater than .20 (Garrett, 1966:368).

4.1.1 The first tryout results with Course 101/102 of AY 1986-1987

Only the cloze (EWM) has been item analysed since the target is to produce a cloze test scored by the exact-word method. Inspection of the item analysis results and the cloze passage shows that the very easy and non-discriminating items are, not surprisingly, those that test prepositions like 'to', 'of' and 'from'; the article, 'the'; and the content word 'said'.

Among the difficult items are those words which require a careful grammatical and semantic analysis of the context within which they are embedded, e.g. adverbs, adjectives, nominals, etc., in other words, the form classes.

Of the 50 blanks in the cloze passage, about 24% for Course 101 and 34% for Course 102 could be judged as unsatisfactory. It is, however, worth noting that a greater number, on the average about 73%, turned out to be good items. In fact, 3 of them (items 16, 28, and 33) had the most ideal difficulty index (.50) and discrimination index (+1.00) with respect to the Course 101 group's results. Such items bring out the maximum variance possible, i.e. they are more indicative of individual difference than harder or easier items.

Ordinarily, poor items are either discarded or revised to improve their difficulty and discrimination indices. However, with a cloze test, it is not crucial to do so. The cloze test is unlike traditional objective tests whose items are independent of one another and can be arranged in ascending order of difficulty. Revising the items would unduly affect the authenticity of the passage for a cloze task. Besides, the item analysis results show that the very easy and the very difficult items balance each other out. Furthermore, the average difficulty index of the whole passage is .41 (for Course 101) and .40 (for Course 102). These values are close to the ideal .50 difficulty level. As for the discrimination index, + .37 has been obtained for Course 101 and + .29 for Course 102, which are above the + .20 cut-off point.

T-test analyses were performed to test the significance of the differences between the mean difficulty and discrimination indices of the two groups (the Course 101 and

Course 102 groups). The t obtained for the difficulty indices (.0012) was not significant. The t obtained for the discrimination indices (.0066) was likewise not significant. These results suggest that the cloze test (EWM) was equally difficult and discriminating for both groups.

4.1.2 The second tryout results with Course 101 of AY 1987-1988

The item analysis on the second trial version of the cloze test yielded 12 (30%) poor items out of 40, about the same number obtained in the first version. However, it is worth noting that the average difficulty index of the passage had improved, from .40 to .48, even closer to the ideal 50% level. This could be beause with every sixth word deleted, the passage had become slightly easier to process as the amount of context on either side of the cloze blank had increased. It is interesting to note that the average discrimination index (.33) had remained close to the levels obtained previously, .33 (for Course 102) and .37 (for Course 101).

In judging the two versions of the cloze test, strict adherence to the quantitative criteria was avoided. The statistical information provided by the item analysis was used mainly as a gauge of the overall difficulty of the passage. As far as each item/blank in the passage was concerned, more qualitative evaluation was carried out. This procedure contravenes the principles of item evaluation usually employed. It must be noted that the cloze test, being different from common objective test formats, need not be evaluated solely on the basis of item analysis results.

The item analysis results of the two tryouts of the cloze test, using the fifth-word and the sixth-word deletion rates indicate that both versions have satisfactory difficulty and discrimination indices.

4.2 Reliability

4.2.1 Interrater reliability of the impressionistic method of marking Part IB (Making a summary).

For the purpose of determining whether the impressionistic method could reliably be used in marking Part IB (Making a summary), two professional staff members rated the course members' written summaries. Correlational analysis of the two ratings yielded a highly significant r of .793430 ($p < .01$), giving evidence of the reliability of the impressionistic ratings of the two raters.

4.2.2 Test retest reliability of the RELC Test (second tryout version)

With the exception of the cloze subtest, all the subtests of the RELC Test are subjective in nature. In view of this and for practical reasons, the test-retest method was employed to determine the reliability of the RELC Test.

It should be noted that Part III (Oral Interview) could not be conducted a second time due to constraints of scheduling; Part III was not retested. For practical reasons, only the Cloze (EWM) was included in the analysis.

The substantial correlations, i.e. Part IA = .73, Part IB = .68, Part II = .67, between the first and second administration scores of Course 101 members (AY 1987-1988) clearly demonstrate the reliability of the RELC Test.

4.3 Validity

4.3.1 Face and content validity

Usually the first approach to establishing the validity of a test is through getting 'experts' to judge

(i) whether the test consists of questions covering the areas being measured, and

(ii) whether the test appears to measure what it purports to measure.

The former is the procedure for content validation while the latter is for face validation.

The 'experts' who rendered judgement on the content and face validity of the RELC test were members of the RELC professional staff. These experts were consulted during the test planning stage as to what should comprise the test. Their view was that the test must not be very long as testing time was limited. Hence, while other components could have been included to more adequately measure academic English skills, it was felt that the following subtests would already substantially assess the target skills:

Part IA: making an outline of a lecture
Part IB: making a summary of a lecture
Part II : a cloze test
Part III: oral interview

4.3.2 Concurrent validity

Another method of determining the validity of tests is by correlating scores on it with scores on another test known to be valid and which measures similar abilities or skills. This procedure establishes the concurrent validity of a test.

The Davies and Alderson English Proficiency Test Battery (Form D) is the criterion measure for the concurrent validation of the RELC Test.

Based on the criterial values of r with df = 61 at the .01 and .05 levels which are .325 and .250 respectively, the correlation coefficients obtained are beyond these values ranging from .61–.87 (first tryout) and .43–.76 (second tryout), suggesting that each of the RELC subtests and the total RELC Test are highly related to subtests of the Davies and Alderson Test as well as to the total test.

It is worth noting that the cloze test (whether scored with the exact-word or acceptable-word method) obtained the highest coefficients. This finding accords with many studies on the validity of the cloze as a measure of English as a second language (ESL) proficiency which showed substantial validity coefficients ranging from .71 to .89 between the cloze and ESL proficiency tests (Conrad 1970; Oller 1982; Irvine et al. 1974; and Stubbs and Tucker 1974).

4.3.3 Construct validity

Still another method of establishing the validity of a test is through construct validation. The construct that the RELC Test intends to measure is proficiency in English for academic purposes. This construct is defined in the study as the ability to

(i) make an outline of a lecture;
(ii) make a summary of another lecture;
(iii) perform a cloze test;
(iv) communicate, as in an oral interview.

The underlying skills being measured here have already been described in Section 3.2 (The instruments).

As a measure of the validity of the construct underlying the RELC test, coefficients of correlation among the subtests were calculated. It must be admitted that this is short of the factor analytic approach used in the construct validation of tests, particularly those consisting of a large number of subtests or components. Since the RELC Test has only a few subtests, four to be exact, such an approach is not practical. The first stage of factor analysis which is the extraction of a correlation matrix for the four subtests should suffice in this case.

The other technique for construct validation employed in this study is that of correlating the subtest scores with the total score. The assumption underlying this technique is that "to the extent that an item measures the same thing as the total score does, to that extent the item is valid" (Kerlinger, 1964; 468). The inter-correlations among the subtests and the correlation of each subtest with the total scores will yield the amount of common variance ("sameness") between these variables or measures.

The significance of these obtained r's was tested against the null hypotheses. With n-2 degrees of freedom, in this case .41, the computed r must be at least .325 to be significant at the .01 level and at least .250, at the .05 level for a two-tailed test. All the r's are highly significant.

These results provide a basis for rejecting the null hypothesis as the subtests correlate very well with one another (meaning they go very well together). The total score also correlates even more highly with all the subtests. This indicates that each subtest contributes significantly to the total test.

It is noteworthy that the cloze test, whether scored by the exact-word or acceptable-word method, has consistently obtained the greatest common variance with all the subtests and even greater variance with the total score. This confirms the strength of the cloze as a measure of global language ability. Studies correlating the cloze with other measures have yielded very favourable results. One such study is by Shohamy (1983) which found that oral interview measures though posting the lowest correlations, can still be considered an important component of the test, with r's significant at the .01 level.

The inter-correlations (from .63–.98) among the subtests are very substantial and the subtest-total correlations, even more. These results suggest that the components of the RELC Test have been well chosen and appropriately measure academic English proficiency. This brings to bear the construct validity of the test.

4.3.4 Predictive validity

To determine whether the RELC subtests as well as the total score are predictive of future achievement on the diploma course, multiple linear regression analyses were performed where the course members' RELC subtest and total scores were the predictor or independent variables, and their grade-point-average (g.p.a) was the predicted or dependent variable.

4.3.4.1 The first tryout results

A multiple correlation coefficient (R) of .82 was obtained for both sets of multiple regression analysis (with the EWM and the AWM cloze). The standard errors of estimate for both are nearly identical, 5.62 for the EWM and 5.67 for the AWM. Also almost the same are the coefficients of determination (R^2), the EWM's being .677 and the AWM's, .66.

The coefficient of determination is an estimate of the proportion of the variance of the dependent variable (in this case, the grade-point-average) accounted for by the independent variables (i.e., the RELC subtests and the total test). The results obtained suggest that there is about 66% common variance between the dependent variable and the independent or predictor variable which indicates a substantial relationship. In simple terms, it means that with this result, future grade-point-averages of course members can be reasonably predicted on the basis of their RELC test scores.

The multiple correlation coefficient indicates the collective contribution of the four subtests and the total test to the variation of the predicted variable. To determine the separate contributions of each of the independent variables, their specific correlations with the dependent variable need to be examined. The variable which shares the greatest common variance with the grade-point average is the total test with an r of .80 (r^2 = .64). With regard to the subtests, the two cloze versions have the greatest contribution (rEWM = .77 (r = .59); rAWM = .78 (r^2 =

.61), followed by the *outlining* subtest (r = .72; r^2 = .52). This means that of the four subtests, these two are the best predictors of future course performance.

On the whole, the first tryout version of the RELC Test has been shown to have predictive validity.

The analysis of variance for the regression revealed F-ratios of 22.8473 (with Cloze EWM) and of 26.4899 (with Cloze AWM) which are both significant at the .01 level, confirming the significance of the obtained regression statistics.

4.4.2 The second tryout results

As a further gauge of the predictive validity of the RELC Test, multiple linear regression analysis was carried out on the second tryout test data from Course 101 of AY 1987–1988. With this analysis, the collective contribution of the four subtests to the variation of the g.p.a. was determined.

The very high positive multiple correlation coefficient (R = .9344) and its corresponding coefficient of multiple determination (R^2 = .8731) suggest that there is a great deal of common variance and hence a high degree of positive relationship between the RELC subtest and grade-point average. The significance of the obtained regression statistics is attested by the highly significant F-ratio (60.1803) calculated. The simple correlation matrix indicates the high positive correlation between the RELC subtests and the dependent variable (DV = g.p.a.). The highest correlation was obtained by Part IA: Making an outline (r = .802), followed by Part IB: Making a summary (r = .775) then by Part II: Cloze (r = .730). The lowest but still highly significant r (.69) was obtained by Part III: oral interview.

An index of the goodness of forecast in multiple linear regression is the standard error of multiple estimate (SE). As a rule, the prediction is good if an individual's predicted score (his grade-point average) does not miss his actual (observed) g.p.a. by more than ± the obtained standard error of estimate, which in the present case is 3.2802. Furthermore, overall prediction is good if about 2/3 (66%) of all predicted g.p.a.'s lie within ±1 standard error of estimate (Garrett, 1986:409).

Analysis of the observed and expected (predicted) g.p.a.'s of the diploma course members of AY 1987–1988 (see Table 2) shows that 72% of the predicted g.p.a. values are well within ± 3.2802 points of their actual (observed) g.p.a.'s. This is certainly above the cut-off point of 66% mentioned above. Only 10 (25%) of the predicted g.p.a. values lie within ± 2 times 3.2802 and only 2 (5%) are within ± 3 times 3.2802.

The results above attest to the strength of the predictive validity of the RELC Test.

5. Conclusions

5.1 The view may be expressed that the findings of the study were a foregone conclusion, i.e., correlations between and among the language measures investigated were to be expected. Language testers are aware that the components of any language test cannot all that easily be said to be related to each other, or for that matter, to be valid and reliable. Empirical proof for this must first be established. The whole study has endeavoured to produce an empirically valid and reliabe test of proficiency in English for academic purposes consisting of three parts: outlining; summarizing; a cloze test; and an oral interview. From the findings, it can be seen that this aim of the study has been accomplished.

The study yielded the following specific results:

5.2 The first and second versions of the RELC test have been shown to possess four kinds of validity: content/face validity; concurrent validity; construct validity; and predictive validity; however, comparison of the statistical results for both versions shows the second to be more valid.

5.2.1 Experts' judgement has established the face/content validity of the test.

5.2.2 High positive correlations between the RELC subtests and total scores and the Davies and Alderson subtests and total scores clearly demonstrate the concurrent validity of the RELC Test.

5.2.3 Inter-correlations among the subtests and the correlation of the subtest with the total score on the test provide evidence of the construct validity of the test. It must be admitted, though, that a more powerful method, like the multitrait – multimethod technique could have been used but for certain constraints e.g., course members' schedules had been very tight; hence, they could not be subjected to tests so often and for very long periods of time. In addition, looking for or devising other valid instruments with which to construct validate the RELC Test proved difficult and too demanding a task.

5.2.4 The strongest attribute of the test is perhaps its predictive power. The very high multiple correlation coefficients, i.e. R = .81 (first tryout) and .93 (second tryout) and the coefficients of multiple determination i.e., R^2 = .62 (first tryout) and .87 (second tryout) obtained for the test, plus the fact that the test very closely predicts future achievement on the diploma course bring this to bear.

Thus, the three other types of validity: face/content; concurrent; and predictive, more than compensate for the shortcomings of the construct validation procedure employed.

5.3 The test-retest method for determining test reliability yielded positive results and reflected the stability of the RELC Test.

5.4 The cloze procedure has been proven once again to be a valid and reliable technique for assessing language ability. The cloze passage chosen has proved to be very useful, whether every fifth or every sixth word in it is deleted.

5.5 Impressionistic marking of the *Summarizing* subtest has been shown to be statisfactorily valid and reliable; however, greater validity and reliability can be achieved with an improved analytic marking scale.

5.6 The oral interview scale has been found, to need further refinement. Though the ratings on the interview correlated highly with the other test variables (data from the first and second tryout considered), qualitative assessment has revealed that the scale does not distinctly separate ability levels 1 and 2 on the one hand, and levels 4 and 5, on the other.

6. Recommendations

6.1 The analytic marking scale for Part IB: *Summarizing* could be improved to allow for a clearer assessment of writing in addition to listening comprehension.

6.2 The oral interview scale could be further refined; the levels should be clearly demarcated. Such a revision will enhance the validity and reliability of the oral interview subtest.

6.3 Parallel forms of the subtests could be developed for test security reasons.

6.4 The RELC Test could perhaps be tried out outside RELC, by the other SEAMEO Centres, to determine the extent of its usefulness. Though Part IA: Making an outline and Part IB: Making a summary may be seen as slanted toward language (because the lectures are about language), it may be worth finding out whether the test will be valid and reliable when used non-language students. Then perhaps, such an attempt could be a first step towards the development of a common English language test to screen SEAMEO scholarship applicants.

Table 2
Analysis of the observed and Expected G.P.A. values for Course 101 (AY 1987-1988) Members

Case	Observed	Expected	Residual	Standard	3	2	1	0	1	2	3
1	57.5000	58.6382	−1.1382	−0.3470				*			
2	51.5000	56.5488	−5.0488	−1.5391		*					
3	53.1000	54.0868	−0.9868	−0.3008				*			
4	66.9000	72.4719	−5.5719	−1.6986		*					
5	54.3000	51.6225	2.6775	0.8162					*		
6	46.7000	51.3780	−4.6780	−1.4261		*					
7	54.8000	55.6600	−0.8600	−0.2622				*			
8	40.3000	39.6554	0.6446	0.1965				*			
9	42.1000	50.2557	−8.1557	−2.4863	*						
10	62.2000	62.7008	−0.5008	−0.1527				*			
11	67.7000	68.0906	−0.3906	−0.1191				*			
12	70.3000	71.9090	−1.6090	−0.4905			*				
13	70.9000	72.1242	−1.2242	−0.3732				*			
14	69.6000	67.6488	1.9512	0.5948					*		
15	69.7000	73.5946	−3.8946	−1.1873			*				
16	71.1000	69.4847	1.6153	0.4924					*		
17	66.9000	64.8444	2.0556	0.6267					*		
18	75.1000	74.0688	1.0312	0.3144					*		
19	59.2000	53.8910	5.3090	1.6185						*	
20	58.5000	55.1368	3.3632	1.0253					*		
21	58.5000	62.0020	−3.5020	−1.0676			*				
22	57.3000	55.2578	2.0422	0.6226					*		
23	53.7000	59.1684	−5.4684	−1.6671		*					
24	70.9000	70.0348	0.8652	0.2638				*			
25	70.9000	66.7482	4.1518	1.2657					*		
26	70.9000	70.8116	0.0884	0.0270				*			
27	69.5000	71.0509	−1.5509	−0.4728				*			
28	68.6000	68.0199	0.5801	0.1769				*			
29	73.5000	71.0833	2.4167	0.7367					*		
30	74.7000	74.9341	−0.2341	−0.0714				*			
31	71.0000	69.2546	1.7454	0.5321					*		
32	58.0000	57.9701	0.0299	0.0091				*			
33	65.5000	63.2930	2.2070	0.6728					*		
34	67.3000	67.9660	−0.6660	−0.2030				*			
35	67.1000	67.9930	−0.8930	−0.2722				*			
36	68.4000	65.9036	2.4964	0.7611					*		
37	61.5000	57.4017	4.0983	1.2494					*		
38	59.1000	60.0847	−0.9847	−0.3002				*			
39	59.7000	58.1730	1.5270	0.4655				*			
40	65.5000	59.0383	6.4617	1.9699							*

The asterisks on the right side of the table indicate how far away from the observed g.p.a. value an expected or predicted g.p.a. value is. For example, the first case's observed g.p.a. (57.500) is seen to be only 1.1382 points less than the expected or predicted g.p.a. This difference is within ± 1 standard error of estimate (3.2802). Hence the asterisk for the first is located between 0 and 1 standard error, to be more exact, closer to 0 than to 1 to indiate that the expected g.p.a. is that close to the observed g.p.a.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Lexical Syllabus
Collins ELT 1990

Makhan L. Tickoo
RELC, Singapore

In the last few years there has been a steady increase in the number of books on language syllabuses (e.g. Nunan 1988, White 1988, Johnson 1989) which are of interest to both syllabus designers and language teaching practitioners. Dave Willis's *The Lexical Syllabus* (LS) adds to this genre.

But LS is not just another book on syllabus design; it claims to be "a new approach to language teaching". Viewed thus, it is an addition to works on methodology and has to be judged for what it contributes to the "how" of language teaching and learning.

Nor is that all. LS is part of a whole new series of books on the English language, its scientific study and the products thereof, including learners' dictionaries (Sinclair 1987a, 1988) and pedagogic grammars (Sinclair 1990), all offshoots of the more than a decade old Collins COBUILD project being undertaken at Birmingham University in the U.K. (See Sinclair 1987b). The idea of "a new coursebook syllabus, a *lexical* syllabus" based on "the power of the most frequent words of English" (p. v) is in fact John Sinclair's and was first propounded by him in a 1988 paper that he co-authored (Sinclair and Renouf 1988). Willis's LS thus shares the basic philosophy, a common approach and many new insights on essential words and their hitherto unsuspected meanings and associations with the fast multiplying publications that have resulted from Birmingham's corpus-based computerised researches on word concordances in current English (Sinclair 1987c).

Willis's LS however goes way beyond John Sinclair's "lexical syllabus" (1988) in significant ways. The book under review does so in describing how its author translated the latter's proto-syllabus into a usable pedagogic syllabus, what use he made of the project's research findings, what aspects of the syllabus content are owed to COBUILD and, most important of all, in signposting the major milestones in the design and development of the course materials for false beginners which serve to illustrate LS in its actual use (Willis and Willis 1988–1990). LS is thus three dif-

7''9

ferent things in one: a new type of syllabus, a viewpoint on second-language learning and teaching and a principled account of the ideas and experiences that informed the construction and trial testing of a set of multimedia materials for adult learners. Any attempt at understanding the work has therefore got to take into account the fact that a main achievement of this neatly organised eight-chapter book is that in its 140 pages which include an 8-page introduction and are followed by a brief bibliography and an index, it has succeeded in marrying some major concerns of syllabus design and development with those of course construction on the one hand and language-teaching methodology on the other.

As a syllabus LS claims to be opposed to the form-based structural syllabuses (SS) as also to their notions and functions based (NFs) alternatives (Wilkins 1976, van EK 1975). The former have been found to be both limited and limiting in their view of what constitutes natural or "real" (Sinclair 1987) language; the latter in practice "are concerned with specifying and ordering what it is that the learner will be expected to produce, rather than with helping the learner to build up a picture of the language" (p. 45). As well as confining the pupil to "relatively straightforward grammatical systems" and failing to pay attention to "the most problematic systems", both syllabus types "deny learners exposure to the language which might enable them to draw conclusions for themselves about such problematic systems."

Being opposed to form focus and product orientation should ordinarily suggest the adoption of today's alternative paradigm which Breen (1987) and others have called the process approach (Nunan 1988). This raises a basic doubt however: 'In what sense can LS, a syllabus that makes word selection and word teaching the basis of its design, be thought of as a process syllabus?' Before we seek to unravel this apparent contradiction, it seems best to understand parts of not only what makes LS different from both SS and NFs but also what gives it its special strength and character as an alternative language syllabus.

In his defence of a lexical syllabus John Sinclair (1988) argues that "for any learner of English, the main focus of study should be on: a) the commonest word forms in the language; b) their central patterns of usage; c) the combinations which they typically form" (ibid., p. 148). He then goes on to show how a syllabus which is able to tap the rich resources of COBUILD, can provide for such a learner in measurably better ways than any other. A main distinction of Willis's LS lies just there, i.e. in what it offers the adult ESL learner and his/her teacher and the means it adopts for doing so. Four of the offerings that stand out in LS are:

One, as Willis convincingly demonstrates, LS builds on the findings of COBUILD to teach several major areas of modern English grammar and usage (e.g. the passive, reported speech and the so-called second conditional) in ways that make learning both easier and more meaningful and also, perhaps for the first time, to provide adequate coverage equally major but hitherto badly neglected areas of English morphology and syntax (e.g. transitivity, the structure of the noun phrase).

Two, taking help from work done by the COBUILD team (e.g. Renouf 1987) on assembling the "TEFL Side Corpus" as a basis for arriving at what they call the "consensus syllabus", LS successfully strives to provide a more inclusive coverage of the lexis and grammar of English than most of today's ES(F)L courses or syllabuses. Its success in doing so is at least arguably one of the most tangible achievements of LS as an alternative syllabus.

Three, something that distinguishes Jane and Dave Willis's Collins COBUILD English Course (CCEC: Willis and Willis 1988–1990) as much as it sets apart LS as an alternative syllabus, there is a "learners' corpus" - a bank of texts which exposes the learners to "authentic native speaker language", while presenting them "with a microcosm of the 20 million COBUILD corpus" (p. vii). As I have shown in an earlier discussion of CCEC, Level 1 (Tickoo 1988), the amount of original material brought into this course is, both in qualitative and quantitaitve terms, a far richer 'communicative' fare for ESL learners than is available in any other comparable course known to me.

Finally, and here we come to the hard core of what the very name lexical syllabus signifies, LS being based on a description of language which takes the English word as its starting point, avowedly addresses itself to the problems and possibilities in the learning and use of the first 2,500 of the commonest word forms of this language. In his twin beliefs - a) that "word meaning and word order are central to English in a way that may not hold true for other languages" (p. 24) and b) that being dependent on a more representative corpus of current English, COBUILD's descriptive statements offer the user "more evidence on which to base useful generalisations about the language" (p. 23), Willis's work provides the adult "beginner" instructional materials that are impressively full of choices that characterise genuine language use. His two beliefs, the latter of which had already become part of an earlier generation's scholarly wisdom (See, e.g. Fries and Traver 1956, West 1953), may however need further substantiation and support to make them carry conviction through the 1990s.

As an alternative to existing syllabuses Willis's lexical syllabus appears thus to have made good a lot of its claims to uniqueness. In important ways it may in fact be the first major breakthrough of the last quarter century in language syllabus design and implementation in that, unlike several other highly publicised alternatives, this one appears to provide through its products much of what it promises on paper. Does this make the doubt I raised above on whether this syllabus can be called a process syllabus, somewhat academic? Perhaps it does. And yet the doubt needs to be confronted if only because doing so should in some measure help an understanding of LS as a usable alternative syllabus. Only a brief reference to the main issues it raises is possible here:

If a process syllabus is one that, by definition, rules out a dependence on pre-selection or pre-sequencing of content either because both tend to act as constraints or because both become redundant in classroom interaction (Breen 1987, Prabhu 1984), then LS is clearly a wrong candidate for consideration. Based on the understanding that the safest way towards the mastery of a second language for purposes of communicative use is through its commonest word forms and the collocations and patterns that they enter into, LS is a form-focussed syllabus with a defined commitment to the 2,500 most frequent word forms of English. Not only that, as a commissioned course writer Willis was expected to provide for the first 700 words in Level 1, the second 850 in Level 2 and the next 950 in Level 3. Also, something that clearly shows pre-selection, the authors had to make use of data sheets which "for Level 1 alone ran to hundreds of pages" (p. 130) in order to arrive at a dependable linguistic base for the 15 units that constitute the learner's book for that level. Most important of all, Willis himself believes in the need to organise the learner's exposure to language in three ways, viz. by grading the language, by carefully selecting the commonest patterns and meanings in the language and by "itemising the language syllabus" (p. iv).

Nor can it be true that a shift of emphasis from SS's focus on type sentences to LS's on essential words, reduces in any way the need to pay specific attention to products as opposed to processes. An avowedly central commitment of LS, which is also one of its main claims to success, was to achieve "a very much more comprehensive coverage than is usually found in an elementary coursebook" (p. 77). That the syllabus/course designers succeeded in achieving this goal was also due largely to the fact that in their planning for the course each of the specified word forms received careful attention.

In my judgement therefore LS is not a syllabus that embraces the main tenets of Breen's alternative paradigm. It is a syllabus in the sense in which Corder defined the term in 1973, i.e. "the overall plan for the learning process" which first selects and specifies what must be learnt and then provides the "most efficient sequence" in which to teach that. In this syllabus, although the grammar of English may be being looked at from a different perspective, the commitment to a full coverage of its system and structure is as strong as in any other form-focussed and product-oriented syllabus. To the extent therefore that its authors have succeeded in achieving what they set out to use it for, this type of syllabus appears to me to make the currently highly valued and theoretically justifiable form-function and product-process dichotomies somewhat unnecessary, perhaps even harmful, as a basis for language syllabus design. Usable language syllabuses obviously require not one or the other but a judicious use of both.

On the plane of methodology LS raises a second duobt which once again divides current scholarship. The doubt is: "Does the form of a syllabus influence the methodology it adopts?' One view is that since a syllabus need have little impact on classroom activity, "It is perfectly possible to adopt a communicative methodology in the realization of a syllabus designed along structural lines" (Widdowson 1987) or, conversely, to make use of a 'communicative' syllabus in adopting a methodology that is tied to an incremental presentation of discretely ordered items. Widdowson's appears however to be a view which, in so far as it posits a total separation of content from classroom procedure and presentation, lays itself open to the charge of extremism. As any practitioner gets to learn from experience, the content of a syllabus has a lot to do with the means of presentation.

But although a total separation of the what and the how of language teaching is unwarranted, LS appears to provide partial support for Widdowson's view. It does so notwithstanding the fact that in LS Willis seeks in different ways to align himself with what for him, as for a majority of today's enlightened practitioners, represents the dominant applied linguistic wisdom. As a syllabus LS itemises language as much as any orthodox SS. Enormously detailed, it itemises not just sentence structures but also the forms of words. It organises all these into neat packages. At the same time the Willises are able to make use of a predominantly "task-based" methodology which offers a whole gamut of real-lifes 'replication' activities to equip and enable the learner to "use language to achieve real outcomes" (p. 59). It is thus a language-items based syllabus which, both in its materials and its preferred stand on classroom organisation and interaction, incorporates a wealth of different problem-solving, information-gathering/-sharing activities that "replicate within the classroom aspects of communication in the real world" (pp. 58–59). Not only are most of the tasks selected real in their settings and in the challenges they offer, most of them are carried out in pairs and small-groups with provision for "private, spontaneous, exploratory" (p. 61) activities that represent authentic attempts at communication.

In saying above that LS offers support for Widdowson's view I have, in some ways, not only cast doubt on my own earlier stand on the relationship between syllabus content and language teaching methodology but also on Willis's view of what has been achieved and how in the development and implementation of LS. Why did I do so? Answering this question seems important in that it may help bring to the surface two somewhat differing views on what lies at the root of this and a few other issues in current language teaching scholarship.

In the introduction to LS we read: "The process of syllabus design involves itemising language to identify what is to be learned. Communicative methodology involves exposure to natural language use to enable learners to apply their innate faculties to recreate language systems. There is an obvious contradiction between the two. An approach which itemises language seems to imply that items can be learned discretely, and that the language can be built up from accretion of these items. Communicative methodology is holistic in that it relies on the ability of learners to abstract from the language to which they are exposed, in order to recreate a picture of the target language." (p. viii) Willis admits that in LS minute itemisation of the language was a basic component of syllabus making. However, he gives credit to Birmingham's 'learners' corpus for reconciling "the contradiction between syllabus specification and methodology". Put differently Willis appears to argue that what helped him resolve the inherent contradiction was that in LS he was able to exploit the unique resources of COBUILD. I take a different view.

In my view what makes the CCEC a much more communicative course than many comparable courses, is not so much its association with the Birmingham database but its authors' selection, adaptation and use of highly topical and authentic materials including both a lot of natural, written language and an impressive amount of spontaneously produced spoken language. Equally, if not more, it is relatable to the pedagogically rewarding ways in which the Willises have made use of these and other rich and often readable materials to create an impressive range of graded tasks and activities. The secret of Willis's achievement may thus lie not in what he owes to COBUILD but in something that he gives no more than a secondary place, viz. the authors' craft reinforced by the experience and insight gained by teaching hard-headed adults especially in the third world. As for the methodology that underpins the course and expresses the syllabus, there is little doubt that in many ways it embraces the period's best even though it does not fully support Willis's claim that "this methodology has a theoretical basis" (p. iii). The "theories" and theoreticians that he cites appear to add no more than assertions to current applied linguistic commonplaces.

Another notable fact about LS as a syllabus is that in having shown itself as a viable alternative to both SS and NFs for the type of teacher, learner and classroom where it has been used successfully, it has broken valuable new ground where some better known recent attempts (e.g. the retrospective syllabus: Candlin 1984) came to nothing. In doing so it has aligned itself with some of the long-forgotten movements of the early years of this century both in language description and in results-oriented language pedagogy. Dave Willis's LS ought therefore to prove useful to language-teaching and ESL practitioners everywhere although it will require a great deal of adaptation and change if it is made the basis of teaching a second/foreign language in "difficult circumstances" (West 1960) in classrooms of the third world. A study of this book should, in my judgement, form part of a teacher-educator's essential readings.

References

Breen, M. P. (1987). Contemporary Paradigms in Syllabus Design Part 2 Language Teaching Vol. 20, No. 2 Cambridge.

Corder, Pit S. (1973). Introducing Applied Linguistics Penguin.

Fries, C. C. and Traver A.A. 1956. English Word Lists. Michigan University Press.

Johnson, R. K. (ed) (1988). The Second Language Curriculum Cambridge.

Prabhu, N. S. (1984). Procedural Syllabuses in Read J. A. S. (ed). Trends in Language Syllabus Design. RELC, Singapore.

Renouf, A. (1987). 'Corpus Development' in Sinclair J. Looking Up Collins.

Sinclair, J. M. (1987a). Chief Editor Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary Collins.

_____ (1987b) Looking Up. Collins

_____ (19887c) The Dictionary of the Future University of Strathclyde

_____ (1988) Chief Editor. Essential English Dictionary. Collins

Sinclair, & Renouf, A. (1988). A Lexical Syllabus for Language Learning in Carter, R and McCarthy, M. (eds). Vocabulary and Language Teaching. Longman

_____ (1990) Chief Editor Collins COBUILD English Grammar. Collins.

Nunan D. 1988. Language Syllabus Design Oxford University Press.

Tickoo, M. L. Computers, Curricula and Courses: Assessing the Gains in Guidelines Vol. 10, No. 2 RELC Singapore.

van E. K. J. A. 1975. The Threshold Level Strasbourg, Council of Europe.

West, M. P. (ed). (1953). A General Service List of English Words Longman. (1960) Teaching English in Difficult Circumstances Longman.

White, R. V. (1988). The ELT Curriculum Basil Blackwell.

Winddowson, H. G. (1987). Aspects of Syllabus Design in Tickoo M. L. (ed). Language Syllabuses: State of the Art RELC Singapore.

Wilkins, D. (1976). Notional Syllabuses Oxford University Press.

Willis, D. and Willis, J. 1988–1990. Collins COBUILD English Language Course, Levels 1-3, Collins.

/

Longman Pronunciation Dictionary

J. C. Wells
Longman, 1990. 802 pp.

Reviewed by
Tony T. N. Hung
National University of Singapore

Since its publication in 1917, and through its many subsequent editions, Daniel Jones's *English Pronouncing Dictionary* (EPD) has so far remained unchallenged as the single most authoritative reference book on the pronunciation of English in the RP model (or 'Received Pronunciation', a term which Jones helped to popularise).

However, the last edition of EPD (the 14th) dates back to 1977, and was prepared by A.C. Gimson, who has since passed away. Not only has it become outdated as all dictionaries are bound to do, but its original aim of representing only the RP variety of English has come, in the 1990's, to seem somewhat parochial and impractical.

The inevitable question in everybody's mind in looking at the new Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (LPD), edited by J.C. Wells (who, incidentally, occupies the same Phonetics chair in London University as Jones and Gimson once did), is how well it compares with EPD. Without intending to belittle the immense, pioneering achievements of the earlier work, let me outline the reasons why I consider LPD to be a superior reference book, and one which is likely to supersede EPD in popular as well as academic circles before long.

The most important of these is LPD's inclusion not only of RP, but of General American as well as other educated, non-RP variants widely used in Britain itself (Wells, who is best known for his monumental *Accents of English* (Cambridge 1982), is obviously the ideal person for the task). Both for purposes of production and recognition, this renders the dictionary far more relevant and useful to teachers and students of English in a world where the prestige and role of RP is no longer what it was in Jones' day, and where the American influence is more pervasive than ever before, especially in mass media. The value of LPD for linguists interested in varieties of English is equally evident, though there is no indication of the geographical origins of the British non-RP variants.

The size of LPD's corpus of words is 40% or so greater than that of EPD. In particular, LPD includes not only many more technical terms and recent lexical entries, but a much greater number of proper names of various origins, which is in fact one of the most valuable functions of a pronunciation dictionary (as opposed to an ordinary English dictionary). Non-English names are given not only in their Anglicised pronunciations, but in their native languages as well (using the full range of IPA symbols), which is ideal for the linguist and the scrupulous speaker/reader. (Oddly, however, this is not done for a few languages, including Chinese.) One could of course quibble over the inclusion of this and the exclusion of that name (e.g. *Chappaquiddick* is listed but not *Walesa*), but by and large the coverage is extensive, and sufficient for most practical purposes. Also included are some commonly heard foreign expressions, such as *c'est la vie* and *dolce vita*.

Being much newer than the last edition of EPD, LPD is naturally more up-to-date with respect to the pronunciations it records, which is important in view of the relatively fast-changing nature of spoken language. To give a few examples from RP, for the word *comparable*, a variant with the primary stress on the second syllable is included in LPD (in addition to the more common initial-stressed form), but not in EPD; for *conduit* and *Irene*, the primary pronunciations given by LPD are /ˈk ndjuIt/ and /‘airi:n/ respectively, while EPD gives priority to the more old-fashioned /‘kəndIt/ and /aiˈri:nI/.

The transcription system adopted by LPD is virtually identical to that of the 14th edition of EPD, except for the addition of the symbol /i/ (distinct from /i:/ and /I/), which indicates a closer, tenser vowel than /I/, as exemplified by the final vowel in words like *happy* and *story* (in RP and many other dialects). This reflects modern pronunciations more accurately than /I/, and was earlier adopted by the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1978).

While both EPD and LPD aim at representing English pronunciation at the phonemic level, LPD goes one step further in relating this to the actual phonetic form wherever necessary. Phonological processes such as assimilation are taken into account (though restricted to the lexical or intra-word level), so that the entries for such words as *increase* and *goodbye* (for example) indicate that the /n/ and /d/ may respectively be assimilated to [ŋ] and [b].

LPD also improves on EPD in distinguishing three (instead of two) levels of stress. This permits a more accurate representation of the stress patterns of longer words, such as *interchangeability*, where the 5th syllable carries primary stress, the 1st syllable secondary, and the 3rd syllable tertiary (whereas EPD assigns primary stress to both the 1st and 5th syllables, and secondary to the 3rd). Furthermore, only LPD indicates where stress shift occurs in some words in connected speech, as when the primary stress in *Japanese* gets shifted from the last to the first syllable when it pre-modifies a noun (as in the phrase *Japanese language*).

Syllabification is an area where no general agreement prevails. Unlike the latest edition of EPD, which avoids the issue entirely, LPD syllabifies all polysyllabic words, adopting a set of principles (pp. xix–xxi) which – like all other attempts at syllabification – may prove somewhat controversial (*flimsy* and *metric*, for example, are syllabified as /fıImz-i/ and /metr-Ik/ respectively). Nevertheless, most of the syllabifications are quite straightforward, and are an aid to the pronunciation of longer words.

Typographically, LPD is ingeniously laid out, with an eye on maximum clarity as well as maximum economy. Where several different pronunciations are recorded for the same word, the ones considered by the author to be standard are given in a different colour from the rest. All morphological derivations of words are given, with appropriate space-saving devices. Where necessary, brief explanatory notes are attached, especially with respect to names (e.g. for *Rushdie,* the pronunciation preferred by author Salman Rushdie is given as [rUʃdi], though others may pronounce it [rυʃdi].)

An unusual but (for the uninitiated) extremely useful feature of LPD is the inclusion of a number of short articles, listed in alphabetical order throughout the dictionary, on a variety of relevant phonetic and phonological topics, such as assimilation, neutralisation, weak forms, aspiration, stress shift, etc. These articles can play an important part in raising the learners' consciousness about phonological regularities in English which they may otherwise miss in the morass of individual details.

There is no doubt in my mind that LPD is now the best available English pronouncing dictionary, and that it is unlikely to be superseded for a long time to come.

RELC

ANNOUNCEMENT

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

Language Acquisition and the Second/ Foreign Language Classroom

22–26 April 1991

For more information, please contact:

CHAIRMAN,
SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE,
SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
30 ORANGE GROVE ROAD
SINGAPORE 1025

PROSPECT

THE JOURNAL OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Prospect is the national professional journal of the Australian Adult Migrant (Immigrant) Educational Program (AMEP). This Commonwealth-funded program offers English as a Second Language and Orientation tuition to approximately 100,000 adult immigrants to Australia from all over the world each year.

Jill Burton, Editor

Reference Panel includes
Professor J. Anderson
Flinders University of S.A.
Professor H. Holec
Universite de Nancy 11
Dr. D. Ingram
Brisbane College of Advanced Education
Mr. H. Nicholas
La Trobe University
Dr. M. Pieneman
University of Sydney
Professor J. Richards
University of Hawaii

It publishes articles, notes, reports and reviews on applied linguistic and teaching concerns related to the adult E.S.L. field. Prospect is published three times a year by the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research. Information about subscription rates and advertisements can be obtained from:

GERD S. STABLER
SALES AND MARKETING MANAGER
NCELTR ◆ SCHOOL of ENGLISH and LINGUISTIS ◆ MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY ◆
SYDNEY ◆ NEW SOUTH WALES 2109 ◆ AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE (02) 805 7673 TELEX MACUNI AA122377 FACSIMILE (02) 805 7849

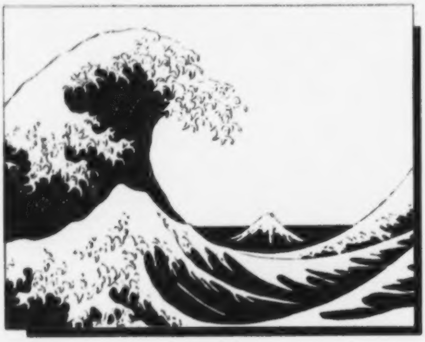
CROSS CURRENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Cross Currents is a semi-annual publication of the Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) which provides a forum for the interdisciplinary exchange of ideas within the areas of cross-cultural communication and language skill acquisition and instruction. At _Cross Currents_, we are particularly committed to issues concerning both the theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, English language teaching as it applies to Japan, and English as an International Language.

Recent contributors to _Cross Currents_ include:

Robert O'Neill
Braj Kachru
Alan Maley
Walter Hirtle
Richard Via
Larry Smith
Paul LaForge



SUBSCRIPTIONS	**Single issue**	**1 year**	**2 years**
Inside Japan*	¥1,300	¥2,600	¥5,150
Outside Japan — Individual Subscription	$8.00	$15.00	$25.00
Outside Japan — Institutional Rate		$19.50	$35.00

* *Special rates available for JALT members. (See postal form in the Language Teacher.)*

- ***Japan Subscriptions*:**

School Book Service
FI Building 4F
1-26-5 Takadanobaba
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
03-200-4531

(By postal transfer to Tokyo postal account No 9-86192, or cash delivery – Genkin Kakitome.)

- Current Issues are also available in major Japanese bookstores through **YOHAN** in Japan.

- Back Issues are available from Cross Currents

- ***Outside Japan*:**

Cross Currents
Language Institute
of Japan
4-14-1 Shiroyama
Odawara, Kanagawa 250
Japan

(Make checks payable to *Cross Currents* (LIOJ) drawn on a U.S. bank.)

ARE THESE ON YOUR READING LIST?

ISSN 0289-7938
全国語学教育学会
VOL. XII, NO. 12 NOVEMBER 1988
THE Language Teacher
THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS JALT ¥350

JALT JOURNAL

Publications of

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

The Language Teacher
-A monthly magazine with features, reviews, meeting announcements, employment opportunities, etc.

JALT Journal
A semi-annual journal featuring articles relevant to language teaching/learning in Japan and Asia

Annual Membership Fees (including subscriptions to both publications)
Domestic: Regular, ¥6,000; Joint, ¥10,000; Student, ¥4,000; Associate, ¥50,000
Overseas: sea mail, US$30; air mail, US$40
Send remittance by bankers draft in yen drawn on a Japanese bank, or dollars drawn on an American bank.
The postal giro account may also be used by international subscribers
Postal furikae (giro) account: Kyoto 15892, "JALT"

JALT International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning
An annual event featuring over 300 lectures/workshops/demonstrations.
Over 2,000 participants yearly.

November 3-5, 1989 — Okayama
November 23-25, 1990 — Tokyo area
November 2-4, 1991 — To be announced

Send requests for further information and remittances to:
JALT, Lions Mansion Kawaramachi #111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-agaru
Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan. Tel.: (075) 361-5428; Fax: (075) 361-5429

Subscription form

RELC JOURNAL

A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and a subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is eighteen Singapore dollars (S$18.00) for subscription within SEAMEO countries and US$18.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and sent it to

The Publications Officer
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
RELC Building
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at S$7.00*/US$7.00+ per copy.

For the complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications Officer.

I enclose S$18.00*/US$18.00+. Please send me the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for...

Name:...

Address:..

....

....

* within SEAMEO countries
+ other countries

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Clarification:

The present members of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) are: Negara Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

GUIDELINES

A PERIODICAL FOR CLASSROOM LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Every issue of *Guidelines* is a unique collection of practical ideas that have direct usefulness for the classroom teacher. Articles are written in a simple, readable style.

• Vocabulary Teaching	June 1980	• Drama Activities	Dec. 1983
• Audio-Visual Aids	Dec. 1980	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No. 1)	June 1984
• Language Games	June 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No 2)	Dec. 1984
• Writing Activities	Dec. 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 1)	June 1985
• Study Skills	June 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 2)	Dec. 1985
• Group Activities	Dec. 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 8 No. 1)	June 1986
• Classrooms Tests	June 1983	• Classroom Interaction	Dec. 1986

From the June 1984 issues onwards each issue covers a variety of topics in its selection of articles.

Guidelines is published twice a year, in June and December.
Individual copies can be ordered for S$7.00/US$6.00. Reserve future copies with the detachable money-saving coupon below. The annual subscription is S$14.00 (within SEAMEO countries) and US$14.00 for other countries.

Please begin my subscription for Guidelines with the issue for

(month) ____________________ 19 ____________________.

Enclosed is S$/US$ .... (Bank draft/Money order)

Name .... (Block letters)

Address (in full) ....

....

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copy must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, e.g., the suffix-*s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text.

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221-222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14-16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, 221-254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

VOLUME 22 NUMBER 1 **JUNE 1991**

Articles

Roger Griffiths and Alan Beretta — **A Controlled Study of Temporal Variables in NS-NNS Lectures** 1

Barbara Kroll — **Understanding TOEFL's Test of Written English** 20

Malcolm J. Benson — **Attitudes and Motivation Towards English: A Survey of Japanese Freshmen** 34

Lyn Gow David Kember and Rosalia Chow — **The Effects of English Language Ability on Approaches to Learning** 49

Robert Kelly — **The Graeco-Latin Vocabulary of Formal English: Some Pedagogical Implications** 69

Supot Arevart and Paul Nation — **Fluency Improvement in a Second Language** 84

Yolanda Beh — **Current Research in Southeast Asia** 95

Book Reviews

Roger Griffiths — **Issues in Second Language Acquisition: Multiple Perspectives** 101

Joseph Rézeau — **Teaching Language With Computers** 105

Publications Received 109

727

PUBLISHED BY THE SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, SINGAPORE

Editorial Committee
Makhan L Tickoo *Editor*
Audrey Ambrose-Yeoh *Review Editor*
Andrea H Penaflorida
Yolanda Beh
Melchor Tatlonghari
John Honeyfield
Joseph Foley
V K Bhatia

NOTES FOR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Asia.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$18.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$18.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal*, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of the respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Regional Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization.

(Notes for Subscribers continued on inside back cover)

RELC

REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1991
ISSN 0033-6882

RELC JOURNAL

Volume 22

Number 1

June 1991

RELC P387-91

729

A Controlled Study of Temporal Variables in NS-NNS Lectures

Roger Griffiths
Nagoya University of Commerce
and Business Administration
Japan

Alan Beretta
Michigan State University
USA

Abstract

There is sufficient evidence from both L1 and L2 research to indicate that temporal variables (including speech rate and pause phenomena) can be manipulated to facilitate listening comprehension. There is, however, no reliable evidence to indicate that rate modification is a widely occurring phenomena in NS-NNS interaction. This controlled study was designed to investigate whether 6 university professors would modify the temporal organization of their speech when delivering identical lectures to NS, low-proficiency and high-proficiency NNS groups. Samples of the recorded lectures were spectrographically analysed and a large number of temporal variables were investigated. Contrary to expectations derived from a reading of the L2/ESL literature no significant modifications to speech rate were found in deliveries to either the low- or high proficiency groups. Observed changes in articulation rate narrowly missed being significant, but differences were between the two NNS groups, not between the NS and NNS groups. Highly significant differences were, however, observed in the data on filled pauses. L1 pausological literature is drawn upon in suggesting explanations of these findings. Implications for L2 teaching are discussed.

1. Background

There is no doubt that teacher talk is central to both language teaching and the teaching of content to NNSs. Thus, questions concerning the temporal organization of speech, especially rate of delivery, demand serious attention.

Investigations of desired and actual speech rate (SR) in ESL teaching have not, however, reflected the importance of the issue. A matter which is central to teacher delivery has, in fact, for too long, been treated as peripheral. This is despite the importance of SR in facilitating comprehension and the widespread comment that temporal variables have been afforded in the L2/ESL literature.

In this paper, the findings of a controlled study of the occurrence of rate adjustment in short lectures to NS and NNS groups at different proficiency levels are reported. This is prefaced by (i) a brief description of the reasons why SR modifications have been seen as significant in facilitating comprehension, (ii) a description of L2 studies into the effect of SR modifications on comprehension, and (iii) a short examination of investigations of NS-NNS modifications.

2. The Role of SR Modification in Facilitating Comprehension

The inverse relationship which exists between SR and pause phenomena has been recognised since the mid-fifties (Goldman-Eisler 1954, 1956). Despite some reports of variability (Kowal & O'Connell 1980:61), the stability of articulation rate (SR minus pause time) noted by Goldman-Eisler, appears to have been confirmed in subsequent investigations. For example, Sabin et al. (1979) observed that variation in SR results largely from the insertion of more and longer pauses into the flow of speech: words themselves are, it seems, seldom drawn out:

> Specifically, we have found (in agreement with Goldman-Eisler 1968) that speech rate is more closely related to variations in the length and frequency of unfilled pauses than to articulation rate (1979:46).

A consideration of pause phenomena is, therefore, inevitably relevant to any study of rate. Evidence that increasing pause time facilitates comprehension (by providing real processing time) has been demonstrated in L1 studies (Overmann 1971; Chodorow 1979). Moreover, L1 studies in which reduced comprehension has been observed when rates have been increased to a certain level (usually about 300 wpm) have been frequently reported in the compressed speech literature (e.g. Foulke & Sticht 1969; Chodorow 1979).

Thus the available L1 evidence confirms the intuitive belief that fast rates become increasingly difficult to understand and that rate can be modified to assist the listener. Such evidence as there is in the L2 literature supports these hypotheses.

3. L2 Investigations of the Effect of SR Modifications on Comprehension

There have been three experimental studies published in the L2 literature which claim to have demonstrated the SR-comprehension relationship (Kelch 1985, Conrad 1989, Griffiths, 1990a). However, in the Kelch study, the failure to consider the effects on processing introduced through the insertion of extended pauses into a short recorded text is one of a number of reasons why the findings must be thought of as uninterpretable.

More confidence may be placed in the study carried out by Conrad. Her compressed-speech investigation shows that even high-proficiency NNS learners experience serious problems in comprehending speech delivered at moderately fast rates. After hearing deliveries of simple sentences at decreasing rates, high-proficiency NNSs were able to recall only 72% of sentence items after the fifth delivery which was presented at 196 words per minute (wpm). Intermediate level NNS learners recalled considerably less; only 44% after the fifth delivery at 196 wpm. These figures contrast sharply with those for NSs who recalled 66% at 450 wpm and 99% at 253 wpm.

A recent preliminary study by Griffiths (1990a) tentatively demonstrated reductions in comprehension of graded texts for lower-intermediate level learners at moderately fast rates (200 wpm/3.8 syllables per second [sps]). Slow rates (100 wpm/1.93 sps), did not, however, result in higher scores than did presentations read at average (150 wpm/2.85 sps) SRs. However, even though a small sample size (n = 15) was compensated for by increasing the number of texts, further investigations of the rates at which comprehension is maximised are required.

An early investigation which strongly indicates the importance of temporal variables in facilitating NNS comprehension is that of Grosjean (1972, reported in Lane et al., 1973). The total neglect of this study in the L2 literature is surprising because it was very tightly-controlled and its findings are unusually clear. In this experiment, 19 matched pairs first heard passages that were manipulated in terms of articulation rate, pause frequency and duration, and were subsequently tested for comprehension. It was found that passages involving slow articulation and a higher number of long-duration pauses accounted for a 24% increase in comprehension. The only constraints on the study were (i) that only 2 passages were manipulated for each variable and (ii) that not enough is known about the natural covariance and interaction of the 3 temporal variables under investigation. Nevertheless, Lane et al. comment that the 24% increase in comprehension "is probably an underestimate of the impact of moderate changes in temporal properties on second-language comprehension" (1973:18). If these findings could be replicated, the ramifications for L2 teacher-training and materials-writing would be extremely far-reaching.

Considering the accumulating evidence in both L1 and L2 studies that temporal variables can be manipulated to enhance comprehension, it is curious that there are no convincing studies which even show that rate modification is a widely occurring phenomenon in NS-NNS language and content classrooms. On the contrary, findings from one study (Griffiths, 1989) indicate that rate modification in EFL classrooms might be considerably less prevalent than is widely supposed.

However, before investigations in this area are described, it is necessary to consider the methodological conventions which must be observed in order to promote reliability in SR studies. These conventions, adopted from a reading of the specialist pausological literature (e.g. Goldman-Eisler 1954, 1956; Kowal et al. 1983, O'Connell 1988) are described in the next section.

4. Minimum Methodological Conventions of SR Measurement

The minimum methodological conventions which a study reporting on SR measurement must include are listed below.

1. Specification of instrumentation. Without this, estimates of the accuracy of timing cannot be judged and the quality of the data available to the researcher cannot be estimated. Analysis from spectrographic print-outs, which is extremely accurate, is standard in specialist research, as is the detailed reporting of articulation rate (AR - total number of syllables/total articulation time [Note: this does not include pause time]) and pause-time/total-time ratios. Stop-watch timing was very occasionally used in earlier L1 studies (e.g. Siegman 1979:94), but clearly it is incapable of being used to report pause phenomena. Judgement as to the appropriacy of instrumentation cannot, however, be divorced from the context in which it is employed and, where it is unnecessary to give details of pause phenomena, stop-watch timing can be adequate. Instrumentation, of whatever type, is, however, always described in the specialist literature and should be reported in all studies.

2. Defining the unit of measurement. Syllables per second have routinely been employed in L1 SR measurement since the mid-fifties (Goldman-Eisler 1956). Carroll's (1966:4) description of wpm as "a very poor unit" which he would wish to "abolish", and Tauroza and Allison's (1990:103) discovery that it is an "inappropriate" measurement, are both, therefore, (in varying degrees) late but welcome realisations. However, if "word" is tightly defined and syllable/word ratios for a particular corpus are given, it is convenient for use in initial sampling. Its unreliability does, however, dictate that it should never be used on its own and it must always be accompanied by more accurate measures.

3. Defining off-time and on-time especially when pause time/total

time is not reported. It is clearly crucial to report the on-time threshold levels at which speech is declared to have stopped rather than to be merely paused. This is particularly important in classroom research where "classroom activities silences" can seriously affect rates. Pause cut-off rates should also, clearly, be reported when pause phenomena are investigated.

4. Avoidance of, or control for, cross-genre data comparisons. The independence of genres, such as spontaneous speech and oral reading, has been extensively described in the pausological literature and warnings not to conflate temporal variables across genres are legion (e.g. Baars 1980:336; Kowal et al. 1983:377). Although it is not difficult to ensure that genres are matched in controlled studies, it is a problem in classroom studies where genre switching is the norm rather than the exception and, as long as the problem is identified, some compromise may be necessary in such investigations.

5. L2 Investigations of NS-NNS SR Modification

Not only are there a limited number of classroom/classroom-related studies in which NS-NNS SR modifications have been investigated (see Chaudron's review 1988) but a failure to adopt pausological conventions of measurement and reporting means that the findings of these early (actually pre-1989) studies are of limited value.

Two controlled studies by Henzel (1973, 1979), for example, which, inter alia, report on NS-NNS SRs, suffer from many of the problems encountered in SR studies which have not followed pausological conventions. The resulting data cannot, therefore, be regarded as reliable. Henzel's finding, for example, that one teacher spoke to beginning level students at 33.1 wpm and another spoke at 179.1 (1979:163) can only be explained by assuming massive pausing in the first delivery. However, Henzel does not report on-time thresholds (i.e. the upper limits of silent periods when speech is declared to be ceased rather than just paused): without such specification, meaningful comparison of rates within a particular corpus is impossible.

Extended pauses (>5 secs) observed in utterances described as "uninterrupted" in the Wesche and Ready study (1985:92–94), also render their findings on SR uninterpretable. Nor is on-time/off-time described in the study by Hakansson (1986), where extensive unreported pausing of the type described by Grosjean (personal communication, 2.10.88) as "classroom activities silences" is likely to account for some of the very slow rates observed.

As none of the L2 studies reviewed by Chaudron (1988) meet all (or even most) of these minimum requirements, reporting their findings on SR modification to addressees of different proficiency levels is unlikely to be useful. The L2/ESL literature does, however, suggest that SR to NNSs is slower than that normally employed in NS-NS interaction (e.g. Hatch 1983:183; Ellis 1985:135; Klein 1986:45) and also that it becomes increasingly slow in discourse with NNSs of lower proficiency levels. Chaudron (1988:69), for example, comes to the tentative conclusion that "the trends toward separation between addressee levels are evident", and Dirven (1981:51) states that "a teacher addressing a group of [NNS] pupils usually speaks louder and more slowly". It was such claims made in the L2/ESL literature that the present controlled study sought to investigate.

6. Method

6.1 Subjects

Subjects who were to give lectures were six NS professors from a variety of fields (biology [2], medicine, agriculture, chemistry and education). The selection aimed to achieve a spread of content subjects, but there was no other form of sampling.

Subjects who were to form three separate audiences for the lectures were (i) 9 NS ESL teachers selected on a volunteer basis, (ii) 9 NNS students of high English language proficiency, selected on the basis of in-house test scores, and (iii) 9 NNS students of limited English proficiency also selected on the basis of in-house test scores.

6.2 Procedure: instructions and data collection

The six content professors were asked to give a 5–15 minute lecture describing some research they had been engaged in. Professors were asked not to use visual aids, OHP transparencies or the whiteboard, so that information had to be conveyed verbally (though no provision was made to rule out paralinguistic features).

The reason for focussing on professors' research topics was first of all to control for genre, but also so that the topics would be sufficiently recondite (e.g. the development of a strain of wheat through cytogenetic engineering, a special use of X-ray diffraction, the ecology of the antlion) to ensure that the target audiences would not have prior knowledge of the subject matter.

To secure baseline data, the professors gave their first lecture to an

NS group of ESL teachers. The same content was then to be conveyed to a high English-proficiency group of NNS students (HP – n = 9); and shortly afterwards, to a low English-proficiency NNS group of students (LP – n = 9). Before each lecture, each professor chatted for 5 minutes with the group on any subject except the content of the lecture (ostensibly to allow time for the audio equipment to be set up, but in fact to permit the professors to get an idea of the group's language level). Both students and professors were asked to leave questions until after the presentation, so there was no interaction. All lectures were audio-recorded and transcribed.

The sequence of presentations was dictated by logistics and, clearly, it would have been preferable to vary the sequence. However, there are reasons to suppose that the effect of sequence in such circumstances is likely to be minimal; this is also borne out by the actual data in which simple linear changes are quite simply not observed. Firstly, the lecturers were, from the beginning, extremely familiar with the material they were presenting (which was of research projects they had undertaken, mostly as part of Ph.D. theses). Repetition of this type of material, already well known, would not therefore be expected to be delivered more quickly in presentations at this stage (experienced teachers would all be speaking very quickly indeed if the opposite were the case). Secondly, the lectures were not delivered without time lags; an average period of two days elapsed between presentations. So it can, with confidence, be assumed that differences in rate of delivery by the professors were due to audience effect.

6.3 Procedure: data analysis

O'Connell (personal communication 9.2.89) points out that SR, "hides a lot of variation that can only be broken out by dividing ontime from offtime". It was, therefore, decided that the following array of variables (based on Duez 1982:13–15, Grosjean 1980:40–42) would need to be investigated:

(i) Total number of syllables (TSy)

(ii) Total articulation time (TAT), i.e. total time minus total pause time

(iii) Total silent pause time (TSPT). Silent pause was defined as any interval of the sonsogram trace where the amplitude is indistinguishable from that of the background noise. A 100-msec cut-off point for a minimum measurable pause was adopted.

(iv) Total filled pause time (TFPT). Filled pauses were considered to be any occurrence of an English hesitation interjection such as "uh", "uhm", schwa, etc.

(v) Total pause time (TPT), i.e. total silent pause time plus total filled pause time.
(vi) Number of filled pauses (FP).
(vii) Number of silent pauses (SP).
(viii) Mean duration of silent pauses (MDSP).
(ix) Mean length of run (MLR), i.e. any utterance (excluding filled pauses) delimited by two silent pauses.
(x) Speech rate (SR), i.e. the total number of syllables divided by the total time.
(xi) Articulation rate (AR). This is the total number of syllables divided by the total articulation time and represents the actual phonation rate of the speaker.

The consistency of rate throughout the deliveries was checked by digital stop-watch timing. After this was confirmed, three 30-second samples (in which a 3-second on-time pause threshold was adopted) from the beginning, middle and end of each lecture were spectrographically analysed. This analysis was carried out on a Digital Sona-Graph (Model 7800) which gives hard copy of the sound signals displayed in terms of frequency, amplitude and time. Analysis of temporal variables was undertaken from printouts showing amplitude contour shading, amplitude envelope display and time-waveform. Rate analysis was conducted in sps.

7. Results

The three 30-second samples from each lecture were combined into single 90-second units. Results for all temporal variables under analysis are presented in Table 1.

Certain observations are possible from an initial inspection of the results in Table 1.

Firstly, 5 of the 6 professors reduce SR (although only very slightly) and 4 slow down articulation rate, when addressing NNS (LP) students. Five professors also decrease the number of syllables in these deliveries and 4 also decrease mean length of run to this group. Only 3, however, increase total pause time to these low proficiency learners.

There is no pattern of slower speech rate to NNS (HP) students and, surprisingly, articulation rate of 3 professors is faster to this group than it is to the NSs. Speech rate and articulation rate data on individual lecturers are, in fact, particularly interesting. Even a cursory glance at Table

Table 1
Temporal Variables for 6 Professors in 18 Lectures
(total sampled time — 90 seconds per lecture)

P	G	Tsy	TAT	TPT	TSPT	TFPT	FP	SP	MDSP	MLR	SR	AR
A	ns	272	68.5	21.5	13.6	7.9	14	27	.5	12.7	3.0	4.0
A	hp	266	67.6	22.4	18.4	4.0	8	33	.6	8.6	3.0	3.9
A	lp	258	77.1	12.9	12.4	0.5	1	25	.5	9.6	2.9	3.3
B	ns	226	63.5	26.5	24.2	2.3	6	30	.8	7.2	2.5	3.6
B	hp	254	65.1	24.9	23.9	1.0	2	36	.7	7.2	2.8	3.9
B	lp	212	60.1	29.9	29.9	0.0	0	38	.8	5.8	2.4	3.5
C	ns	324	66.8	23.2	23.0	0.2	1	35	.7	9.5	3.6	4.9
C	hp	316	63.9	26.1	25.7	0.4	1	38	.7	8.0	3.5	4.9
C	lp	313	68.2	21.8	21.8	0.0	0	31	.7	10.5	3.5	4.6
D	ns	357	76.4	13.6	13.6	0.0	0	30	.5	11.7	4.0	4.7
D	hp	348	72.5	17.5	16.7	0.8	3	34	.5	9.9	3.9	4.8
D	lp	307	72.8	17.2	16.8	0.4	1	29	.6	10.9	3.4	4.2
E	ns	278	68.1	21.9	19.5	2.4	5	32	.6	9.8	3.1	4.1
E	hp	293	70.9	19.1	17.8	1.3	2	35	.5	7.9	3.3	4.1
E	lp	304	74.3	15.7	15.1	0.6	1	32	.5	9.8	3.4	4.1
F	ns	391	79.7	10.3	9.1	1.2	4	26	.4	18.6	4.3	4.9
F	hp	409	77.9	12.1	11.8	0.3	1	37	.3	10.4	4.5	5.3
F	lp	377	76.9	13.1	12.8	0.3	1	31	.4	11.3	4.2	4.9

NOTES: P = Professors (A to F); G = group — ns = negative speaker audience; hp = high-proficiency non-native speaker audience; lp = low-proficiency non-native speaker audience; TSy = total number of syllables delivered in 90 seconds; TAT = total articulation time; TPT = total pause time; TSPT = total silent pause time; TFPT = total filled pause time; FP = number of filled pauses; SP = number of silent pauses; MDSP = mean duration of silent pauses; MLR = mean length of run; SR = speech rate; AR = articulation rate.

1, shows, not so much a spread of rates according to addressees' English language proficiency, but a clustering of rates on an individual and personal basis. Articulation rate of Prof E, for example, is consistent at 4.1 sps in deliveries to all groups, and speech rates of Profs A and C are nearly identical in their respective deliveries. Observed variation is not seen, therefore, (even at this early stage of the analysis) to be primarily due to the language proficiency of addressees, but to result from individual differences in speech production patterns. Quite simply, some people talk quickly and others slowly, regardless of whom they are talking to (as Goldman-Eisler observed as early as 1954:99).

Also, there is simply no pattern of identical opening rates to different groups - there is no evidence of an intuitively shared feel for a rate at which to pitch these deliveries (cf. Henzl's comment, but not data, 1979:165). Prof B, for example, addresses the NNS (LP) group at 2.4 sps, while Prof F addresses them at 4.2 sps.

Individual data also suggest that, as stated previously, simple sequence effects cannot account for the observed lack of rate change. In 4 out of the 6 cases the slowest rate occurred in the last delivery (if simple sequence effects were in operation not only would greater consistency be manifest, but the reverse trend might also be anticipated).

In addition to rate stability, no consistent change of mean length of run is observed, although all of the professors do, however, increase the number of silent pauses when addressing the NNS (HP) students (but, oddly, only 2 professors do this with the NNS [LP] group). Consistent modifications are, in fact, rare and only seen in the hesitation phenomena data.

The most noticeable modifications are, in fact, in the data on filled pauses, with all but one of the professors decreasing both the number of filled pauses and total filled pause time in deliveries to the NNS (LP) group.

Means and standard deviations on temporal variables in all the lectures delivered to the three different groups are shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations on Temporal Variables for 6 Professors in Deliveries of Lectures to NSs, High-Proficiency NNSs and Low-Proficiency NNSs (18 × 3 × 30 sec samples)

	Word	Syl	MAT	MPT	MSPT	MFPT	MFP	MSP	MDSP	MLR	SR	AR
						NS-NS						
m	69.6	102.7	23.5	6.5	5.7	0.8	1.7	9.8	0.6	11.6	3.4	4.3
sd	20.0	23.7	2.3	2.3	2.3	1.2	2.3	2.6	0.2	6.8	0.8	0.7
						NS-NNS (hp)						
m	75.6	104.8	23.2	6.8	6.4	0.4	0.9	11.8	0.5	8.7	3.5	4.5
sd	18.0	20.1	2.2	2.2	2.1	0.6	1.2	1.9	0.2	1.7	0.7	0.6
						NS-NNS (lp)						
m	72.4	98.4	23.9	6.1	6.0	0.1	0.2	10.3	0.6	9.6	3.3	4.1
sd	15.3	19.5	2.4	2.4	2.5	0.2	0.4	2.5	0.2	3.0	0.7	0.6

All variables were subjected to two-way analysis of variance with 'professor' and 'group' as the main effects, (using STATGRAPHICS, Version 2.0, Statistical Graphics Corporation 1986). There were no significant interactions between professor and group, and significant differencès only on variables relating to filled pauses. Thus, statistically, temporal variables, other than those classified as hesitation phenomena, did not significantly vary when professors delivered lectures to widely different levels of addressee.

Highly significant findings were, however, obtained on the filled pause data (number of filled pauses; F(2, 36) = 5.571, p = .00078: total filled pause time; F(2, 36) = 5.507, p = .0082). The box-and-whisker plot for the mean number of filled pauses illustrates the finding (Figure 1). The plot indicates the range, the median and the skewness of the data. The central box represents the interquartile range while the "whiskers" extend out to the extreme values. The notches, which represent 95% confidence intervals, allow pairwise comparisons to be performed: two boxes with notches which overlap indicate non-significant differences in median values. The reduction in filled pauses to both NNS groups is clearly shown but the fall to practically zero filled pauses in deliveries to the NNS (LP) group is particularly well illustrated.

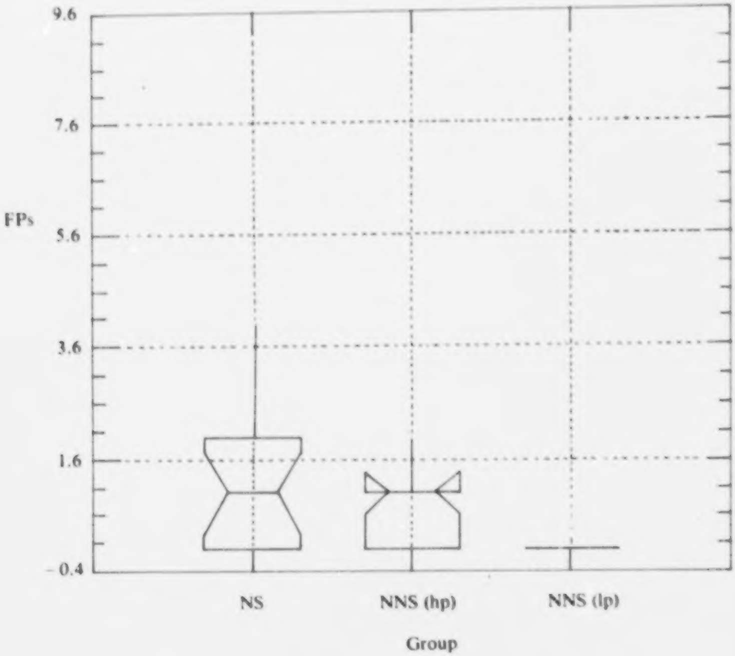


Fig. 1 Notched Box-and-Whisker Plot for FPS.

So few significant findings on other variables might be thought to require little reporting, however, the state of the art of L2 study of temporal variables is so preliminary that merely to record statistical significance levels and leave it at that could not be justified. Since there are no hypotheses to confirm, the present study can hardly be considered a confirmatory inquiry. It is an exploratory study, and as such, it is appropriate for the data to be sifted for factors which may have educational significance (Kiess & Bloomquist 1985, Tukey 1977). As speech rate and articulation rate mirror the other variables, and as they are accorded particular prominence in the literature, they, along with mean length of run were examined in further detail.

The ANOVA finding for articulation rate by group did, in fact, only narrowly miss significance E (2, 36) = 3.196, p = .0528). The observed difference did not, however, result from variation from the NS baseline to the NNS (LP) group but between the two NNS groups themselves. This is graphically demonstrated in the notched box-and-whisker plot (Figure 2).

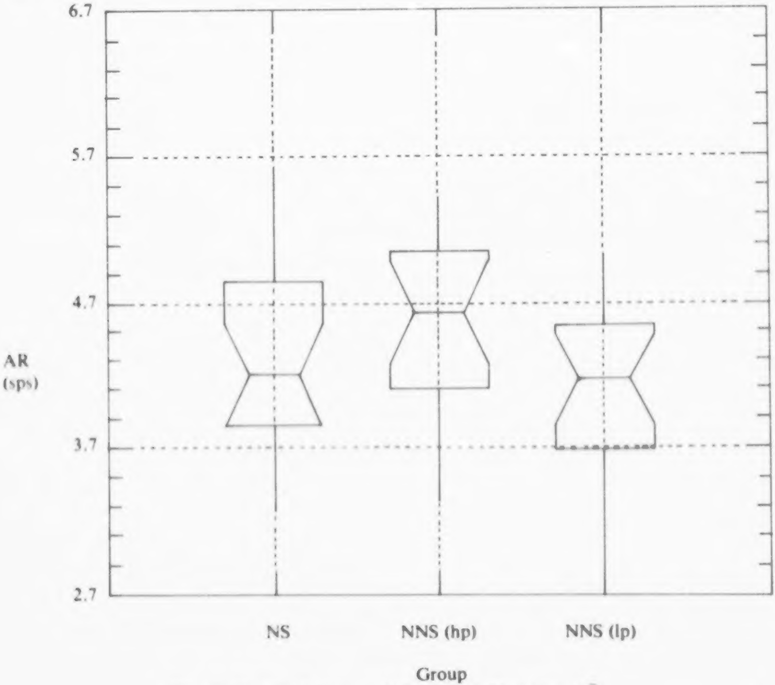


Fig. 2 Notched Box-and-Whisker Plot for AR.

All notches overlap, thereby indicating no significant differences. However, the general relationship of the three sets of data is clear; rates to NNS (HP) groups were not only higher than those to the other two groups but the lower values of the interquartile range approximate the median values for the other two groups.

Findings on speech rate by group were nowhere near significant: F (2, 36) = 1.212, p = .309. The notched box-and-whisker plot for these data (Figure 3) represents the relationship clearly.

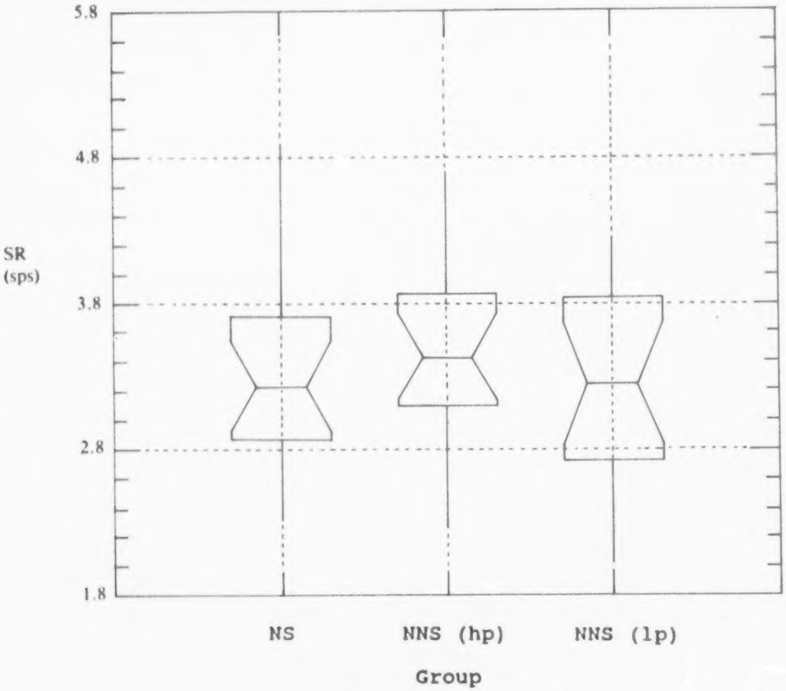


Fig. 3 Notched Box-and-Whisker Plot for SR.

As Lane, et al. (1973:18) identify minimum length of run as the "most potent" temporal variable in facilitating NNS comprehension, this was investigated more fully. Findings were, however, non-significant: F (2, 36) = 2.111, p = .1358. Also, as the notched box-and-whisker shows (Figure 4), with the exception of two outliers, findings for the NS group and the NNS (LP) group are very similar.

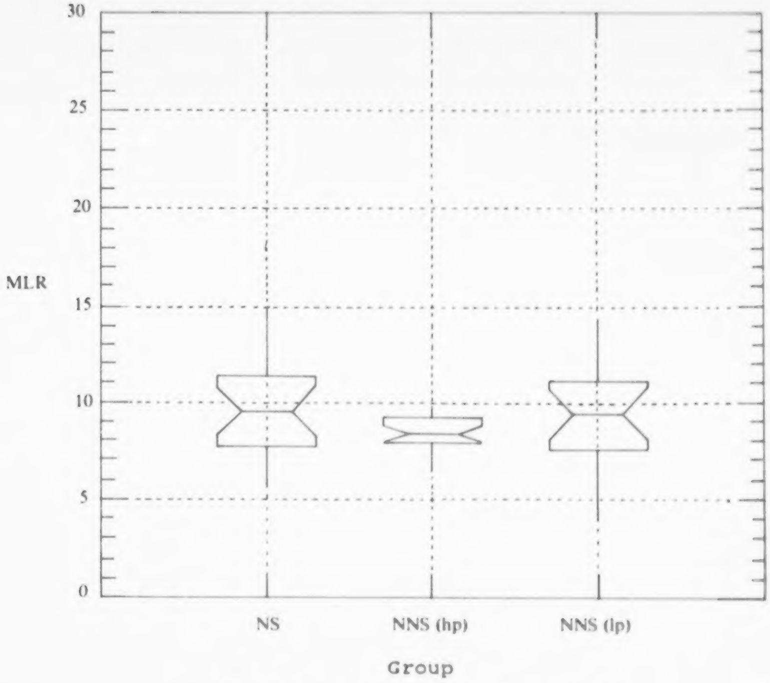


Fig. 4 Notched Box-and-Whisker Plot for MLR.

8. Discussion and Conclusions

While it must, of course, be borne in mind that this is a preliminary study with a small non-random n, it perhaps needs to be emphasized that one of the major findings - of no significant reduction in speech rate to either low- or high-proficiency NNSs - would not be expected from a reading of the L2/ESL literature. Foreigner talk and input studies, as well as general commentaries, all suggest that NSs speak more slowly to NNSs and that they speak increasingly more slowly to NNSs of lower proficiency levels. Admittedly, NSs are assumed to make these modifications more in some forms of interaction than others. However, lectures not only represent a major point of NS-NNS contact but they are also thought of as situations in which modifications derived from concern for the listeners needs are likely to occur (see Long's personal communication cited in Parker & Chaudron 1987:4). This brings us to a crucial finding. In almost all of the areas which NSs have been found to adjust their speech to NNSs, deliveries during the lectures conformed to expectations - all areas except for one, that of temporal variables.

How might we account for this finding? An explanation can perhaps be derived from the pausological literature. It centres upon the difficulty of bringing an automatic process under conscious control in the absence of continuous, accurate feedback and with interference resulting from the need to pay constant attention to the formulation of the content of an utterance.

Despite finding more than anticipated variability in articulation rate in this study the introduction of more and/or longer pauses is still seen to account for much SR adjustment. However, as Goldman-Eisler points out (1961b:236), inserting pauses to slow down rate cannot be sustained in "states of emotional excitement once speech action has got underway." She states that:

> Speech divided by pauses of less than 0.5 sec. would be speech not so much interrupted as speech slowed down, and we know that nothing requires central control as much as the slowing down of an activity in progress (p. 236).

Giving a lecture is not normally thought of as emotionally exciting. However, it may be intellectually engaging and this involvement may result in similar difficulty in terms of control of automatic processes. Deviations from habitual pause positioning patterns, requiring, as they also do, control over another automatic process, breathing, may not be compatible (for most people) with on-line production of speech. In short, control of pause frequency and duration might be incompatible with the delivery of the speaker's message: the planning and execution of speech may override "listener directed" pause control (Beattie 1979:116).

However, despite Goldman-Eisler's view of articulation rate as "a personality constant of remarkable invariance" (1961a:174), the finding of this investigation is that it is indeed responsive to addressee effects. The finding, although surprising, is certainly consistent with a recent statement by O'Connell (personal communication, 4.4.89) that "the importance of articulation rate becomes continually more evident in the research." It is an area which has received almost no attention in the context of L2 learning. Clearly this needs to be remedied.

The other major (and only significant) finding of the study is that showing consistent modification in the filled pause data. There have, to date, been no published L2 studies indicating modification of hesitation phenomena in NS-NNS interaction. However, insofar as control of these variables can be considered a meaningful reflection of (most probably) unconscious adaptation to addressees, the finding might be seen as important as well as significant.

We may need to ask, therefore, what the implications of these observations, particularly those relating to rate modification, might be for both content and language teaching to NNSs.

One implication might be that, ceteris paribus, those who are able to control rate should be selected for programmes in which the skill is most useful (i.e. with lower proficiency students) and their facility should be appropriately recognised. Another implication might be that training in rate perception and modification should be more rigorously incorporated into teacher-training programmes.

Rate-control, particularly if it is not employed by teachers, might also be systematically incorporated into listening comprehension materials. This idea was first mentioned by Friedman and Johnson (1971:161) who discussed its potential use in language teaching, and Higgins (1989) and Griffiths (1990) have recently suggested further applications in both teaching and testing.

Therefore, in concluding that the temporal organization of speech merits our serious attention, we are also emphasizing its relevance. It is, of course, one of many input features which need to be investigated but it is one which has, in terms of L2 research endeavour, been too much taken for granted without being granted the prominence which findings from this and related studies suggest it justifies.

References

Baars, B.J. (ed.). 1980. 'On the current understanding of temporal variables in speech' in H.W. Dechert and M. Raupach (eds.). *Temporal Variables in Speech: Studies in Honour of Frieda Goldman-Eisler.* The Hague: Mouton.

Beattie, G.W. 1979. 'The modifiability of the temporal structure of spontaneous speech' in A.W. Siegman and S. Feldstein (eds.). *Of Speech and Time.* Hillsdale. NJ: Lawrence Earlbaum Assocs.

Carroll, J.B. 1966. 'Problems of Measuring Speech Rate'. Paper presented at the Conference on Speech Compression, University of Louisville, October.

Chaudron, C. 1988. *Second Language Classrooms: Research on Teaching and Learning.* Cambridge: CUP.

Chodorow, M.S. 1979. 'Time-compressed speech and the study of lexical and syntactic processing' in W.E. Cooper and E.C.T. Walker (eds.). *Sentence processing*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assocs.

Conrad, L. 1989. 'The effects of time-compressed speech on native and EFL listening comprehension'. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* 11:1-16.

Dirven, R. 1981. 'Basic requirements for integrated listening comprehension materials' in *The Teaching of Listening Comprehension. ELT Document Special*. London: The British Council.

Duez, D. 1982. 'Silent and non-silent pauses in three speech styles'. *Language and Speech*. 25:11-28.

Ellis, R. 1985. *Understanding Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford: OUP.

Foulke, E., and T.G. Sticht. 1969. 'Review of research on the intelligibility and comprehension of accelerated speech'. *Psychological Bulletin*. 72:59-62.

Friedman, H.L. and R.L. Johnson. 1971. 'Some actual and potential uses of rate-controlled speech in second language learning' in P. Pimsleur and T. Quinn (eds.). *The Pyschology of Second Language Learning*. Cambridge: CUP.

Goldman-Eisler, F. 1954. 'On the variability of the speed of talking and on its relation to the length of utterances in conversation'. *British Journal of Psychology*, 45:94-107.

Goldman-Eisler, F. 1956. 'The determinants of the rate of speech output and their mutual relations'. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research,* 1:137-143.

Goldman-Eisler, F. 1961a. 'The significance of changes in the rate of articulation'. *Language and Speech,* 4:171-174.

Goldman-Eisler, F. 1961b. 'The distribution of pause duration in speech'. *Language and Speech,* 4:232-237.

Goldman-Eisler, F. 1968. *Psycholinguistics: Experiments in Spontaneous Speech*. London: Academic Press.

Griffiths, R.T. 1989. 'Language classroom speech rates: Life in the fast lane'. Paper presented at the 24th Annual TESOL Conference. March, San Francisco.

Griffiths, R.T. 1990a. 'Speech rate and NNS comprehension: a preliminary study in time-benefit analysis'. *Language Learning* 40:311-336.

Griffiths, R.T. 1990b. 'Rate-controlled speech: Applications in L2 listen*ing comprehension'. RELC Journal.* Vol. 21 No. 1. 55-45.

Grosjean, F. 1972. 'Le role joue par trois variables temporelles dans la comprehension orale de l'anglais etudie comme seconde langue et perception de la vitesse de lecteurs et des auditeurs'. Doctoral dissertation, University of Paris VII.

Grosjean, F. 1980. 'Temporal variables within and between langauges' in H.W. Dechert and M. Raupach (eds.). *Towards a Cross Linguistic Assessment of Speech Production*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

Hakansson, G. 1986. 'Quantitative aspects of teacher talk' in G. Kasper (ed.). *Learning, Teaching and Communicating in the Foreign Language Classroom*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.

Hatch, E.M. 1983. *Psycholinguistics: A Second Language Perspective*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Henzl V.M. 1973. 'Linguistic register of foreign language instruction'. *Language Learning*, 23:207-222.

Henzl, V.M. 1979. 'Foreign talk in the classroom'. *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, 17:159-167.

Higgins, J.M.D. 1989. 'Speed listening: Classroom and self-access applications. Workshop delivered at the RELC Seminar, April, Singapore.

Kelch, K. 1985. 'Modified input as an aid to comprehension'. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 7:81-90.

Klein, W. 1986. *Second Language Acquisition*. Cambridge: CUP.

Kiess, H.O., and D.W. Bloomquist. 1985. *Psychological Research Methods: A Conceptual Approach*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Kowal, S.H., and D.C. O'Connell. 1980. 'Pausological research at St. Louis University' in H.W. Dechert and M. Raupach (eds.). *Temporal Variables in Speech: Studies in Honour of Frieda Goldman-Eisler*. The Hague: Mouton.

Kowal, S.H., R. Wiese, and D.C. O'Connell, 1983. 'The use of time in storytelling'. *Language and Speech*, 26:377-392.

Lane, H., F. Grosjean, J. Le Berre, and E. Lewin. 1973. 'Exploring some properties of foreign-language utterances that control their comprehension'. *Linguistics*, 112:15-22.

O'Connell, D.C. 1988. *Critical Essays in Language Use and Psychology* New York: Springer-Verlag.

Overmann, R.A. 1971. 'Processing time as a variable in the comprehension of compressed speech' in E. Foulke (ed.). *Proceedings of the Second Louisville Conference on Rate and/or Frequency-Controlled Speech*. Louisville: University of Louisville.

Parker, K. and C. Chaudron. 1987. 'The effects of linguistic simplification and elaborative modifications on L2 comprehension'. Paper presented at the 21st TESOL Convention, March, Miami.

Sabin, E.J., E.J. Clemmer, D.C. O'Connell, and S. Kowal. 1979. 'A pausological approach to speech development' in A.W. Siegman and S. Feldstein (eds.). *Of Speech and Time.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assocs.

Siegman, A.W. 1979. 'The voice of attraction: vocal correlates of interpersonal attraction in the interview' in A.W. Siegman and S. Feldstein (eds.). *Of speech and time.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Assocs.

Tauroza, S. and D. Allison. 1990. 'Speech rates in British English'. *Applied Lingusitics,* 10:90–105.

Tukey, J.W. 1977. *Exploratory Data Analysis.* Reading. MA: Addison-Wesley.

Wesche, M.B. and D. Ready. 1985. 'Foreigner talk in the university classroom' in S. Gass and C. Madden, (eds.). *Input in Second Language Acquisition.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Understanding TOEFL's Test of Written English*

Barbara Kroll
California State University
USA

Abstract

In 1986, Educational Testing Service (ETS) added the Test of Written English (TWE), which requires the production of a 30-minute writing sample, to some administrations of the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). The test was developed on the basis of two major research projects which investigated the role of writing in the academic community and the type of writing tests that faculty felt their students should be able to produce (Bridgeman and Carlson, 1983; Carlson et al., 1985). ETS appointed a committee of outside consultants, the TWE Core Reader Group, to develop topics for the exam and to determine whether or not a given writing topic should be approved for the exam. This article details the topic development process for the TWE, the work of the Core Reader group, and the procedures for reading and scoring the TWE.

Introduction

The Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), administered by the Educational Testing Service (ETS), is used by thousands of colleges and universities as a measure of the English language proficiency of nonnative speakers wishing to study at institutions in the United States and Canada. Until 1986, the TOEFL consisted entirely of a multiple-choice test and, as such, could not provide a direct measure of writing skills, an area perceived by many in the academic community to be of critical importance to academic success. In response to the need for a direct test of writing, that is, a test requiring the production of written text, ETS funded a major research project (Bridgeman and Carlson 1983) that led to the development of the Test of Written English (TWE), a 30-minute writing test which was added to some administrations of the TOEFL starting in July 1986.[1]

---

*Author's Note: I wish to thank Joy Reid (University of Wyoming) and Robert Kantor (Ohio State University) – who both served with me on the TWE Core Reader Group – for their extensive and insightful comments on an earlier version of this paper. The current version owes much to their helpful feedback, while I take full responsibility for any infelicities. I also wish to thank Carol Taylor of Educational Testing Service for her careful review of the details of this paper.

Background

Development of the TWE began with a survey of 190 faculty members in academic departments at 34 different universities in the United States and Canada which have high enrollments of EFL/ESL students (Bridgeman and Carlson 1983). Faculty were asked to identify the types of writing tasks students were being required to perform and to note the appropriateness of using various writing prompts[2] to elicit writing samples in a testing situation. A follow-up study using topic types identified by Bridgeman and Carlson (1983) examined four writing samples produced by each of 638 graduate and undergraduate applicants for admission to U.S. institutions (Carlson, Bridgeman, Camp and Waanders 1985). These two research projects indicated the importance faculty placed on writing, the inability of the multiple choice TOEFL to measure writing proficiency, and the types of writing tasks viewed as most appropriate to elicit on a test.[3]

Most of the topics which have been used in the exam have asked the candidate to produce an essay based on one of the two following topic types: (1) compare (and/contrast) two ideas or points of view and take a position in favour of one of them; or (2) describe and interpret a chart or graph. These two original topic types were selected for operational use on the basis of the research reported on in Bridgeman and Carlson (1983) and Carlson et al. (1985). The results of the study reported by Carlson et al. (1985) indicate that the scores assigned to essays of both types do not differ significantly for individual candidates, and thus the topic types are felt to be equivalent for testing purposes in that candidates are likely to receive a similar score regardless of which task they are presented with. However, Greenberg (1986), who would prefer a two-item test, does question the *validity* of this claim while acknowledging the soundness of the test:

> Although I have doubts about the validity of using [compare/contrast] and [chart/graph] as alternate forms of the new TOEFL writing test, I believe that the prototype test is far sounder than many of the hundreds of other national and university-wide writing-sample tests I have reviewed as Director of the National Testing Network in Writing.
>
> (Greenberg 1986:542)

In fact, the TOEFL research does not claim that these two original topic types necessarily elicit linguistically similar text or call upon the candidate to use the same cognitive processes, only that the performance score is likely to remain constant. Furthermore, other topic types have been introduced as well. For example, one of the prompts whose wording has been released by Educational Testing Service (1989) asks the candidate to discuss an important invention. This is neither a comparison/contrast nor chart/graph topic type, and research is continuing in such areas as topic or prompt equatability and scoring range intervals (Educational Testing Service 1989:20).

What all of the topics for this exam have in common is that they call for academic, expository writing that is non-content based. That is, they neither require nor presuppose any specific content knowledge on the part of the test taker. Hamp-Lyons (1989:6) calls the topics for the TWE "invention-based" in contrast to the term "fact-based" writing. She notes that the former requires writers to create or invent their material by searching their minds and imaginations for ideas, responses and opinions, while the latter type of writing evolves as a response to such external stimuli as reading, lectures, experiments, discussions, and so on (Hamp-Lyons 1989:6). This latter type of writing is not solicited on the TWE.

The TWE consists of a single writing prompt, i.e., there is no choice of topic. Some large scale writing assessment programs developed for native (and nonnative) speakers follow a similar pattern, such as the University of California Subject A exam; other programs, such as the College-Level Academic Skills Test (CLAST) for the State of Florida, solicit one writing sample but offer the candidates a choice of two topics (Hoetker and Brossell 1989). In research at the University of Michigan, Spaan (1989) found that only 10% of the ESL subjects to whom she administered alternate versions of the composition portion of the Michigan English Language Assessment Battery (MELAB) received different scores on a one-item test versus a test where candidates chose one of two topics. In reviewing the issue of choice, Ruth and Murphy (1988:59) find that, when given a choice of topics, native-speaker students often respond differently to different topics but do not always choose "wisely", that is, they may not select the prompt for what they can write a more proficient essay. Ruth and Murphy further point out that greater reliability in holistic scores is achieved by writing elicited on a one-item test. Given the very large-scale scope and international nature of TOEFL and the current impossibility of statistically demonstrating topic or prompt equatability, a no choice situation offers the fairest situation to the TWE candidates in terms of the reliability of scores.[4]

Developing Topics for TWE

A committee of writing specialists from colleges and universities in the U.S. and Canada, known as the TWE Core Reader Group, has been established by ETS as a consulting body to the TOEFL program. The primary responsibility of the TWE Core Reader Group is to develop the prompts to be used for the test. In other words, the prompts for this exam are not prepared by ETS staff members but are written by diverse faculty active in the field of ESL and English writing. Further, to "ensure the continued introduction of new ideas and perspectives related to the assessment of English writing" (Educational Testing Service 1989:3), members are rotated off the committee after several years of service. The Core Reader Group has been meeting four to five times per year since 1985 and has already considered over 800 potential prompts for the TWE. As of May 1991, several dozen prompts had been used in actual TWE administrations; no prompt has been used on more than one occasion. Additional prompts have been approved for future use in TWE administrations, while many others are in various stages of pre-testing. But the vast majority of prompts considered have been rejected for a variety of reasons common to many testing programs (see White 1988) and for some reasons unique to this testing program.

Prior to each topic development meeting, the Core Readers submit several dozen prompts which are duplicated and distributed for discussion at the beginning of each meeting. However much experience individuals have had at writing prompts, it is always a sobering experience to see that an initial review of the new prompts invariably results in several of them being eliminated immediately from further consideration. Using more colorful language to describe one school's English composition topic development committee, White (1988:231) cites the following sentence from a campus report: "After three hours of ego-bashing, we demolished five topics, laughed out of existence three others, salvaged a few, and agreed on fewer." Over a three-day period, the TWE Core Reader meeting features a similar scenario on a larger scale.

The prompts that remain after the initial review are re-worked, refined and, in many cases, rejected for reasons as diverse as inaccessibility (for example, some content area knowledge might be required), actual or potential sensitivity of subject matter (for example, death and divorce are considered inappropriate subjects for this exam), or inability to produce wording that will preclude misunderstanding (for example, one test taker interpreted the request to use "concrete examples" as calling for examples about cement). Despite the large outlay of effort, energy and person-hours, by the end of a topic development meeting usually less than half of the prompts originally submitted are approved for pretesting, testimony to the difficulty of creating appropriate items for this test and testimony to the difficulty of the topic development process in general.[5] It must be remembered, for example, that despite the assurances given test candidates that their writing samples remain confidential and are not delivered to anyone other than readers in the U.S., some test takers might feel reluctant or unable to write about certain topics — such as discussing advisable family planning policies - for fear that someone from their government might see their paper. While in reality, the likelihood of a government official seeing a paper is extremely remote, the TWE Core Readers retain a sensitivity about such matters. Thus, a topic that one Core Reader might see as perfect for the TWE will be vetoed by another Core Reader who recognizes potential pitfalls inherent in the wording of a particular prompt. For each item approved for pre-testing for the TWE, a record is also made of Core Reader predictions about potential problems with either the prompt itself or with the writing it is likely to engender. Core Readers have found review of these predictions a helpful factor when reading the pretest essays several months subsequent to the development of the prompt.

Before pre-testing begins, ETS test reviewers and sensitivity reviewers examine the items approved by the Core Readers and review them for sensitivity concerns and possible cultural bias which might eliminate them from potential use based on ETS guidelines for fairness (Educational Testing Service 1987). Sometimes ETS reviewers recognize that a prompt is sensitive in ways that would not be so construed in administering the same item to test takers in a different situation, for example, and eliminate that prompt for this exam. Following the sensitivity review and some possible editorial (wording) changes, the prompts are prepared for pre-testing. Some 200–300 essays on each prompt under consideration are collected through pre-testing at English language institutes and in ESL programs at colleges and universities in the U.S. and Canada, and sometimes overseas as well.

In addition to the responsibility for developing topics, the Core Readers read the pre-tested essays in order to determine whether or not a prompt may be used on the TWE. This process also involves several steps. First, the Core Readers independently read and score a random sample of the pre-test essays. Then they compare scores, a process that helps to determine if the readers can agree on the scores and if the writers are producing essays which can be readily scored according to a written six-point criterion-referenced scale (shown in the Appendix). The Core Readers look for a range of scores and a variety of responses, checking to see that the prompt has been understood, and that candidates are able to address the task and reach closure in the 30 minutes allowed. They also make sure the prompt is accessible to lower proficiency students while still offering the possibility for higher-proficiency students to write a response reflective of their skills. Another important factor they check for is both writer engagement and reader engagement: Do the candidates appear interested enough in the topic and find enough to say about it so as to produce writing that appears representative of their skill? Will readers be able to sustain interest in reading essays on this topic for up to three full days? Finally, when a tentative consensus has been reached to approve the topic, revise it, or eliminate it from consideration, a large number of additional pretests are read by the Core Readers to finalize their decision based on the input from reading a couple of hundred papers. For those items which are approved for use, a further step again involves recording Core Reader predictions. Such predictions about how the item will perform and any potential pitfalls can prove useful to those in charge of the reading of the exam papers.

As a result of this close scrutiny, many of the prompts which are pre-tested for TWE do not become operational items, that is, they are not approved for use on the exam. Other pre-tested prompts are reworked following examination of essays produced by the pre-test population; sometimes approaches taken by pre-test writers suggest ways a topic might be improved. If a significant number of writers pre-tested are unable to reach closure, for example, a prompt may be scaled down in the number of tasks required; instead of asking students to discuss advantages and disadvantages, students may be asked to discuss only one or the other. Such re-worked and re-worded items are pre-tested again before they can be approved in their final form. Evaluation of pre-test samples of items that are pre-tested in a new format are subjected to the same review and approval procedures. In fact, some items have been pre-tested in as many as three different cycles, only to be finally rejected as unworkable.

In sum, the whole topic development process is designed to assure that the prompts used on the test will appropriately carry out the purposes of the testing instrument - to provide a measurement of the writing proficiency skills of a large number of examinees. Because of the diversity of the TOEFL population, designing usable prompts is more difficult than for tests which are administered to a more homogeneous population.[6] Grammatical, lexical, cultural and social considerations place enormous constraints on the wording and subject matter of prompts and serve to eliminate many potentially interesting and engaging topics because they prove inaccessible or inappropriate for this diverse population. However, the process does insure that no item is used operationally which has not been subjected to these rigorous standards. The result has been the creation of prompts suitable for the TOEFL population and which can be scored accurately and reliably.

Administering and Scoring the TWE

Currently, the TWE is administered four times a year immediately prior to the multiple choice sections of the TOEFL, as part of the September, October, March and May administrations of the exam. Volume for the TWE can range from approximately 50,000 to 115,000 candidates, making for a very large volume of essays. Candidates are given 30 minutes to plan, write and revise a complete response to the assigned prompt.[7] Space is provided for candidates to make notes or plan ideas, and both sides of a single sheet of lined paper are provided for submitting the final product. Although each examinee is given only one prompt, different prompts may be given at one administration of the TWE. This would result in the need to score papers on separate prompts. All of the completed writing tests are delivered to the Bay Area office of ETS, in Emeryville, California, which is administratively responsible for organizing the readings to score the TWE writing samples.

Approximately two weeks after the TWE has been administered, the essays are scored holistically according to a six-point scale. This scale, the TWE Scoring Guide (see the Appendix), was developed by ETS consultants and approved by the Core Readers; it was validated on a subset of essays from the Carlson et al. (1985) study. For two and one half or three days, a large number of readers work at one central location reading the essays and assigning scores. The procedures used to score the tests are similar to procedures used by ETS in scoring other large scale essay tests, and they are similar to procedures used by writing programs for native and nonnative speakers at many individual institutions.[8]

The TWE is a criterion-referenced test, not a norm-referenced test: papers are read for their adherence to the criteria set forth in the scoring guide and *not* in relation to each other. In theory, with a criterion-referenced test, all of the papers could receive a score of "6" (or a "4" or a "1") if all of them exhibited the features listed as the stated criteria for a "6" (or a "4" or a "1") paper. Of course, in practice, given the TOEFL population, essays are found in all six of the score ranges.

All of the readers for the TWE are teachers of ESL or native speaker composition at the secondary school, community college, or college level throughout the U.S. and Canada, all of whom must be certified to read for the TWE by undergoing a "mock" mini-reading that serves as a training session to qualify them. The readers are presided over by a reading management team which consists of a chief reader, assistant chief readers, and a number of "table" leaders. The reading management team gathers prior to a reading to select samples that will be used for training the readers of each of the topics. They spend many hours selecting papers that are good examples of the various scores and that they find appropriate for reader training.

Readers assemble on the appointed day; each is assigned to read one topic and each topic is read in a different room. Because the TWE essays are holistically scored, the readers must be trained and standardized to the scoring guide (Appendix) on the basis of sample papers culled from those written on the topic being read. Readers are reminded of the principles of holistic scoring, and they review the six-point scale used to score the TWE. They are further reminded that there is no "passing" or "failing" score for this exam. Readers are then given a set of six rangefinder papers (also called "anchors" or "benchmarks") exemplifying each of the six scores on the scale.[9] These initial rangefinders help to fix in the readers' minds the criteria established for each score before they are asked to score several additional sets of sample papers.

Each assistant chief reader acts as a room leader, conducting a discussion of each sample essay, explaining why it deserves a particular score and how papers like it should be treated. Table leaders also contribute to the discussion by assisting with the training of 6-8 readers at their tables. The training continues for approximately 1-2 hours with various sets of sample papers being distributed and the readers attempting to assign scores until the room and table leaders are satisfied that the readers are able to score the papers accurately and reliably.

Finally, "live" papers are distributed and scoring the essays begins. To further assure that readers continue to adhere to the scoring guide, more sample essays (selected by the reading management team prior to the beginning of the reading) are distributed periodically throughout the reading; all readers score and discuss these additional sample sets. Papers proving problematic to any reader at any time are brought to the attention of the table leader, who works with the reader to resolve the problem. For quality control, table leaders also frequently check readers' papers to monitor the reliability of their scores.

Each essay is assigned a score of 1 to 6 with no half scores allowed, and each essay is read twice. The first reader's score is concealed and the second reader scores the paper independently. The scores of the two readers must agree or be within one point of each other; that is, an essay can receive a 4 and a 5, but an essay that receives a 4 and a 6 is considered discrepant. In those cases, one of the table leaders or the room leader will read the essay again and resolve the discrepancy. The discrepancy rate has been quite low, ranging from .02 to .05 as reported through the end of the 1988-89 testing cycle (Educational Testing Service 1989:7). The extent to which the readers agree on the ratings assigned is measured by interrater reliability, which has been high. For the period from November 1987 through May 1989, correlations between first and second readers range from .75 to .79, and the coefficient alpha values range from .86 to .88 for the same period (Educational Testing Service 1989:9).[10]

After two scores have been assigned (and discrepancies resolved), the two final TWE scores are averaged; that is, if one reader assigned the score 3 to an essay and a second reader assigned the score 4, the averaged score is 3.5. Scores assigned to candidates may therefore be 1, 1.5, 2, 2.5 and so on. The score is reported to the candidate (and to any schools that the candidate has designated to receive score reports). At the present time, the score on the TWE does not contribute to the TOEFL score nor affect it in any way; it is reported as a separate score.

Conclusion

While the TWE has been administered since July 1986, it is still a relatively new test and many questions remain about its suitability in its current form as a measurement of writing skills (see, for example, Raimes 1990). However, we should not ignore its powerful impact on the field:

> The inclusion of a writing sample on the TOEFL [signals] to ESOL teachers across the world that people learn to write by writing, not by doing exercises in workbooks or on computer screens.
>
> (Greenberg 1986:543)

Moreover, in reviewing the shift from indirect to direct measurement of writing, Hamp-Lyons (1990:70) refers to the TWE as the "final nail in the coffin of indirect measurement" of ESL writing; no one in the field today considers a multiple choice test an appropriate tool for measuring writing ability.

The issues that concern the TOEFL program in administering the TWE also concern administrators and test developers of other large scale assessment programs for both native and nonnative speakers. For example, the City University of New York (CUNY) administers a writing test to upwards of 50,000 English only, English-dominant and ESL students per year. To refine faculty consensus about minimum writing competence and basic academic literacy and to assure that the writing prompts used for the exam were felt to elicit writing appropriate to system goals, 900 CUNY faculty were asked to review a series of prompt types and assess the suitability for the exam (Greenberg 1990). Results of that study serve as helpful guideposts for topic developers for that exam, and suggest an important area for other programs, including TOEFL, to explore.

Another area of research that the TOEFL program has not yet addressed in its ESL writing research focuses on how different interpretations of topics and prompts on the part of the test taker and the part of the test developer might lead to diferential scores (Tedick and Bernhardt 1990). Still other areas related to the measurement and assessment of writing are explored in Hamp-Lyons (in press).

As professionals in the field of ESL writing, members of the TWE Core Reader Group continue to work on refining the test on the basis of informed insights gleaned through relevant reported research; they also play a role in suggesting potential research projects to be funded by the TOEFL program. In fact, the TOEFL program is committed to a long-range research agenda which will use the test as the basis for exploring a number of issues related to writing performance and writing assessment. One major study currently underway examines how the interaction of the factors of topic, topic type and prompt type contributes to score results (Educational Testing Service 1989:20). Just as the TOEFL has changed significantly since its inception in 1963, we can anticipate that the TWE will also continue to change as we learn more about the design and scoring of large scale essay exams.

Notes

[1] For a more detailed review of how the test came into being from the perspective of ETS, see Stansfield (1986) and Educational Testing Service (1989).

[2] The word "prompt" is used here and elsewhere in this paper to refer to the actual wording of a particular essay question; the word "topic" is used to refer in general to the content area of the question. Thus, many different prompts can be written on any one topic. Additionally, "topic type" is used to refer to the rhetorical construct of the writing that a particular prompt calls for, such as comparison/contrast.

[3] For a critical review and analysis of the two research reports and the TWE, see Greenberg (1986).

[4] For an alternative view, see Carlman (1986), who studied the writing of native English speakers in Canada each writing on four different topics; she concludes that a one-item test with or without a choice of topic is likely to be unfair to individual students.

[5] For a more thorough discussion of the whole topic development process for native speaker programs and multiple examples of both workable and flawed prompts, areas which are outside the scope of this article, see Ruth and Murphy (1988).

[6] A number of chapters in the collection edited by Purves (1988) discuss some of the interactions between cultural expectations and the assessment of writing across cultures - factors that contribute to the difficulty of writing test questions for such a diverse population.

[7] The TOEFL program is currently conducting a study to determine the degree to which extending the amount of time allowed on the TWE might affect test scores (Educational Testing Service 1989:20).

[8] For a detailed analysis of holistic scoring in general, see White (1985).

[9] ETS has prepared for public distribution a free booklet on the TWE which includes, among other information and statistics about the test, actual samples of essays produced on the test in order to illustrate the range of performance indicative of the six score levels for the TWE (Educational Testing Service 1989).

[10] While reliability of holistic scoring is an important issue in writing assessment, it is not the only factor to be considered. Huot (1990) presents a cogent argument for addressing validity as well, that is, a measure of the value of the judgement given by a rater in terms of how accurately it reflects a "true" score.

References

Bridgeman, B. and Carlson, S. 1983. *Survey of academic writing tasks required of graduate and undergraduate foreign students* (Research Report No. 15). Princeton, N.J.:Educational Testing Service.

Carlman, N. 1986. Topic differences on writing tests: How much do they matter? *English Quarterly*, 19, 1:39-49.

Carlson, S., Bridgeman, B., Camp, R., and Waanders, J. 1985. *Relationship of admission test scores to writing performance of native and nonnative speakers of English* (Research Report No. 19). Princeton, N.J.:Educational Testing Service.

Educational Testing Service. 1987. *ETS standards for quality and fairness*. Princeton, N.J.

Educational Testing Service. 1989. *TOEFL test of written English guide*. Princeton, N.J.

Greenberg, K.L. 1986. The development and validation of the TOEFL writing test: A discussion of TOEFL research reports 15 and 19. *TESOL Quarterly* 20, 4:531-544.

Greenberg, K.L. 1990. *Assessing assessment: Revising the CUNY writing skills test*. Paper presented at the 41st Annual Conference on College Composition and Communication, Chicago, III. (March).

Hamp-Lyons, L. 1989. *The Newbury House TOEFL preparation kit:*

Preparing for the Test of Written English. New York, N.Y.: Newbury House.

Hamp-Lyons, L. 1990. Second language writing: Assessment issues. In B. Kroll (ed.) *Second language writing: Research insights for the classroom,* New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, pp. 69-87.

Hamp-Lyons, L., ed. In press. *Assessing second language writing in academic contexts.* Norwood, N.J.:Ablex.

Hoetker, J. and Brossell, G. 1989. The effects of systematic variations in essay topics on the writing performance of college freshmen. *College Composition and Communication* 40, 4:414–421.

Huot, B. 1990. Reliability, validity, and holistic scoring: What we know and what we need to know. *College Composition and Communication* 41, 2:201-213.

Purves, A., ed. 1988. Writing across languages and cultures: Issues in contrastive rhetoric. Newbury Park, Cal.:Sage.

Raimes, A. 1990. *The case against TOEFL and TWE.* Paper presented at the 24th Annual TESOL Convention, San Francisco, Cal. (March).

Ruth, L. and Murphy, S. 1988. *Designing writing tasks for the assessment of writing.* Norwood, N.J.:Ablex.

Spaan, M. 1989. *Essay tests? What's in a prompt.* Paper presented at the 23rd Annual TESOL Convention, San Antonio, Tex. (March).

Stansfield, C. 1986. A history of the test of written English: The developmental year. *Language Testing,* 3, 2:224–234.

Tedick, D.J. and Bernhardt, E.B. 1990. *Examining interpretations of essay examination topics: Focus on test makers, takers, and raters.* Paper presented at the 41st Annual Conference on College Composition and Communication, Chicago, Ill. (March).

White, E.M. 1985. *Teaching and assessing writing:* San Francisco, Cal: Jossey-Bass.

White, J.O. 1988. Who writes these questions, anyway? *College Composition* and Communication 39, 2:230–235.

APPENDIX

TEST OF WRITTEN ENGLISH (TWE) SCORING GUIDE

REVISED 2/90

Readers will assign scores based on the following scoring guide. Though examinees are asked to write on a specific topic, parts of the topic may be treated by implication. Readers should focus on what the examinee does well.

Scores

6 Demonstrates clear competence in writing on both the rhetorical and syntactic levels, though it may have occasional errors.
A paper in this category
— effectively addresses the writing task
— is well organized and developed
— uses clearly appropriate details to support a thesis or illustrate ideas
— displays consistent facility in the use of language
— demonstrates syntactic variety and appropriate word choice

5 Demonstrates competence in writing on both the rhetorical and syntactic levels, though it will probably have occasional errors.
A paper in this category
— may address some parts of the task more effectively than others
— is generally well organized and developed
— uses details to support a thesis or illustrate an idea
— displays facility in the use of language
— demonstrates some syntactic variety and range of vocabulary

4 Demonstrates minimal competence in writing on both the rhetorical and syntactic levels.
A paper in this category
— addresses the writing topic adequately but may slight parts of the task
— is adequately organized and developed
— uses some details to support a thesis or illustrate an idea
— demonstrates adequate but possibly inconsistent facility with syntax and usage
— may contain some errors that occasionally obscure meaning

3 Demonstrates some developing competence in writing, but it remains flawed on either the rhetorical or syntactic level, or both.
A paper in this category may reveal one or more of the following weaknesses:
— inadequate organization or development
— inappropriate or insufficient details to support or illustrate generalizations
— a noticeably inappropriate choice of words or word forms
— an accumulation of errors in sentence structure and/or usage

2 Suggests incompetence in writing.
A paper in this category is seriously flawed by one or more of the following weaknesses:
— serious disorganization or underdevelopment
— little or no detail, or irrelevant specifics
— serious and frequent errors in sentence structure or usage
— serious problems with focus

1 Demonstrates incompetence in writing.
A paper in this category

- — may be incoherent
- — may be undeveloped
- — may contain severe and persistent writing errors

Papers that reject the assignment or fail to address the question must be given to the Table Leader.
Papers that exhibit absolutely no response at all must also be given to the Table Leader.

Copyright © 1990, by Educational Testing Service. All rights reserved.

(The TWE Scoring Guide is used by permission of Educational Testing Service)

Attitudes and Motivation Towards English: A Survey of Japanese Freshmen

Malcolm J. Benson
Hiroshima Shudo University
Japan

Abstract

Over 300 freshmen in a Japanese university were surveyed to assess their attitudes towards English. In addition to a background profile addressing the student's amount of informal exposure to English, the survey asked for a self-assessment of English skills, the motivation for studying English, and the functions for which English was felt to be most useful.

The results showed students who have had little exposure to English, and whose self-rating of their own skills showed extremely low morale. Surprisingly, integrative and personal reasons for learning English were preferred over instrumental ones. English was seen as being useful for a selection of modern functions, but not useful for domestic and local ones. Such findings pose problems concerning the role of English language teaching at university level in Japan. It remains unclear what precise combination of regulatory control, curriculum, methods, faculty, and texts would best achieve higher levels of motivation and achievement.

This paper reports an investigation into Japanese students' attitudes towards, and motivation to learn, English. Attitudes and motivation are topics of some interest, since English teachers in Japan are frequently taken aback by the low levels of university achievement, despite the comparative difficulty of the university entrance exams. Teachers are often unsure what strategies to adopt to compensate for the mismatch between their students' memorized chunks of formalized and abstruse English on the one hand, and their abysmal grasp of how the language is actually used on the other. Student motivation to learn also appears to be mixed, often combining a generalized enthusiasm with an uncharacteristic lack of rigor and application. The situation is so anomalous, in fact, that a variety of explanations have been proposed. These range from general social-psychological theories (e.g. Hildebrandt and Giles, 1980), to educational accounts which blame specific learning strategies acquired in junior and senior high schools (e.g., Hino, 1988; Pearson, 1988).

For example, in a comparative study of American and Japanese students' attitudes towards a variety of global and educational problems, Cogan et al (1988) included questions probing attitudes towards foreign language study. They found substantial differences between the students of the two countries. "The results show that most of the Japanese tested do not believe that foreign language study is especially important for them personally" (295). The authors go on to suggest that the Japanese regard foreign language study as an academic pursuit, rather than one to be valued for utilitarian purposes or even personal enrichment.

Whether true or not, such comments, together with the experiences of English teachers in Japan (see Wordell, 1985), have led researchers to explore the motivation and attitudes that lie behind the country's institutionalized preoccupation with English.

Attitudes are here taken in the meaning advocated by Sarnoff (1970: 279): "a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects". However, reactions are rarely made out of context: for adults, learning a foreign language is frequently a choice; for schoolchildren it is usually not, although they may be offered several options. In Japan, schoolchildren are virtually given a Hobson's choice: English. The attitudes they develop, therefore, are not just towards the English language itself, but reflect all the subjective and impressionistic feelings associated with learning a new subject. These negative, positive, or mixed attitudes, engendered by high-school experiences of English, remain intact into the early years of university study, since very little has occurred to change them.

Attitudes and motivation are not causally related, but many teachers feel that there is a connection between the two. Gardner (1985:10) has recently attempted to make this connection clear: "Motivation...refers to the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favourable attitudes towards learning the language". He therefore brackets "effort", "desire to achieve", and "favourable attitudes" together in a loose configuration, adding that effort alone is not enough. In the Japanese situation, considerable effort is often expended, but whether or not the other elements are present is questionable.

Background

The work of Gardner and Lambert (1972) offered an impetus to the study of language attitudes and motivation that had previously been lacking. Regarding motivation, they proposed that it might be termed either "instrumental" ("if the purposes of language study reflect the more utilitarian value of linguistic achievement", p. 3) or "integrative" ("if the student wishes to learn more about the other cultural community because he is interested in it in an open-minded way, to the point of eventually being accepted as a member of that other group", p. 3). This terminology has been adopted by a number of researchers (Cooper and Fishman, 1977; Chihara and Oller, 1978; Shaw, 1983), though with varying interpretations of the terms "instrumental" and "integrative". Indeed, the words may be unsatisfactory as descriptors, a point which will be taken up later.

"Instrumental" motivation for learning English implies a practical orientation towards it. For example, Cooper and Fishman's (1977) study of high-school students in Jerusalem showed that the top three reasons offered were (a) to read textbooks assigned in universities or other institutions of higher learning, (b) to get along when abroad, and (c) to become broadly educated. Shaw (1983) found similar instrumental reasons in his analysis of final-year B.A. students in Singapore, Hyderabad, and Bangkok.

"Integrative" reasons for learning English imply the eventual integration of the learner into the society of the target language. Cooper and Fishman (1977) found that the three *least popular* reasons for studying English were all "integrative": (a) to learn foreign points of view on Israel, (b) to know tourists better, and (c) to know English-speaking immigrants better. Shaw (1983) had similar results, leading him to suggest that the students are not learning English "so that they can change themselves and become like native speakers" (24). He goes on to question the validity of the instrumental - integrative dichotomy in the light of his findings. The terms were originally used in the Canadian context, where they were readily applicable to the social milieu. But in the EFL situation, the term "integrative" has scarcely any application in its original sense. A more appropriate rendering of "integrative" in the EFL context would be that it represents, on the part of the learner, a desire to become bilingual and bicultural, through the addition of another language and culture to their own.

In addition to the two types of motivation already mentioned - instrumental and integrative - a third has been added for the analysis of the EFL situation in Japan. A good number of students have been observed to be interested in English for reasons which could not realistically be termed either instrumental or integrative. These include, for example, pleasure at being able to read English, and enjoyment of entertainment in English. These reasons may be termed "personal", since they appear to relate to individual development and satisfaction. In this study, therefore, the three terms "instrumental", "integrative", and "personal" will be used.

In Chihara and Oller's (1978) study of adult EFL learners in Osaka, the students were asked to give their reasons for studying English. Personal and integrative reasons were most highly valued: instrumental reasons were not. When asked to rate their own EFL skills, the students placed reading and writing above understanding and speaking. Finally, the study showed that in the Japanese family the father's English was rated superior to the mother's, possibly a reflection of the use of English in the Japanese workplace, a largely male domain.

In a recent survey of Japanese freshmen, Berwick and Ross (1989), found that "the overall intensity of motivation of the college students was low" (206). Their study attempted to identify changes in attitude towards English taking place over time. But even after a 150-hour program, only "limited development" (193) in attitudes was noted. They suggest that motivation towards English peaks in the last year of high school, as the entrance exams approach, suffers a decline through university life, but may well re-ascend during adulthood: "Adult motivation... forms a clear contrast with the motivational wasteland among university entrants" (207). However, in defence of the university students, the authors find that an "experiential dimension...begins to replace the entirely instrumental motivation that preceded it" (207). This may include a wish to study abroad, and the belief that the study of English widens one's horizons.

The question of models is also of perennial interest and has a long history. For example, Kachru (1976) showed that Indian graduate students preferred British English (67.6%) over Indian English (22.72%) with American English (5.17%) a distant third. Shaw's (1983) study, referred to earlier, showed that Singaporean students chose British English and Singaporean English almost equally, Indian students preferred Indian English, and Thai students opted for British over American English. This raises the question of the model most suitable for Japan, together with some consideration of situations and functions.

Regarding the situations in which English is used in Japan, Stanlaw (1987:106) has indicated the "professional" ones involving foreigners are the most common. This suggests a wide range of language functions, though Morrow (1987) finds only a restricted set in actual use. Specifically, he identifies the "imaginative/innovative" function, by which he means the use of English loanwords in Japanese, the use of English in advertising, in the media, and in other forms of entertainment generally. However, this neglects the extent of English in the educational world in Japan, which has been estimated at approximately 99% in middle school, 70% in high school, and 20% at university (Stanlaw, 1987:100). Whatever their motivations and attitudes, students in Japan find themselves caught up in a massive language-teaching exercise whose full implications may be unclear to them.

The aims of this survey may now be formulated through the following research questions. The word "students" will here be used to mean Japanese university freshmen.

1. What is the primary motivation for the students to study English? Are they instrumentally, integratively, or personally motivated?
2. How do the students rate their skills in English?
3. Do social factors, such as parental use of English, play any part in their motivation? What is the extent of the students' exposure to English other than in the school context?
4. What model of English do the students want to learn?
5. What functions do the students see English as performing?

Method

Subjects

A total of 311 freshmen at a private university in western Japan completed a five-page survey on attitudes toward English. They consisted of 144 female and 167 male students ranging from 18 to 24 years old, with an average age of 18.4. Three faculties - Humanities (54%), Commerce (30.2%), and Law (13.5%) - made up 99% of the sample. The students were selected on the basis of convenience and availability. All were products of the Japanese education system, and as such had been studying English for six years prior to entry.

Materials and Procedures

A five-page survey in English was devised and distributed to the students early in their freshman year. It was hoped that, taken together, the answers would give a picture of the attitudes towards English that Japanese students carry into their university study.

Parts one and two were, respectively, the biographical profile and the self-rating of English ability. Part three, "Why Study English?" was an examination of motivations for the study of English. The students were offered a set of 12 possible reasons; these had been adapted to suit Japanese conditions from Cooper and Fishman (1977:252). The instructions were to indicate the top three ("most important") reasons by putting the numbers one, two or three beside the selected reasons, and to indicate the bottom three ("least important") by putting in the numbers 10, 11, and 12. Totals were then obtained for each question in a "positive" mode (when a reason was selected as "most important") and in a "negative" mode (when it was selected as "least important"). In this report only the first and last choices are dealt with.

Data from the completed survey sheets were then coded and transferred to an Apple spreadsheet. Both in the survey itself, which the students completed, and in the other coding which we did, lower numbers (e.g., 1) represented the highest or best, while higher numbers (e.g., 4) represented the lowest or worst. This procedure was intentionally done to facilitate Japanese respondents, and readers of the paper should note the inversion of the Western order.

Results

Experience with English

In the following paragraphs a profile is offered of the students' experiences with English. The indicators used include the extent of parental involvement with English, the number of visits made to English-speaking countries, the students' use of English outside the classroom, a self-rating of English ability, plus a number of other *ad hoc* measures.

Parental involvement with English was mentioned by some 38 (12.2%) students. Of these, 16 reported that their mothers used English either with friends (7), at home (6), or at work (3). On the other hand, 36 students reported that their fathers used English either at work (27), with friends (8), or at home (3). Fourteen of these students reported that both parents used English.

Only 11 (3.5%) students reported having visited an English-speaking country. These visits were mostly of one to two weeks, most frequently to the U.S. Only one extended stay was reported: One girl had been in the U.S. for a year and a half.

Regarding the use of English outside the classroom, 37 (11.9%) students answered positively. Again, males (23) led females (14), though both groups indicated that they used "unstructured" settings (e.g., with other students, in club activities, or listening to the radio) far more frequently than "structured" ones (e.g., another school setting). These data fit with the findings of Day and Iida (1988), who investigated the same problem in junior and senior high school settings. They, too, found that the students "did not use English very much outside the classroom" (113).

Self-rating of English Skills

The students were asked to rate their own English under the headings of understanding, speaking, reading, and writing. The results (Table 1) showed that they rated themselves much lower on understanding and speaking than on reading and writing. Some 51.4% felt that they understood English "Not well", and almost 50% felt that they could speak English only "A little". Most confidence was expressed for reading, where 34.7% placed themselves in the "Fairly well" category. Writing was the most evenly spread, though 43.7% placed themselves in the "Not well" category. Aggregating the positive totals ("Very well" and "Fairly well") the self-rated order of skills of the group was:

1. Reading
2. Writing
3. Understanding
4. Speaking

Table 1
Self-Rating of English Ability

n = 311

Skill	Very Well	Fairly Well	Not Well	A Little
Understanding	1 (0.3%)	39 (12.7%)	160 (52.1%)	107 (34.9%)
Speaking	0 (0.0%)	26 (8.4%)	128 (41.6%)	154 (50.0%)
Reading	9 (2.9%)	108 (35.1%)	136 (44.2%)	55 (17.9%)
Writing	7 (2.3%)	86 (27.9%)	136 (44.2%)	79 (25.6%)

In a following question, the students were asked, "Could you write a reasonably correct letter in English?" To this only 29 (9.3%) responded affirmatively. In other words, almost 90% of the freshman group felt incapable of writing a letter in English, despite the relatively high rating they had earlier given their own writing.

The Step Test

An exam taken by many students in Japan is the *Eiken*, or "Step Test", as it is commonly termed. Despite being privately-run, this test of English has now attained national status, and is seen by employers as a valid indication of ability. There are four levels, or steps. Step One is regarded as extremely difficult and includes an oral interview. By contrast, Step Four is easy enough to be taken at Junior High school. Our findings showed that 109 (35%) of the group had passed at some level. Of these, one had passed Level One, 17 had passed Level Two, 64 had passed Level Three, and 25 had passed Level Four.

Models of English

In response to the question, "Which kind of English would you like to be able to speak well?" the group showed a strong preference for American English (47.3%), followed by "English with a Japanese Accent" (24.1%). The category "I don't think it matters" (13.8%) came next, with British English (12.2%) last.

Motivation for Studying English

Tables 2, 3 and 4 show the results of responses to the section concerning motivation for studying English. Table 2 gives the first choices by the students, that is, the notion which considered number one, or "most important". The figures show that 18.25% chose the instrumental reason "easier to get along in other countries", followed by the integrative reason, "allows me to understand how foreigners think and behave". The personal reason, "allows me to enjoy entertainment more" came next. Unfortunately, no clear pattern (see Table 4) emerges from these "positive" evaluations.

Table 2
Most Important Reasons for Studying English (#1 Choices)

Reasons	No.	(%)
Knowing English...		
1. makes it easier to get along in other countries	44	(18.25)
2. allows me to understand how foreigners think	37	(15.35)
3. allows me to enjoy entertainment more	34	(14.10)
4. helps a person to get a better job	26	(10.78)
5. makes it possible to become broadly educated	19	(7.88)
6. is required to pass university exams	18	(7.46)
7. allows... friends among Eng.-speaking people	17	(7.05)
8. allows me to get to know tourists better	15	(6.22)
9. gives me personal satisfaction	12	(4.97)
10. allows me to learn foreign points of view on Japan	11	(4.56)
11. allows me to read Eng. books for pleasure	6	(2.48)
12. allows me to read textbooks assigned at university	2	(0.82)

n = 241

If we look at the data the other way, that is checking to see which notions were placed last by the students (No. 12 choices), we find a strong instrumental bias (Table 3). Two instrumental reasons, "knowing English is required to pass university exams" (24.12%), and "knowing English allows me to read textbooks assigned at university" (16.66%), were the most frequently selected. Whether or not the word "university" acted as a trigger for negative responses, or whether the students genuinely find no connection between a Japanese university and the study of English, the fact remains that these were the two most negatively valued statements. The personal reason, "knowing English gives me personal satisfaction" (14.91%) was also firmly rejected by the group.

Table 3
Least Important Reasons for Studying English (#12 Choices)

Reasons	No.	(%)
Knowing English...		
1. is required to pass university exams	55	(24.12)
2. allows me to read university textbooks	38	(16.66)
3. gives me personal satisfaction	34	(14.91)
4. helps a person to get a better job	17	(7.45)
5. makes it possible to become broadly educated	15	(6.57)
6. allows me... foreign points of view on Japan	14	(6.14)
7. allows me... friends among Eng.-speaking people	14	(6.14)
8. allows me to read English books for pleasure	12	(5.26)
9. allows me to enjoy entertainment more	10	(4.38)
10. allows me to get to know tourists better	9	(3.94)
11. allows me to understand how foreigners think	6	(2.63)
12. makes it easier to get along in other countries	4	(1.75)

n = 228

An aggregation of their raw responses for the three types of motivation is presented in Table 4. Both "positive" (No. 1 choice) and "negative" (No. 12 choice) evaluations are given. Although the positive results are not statistically significant, the negative ones are ($X^2 = 32.39$, $p < .001$), indicating a rejection of instrumental motivation. However, the negative evaluations may not be a reliable guide, and it is probably safer to say that the overall results on motivation do not show distinctive pattern.

Usefulness of English

The students' assessment of the usefulness of English for various

Table 4
Motivation for Studying English

Motivation Type	Positive (#1) Responses	Negative (#12) Reponses
Instrumental	90*	114**
Integrative	88*	44**
Personal	**	78**

*X^2 (d.f. 2) = 5.66 n.s.
**X^2 (d.f. 2) = 32.39, $p < .001$)

purposes is shown in Table 5. Predictably, the top half of the table is dominated by uses which are modern, international, urban, scientific, and democratic. In contrast, the lower half of the table contains uses

Table 5
Usefulness of English for Various Purposes

Purpose	Mean
How useful is English...	
1. for international diplomacy?	1.20
2. for doing business?	1.52
3. for getting a high-paying job?	1.64
4. for working with computers?	1.68
5. for engaging in politics?	1.84
6. for doing office work?	1.87
7. for watching TV and movies?	1.89
8. for becoming a "salaryman"?	2.05
9. for studying science?	2.28
10. for living in a big city (e.g., Tokyo)?	2.43
11. for being a salesman?	2.59
12. for bringing up children?	2.60
13. for enjoying sports?	2.66
14. for discussing farming?	2.74
15. for doing an "arbaito" [part-time job]?	2.77
16. for enjoying traditional festivals?	2.88
17. for religious purposes?	3.00
18. for getting married?	3.15
19. for talking to babies?	3.15
20. for talking to one's family?	3.29

Scoring: 1 = "very useful"; 4 = "not very useful" which are traditional, local, rural, religious, and hierarchical. Indeed, of the first 11 reasons mentioned, all except number seven (watching TV and movies) are oriented toward personal or national achievement. The last seven concern domestic life where, inevitably, English is not seen as being useful.

Discussion

The profile section revealed a group of freshmen with the barest exposure to English outside the language classroom. Relatively few had encountered English at home, through visits to other countries where it is spoken as a native language, or in either structured or unstructured settings in Japan.

Parental use of English and visits to English-speaking countries were both minimal. The likelihood that the father is the dominant user of English in a Japanese family was first mentioned by Chihara and Oller (1978), and is supported here. However, since his use of English is largely outside the home, it is unlikely to have a significant effect on the younger generation.

When asked to rate their own English abilities under various headings, the students considered reading to be the strongest, followed by writing, understanding, and finally speaking. Given the students' minimal exposure to English, it is not surprising that they showed little confidence in their own ability to handle listening and speaking skills. Here we see the priorities of junior and senior high schools in Japan accurately reflected. This may also explain why, when spoken skills are urgently needed (as in an overseas job assignment), learners frequently turn to English language conversation schools.

Nobody had attempted the TOEFL or either of the Cambridge exams, though about one third of the group had passed some level of the Eiken. The most reasonable explanation for this is that the concept of measurable proficiency in not highly developed in the society as a whole, either in language or any other sphere. Companies prefer on-the-job training, and for language skills the largest of them have in-house programs. But little is expected of the new entrants, who, interestingly, are called "freshmen". Consequently, high school and university students feel little pressure to take yet another exam.

American English was the preferred model, though many showed interest in speaking "English with a Japanese accent". This may be taken as an accurate reflection of Japan's historical relationship with the U.S. In addition, a growing feeling of national confidence may well be the cause of the strong support for "Japanese" English. British English was convincingly rejected, an interesting finding considering the strong institutional and publishing support it receives in Japan.

Regarding motivation for learning English, the findings showed a clear rejection of instrumental motivation, though only cautious support for motivation that was integrative or personal. Our students, apparently, were responding more to situational factors (e.g., the compulsory nature of English) than to personally thought-out reasons. The rejection of instrumental reasons, however, reinforces the idea that the students do not see English as playing a vital part in their lives, either currently or in the future.

These findings are at variance with those of researchers in other countries (Cooper and Fishman, 1977, in Israel; Shaw, 1983, in Thailand). The downplaying of instrumental reasons for learning English may reflect established views regarding the adequacy of Japanese for normal daily intercourse. Only at certain levels of business, government and social interaction, is English useful and/or necessary. For those who need such skills, ample opportunities exist to acquire them, either after completing university or simultaneous with it. For most, possibly including the group represented in this survey, English remains a "broadening" experience, but not one to be taken too seriously.

Despite this, English was seen as being useful for a group of modern, urban, and scientific uses, but was rejected for a group of traditional, rural, and religious ones. The connection between English and modern uses may be seen as a reflection of the dominance of English in the international arena. However, between these modern uses and the students' motivation for learning, no correlation was visible.

Clearly, a tension exists between the notion that, on the one hand, the motivation for learning English is not instrumental, and, on the other, that English is useful for purposes which are modern, urban, and scientific. One would normally expect a connection between the two, since such modern uses appear to be the natural implementation of instrumental motivation. But, while the students overwhelmingly endorsed the usefulness of English for modern, urban, and scientific purposes, it was not on account of instrumental motivation. Such ambiguities suggest that many freshmen students remain unclear as to any larger purpose for studying English, and are simply doing it because it is required.

Implications for EFL in Japan

Teachers in Japan often find themselves in the paradoxical position of being overwhelmed by work, with opportunities to teach English at all hours of the day and night, while at the same time encountering students who are uninterested in mastering English to any satisfactory level. Theories abound as to why this situation exists, yet research regularly produces ambiguous answers. Quite possibly, insufficient attention has been paid to the major factors in the puzzle. These include the system, the methods, the teachers, and the texts, all set in a sociolinguistic setting of more than average complexity.

Calls for changes in the system have already been heard. Morrow (1987) has identified the universities as the main culprits, through the overwhelming influence they exert on the school system. Their entrance exams, which have a strong emphasis on grammar and reading, effectively control what is taught in the junior and senior high schools. Morrow, calling for a "reorientation" in university thinking, suggests that entrance exams should move towards "more integrated tests of students' language skills" (58). Buck (1988) has further shown that in addition to exercising hegemony over the school system, university entrance exams are themselves very bad at separating promising from unpromising students. At the very least, there seems to be no practical reason why listening tests could not be incorporated into the entrance exams.

In the Japanese university tradition, individual teachers are responsible for the syllabus of their classes. They are free to choose the class objectives, the materials, and the manner of testing. Students are allotted classes by the administration. What is needed is a comprehensive language curriculum into which students are placed according to their proficiency, and in which they can study each of the four skills as part of an established, objectives-based program. This implies a top-down overhaul of the whole system, together with the articulation of national objectives. However, such specificity is difficult to achieve in Japan.

Morrow (1987:58) has taken the view that the development of the reading skill in English may well be "the most urgent need of the majority of Japanese learners". He continues:

> On the other hand, with the spread of English as an international language, there is an increasing number of Japanese businessmen, scientists and scholars from many disciplines who need to use English not only to communicate with English speakers, but also to communicate with other non-native English speakers who use English as a language for international communication. For this group, the acquisition of speaking and listening skills is vital. (p. 58)

In short, a four-skills model is being suggested from various quarters. Yet it is obviously beyond all practicality to expect every graduate to attain high levels of communicative competence in English. However, from those who intend to involve themselves in the outward-looking sectors of Japan's intellectual or economic life a higher all-round standard of English is required. Whether this is achieved by finer processes of selection, or by a shift in national expectations, the desired result is people who are more highly motivated towards achieving acceptable standards of competence in English. In all this, the goal of making the learning of English a motivating experience is particularly relevant for the classroom teacher, particularly in view of the very mixed attitudes which freshmen evidently have.

References

Berwick, R., & Ross, S. (1989). Motivation after matriculation: Are Japanese learners of English still alive after exam hell? *JALT Journal, 11,* 193-210.

Buck, G. (1988). Testing listening comprehension in Japanese university entrance exams. *JALT Journal, 10,* 15-42.

Chihara, T., & Oller, J. W. Jr. (1978). Attitudes and attained proficiency in EFL: A sociolinguistic study of adult Japanese speakers. *Language Learning, 28,* 55-68.

Cogan, J., Torney-Purta, J., & Anderson, D. (1988). Knowledge and attitudes toward global issues: Students in Japan and the United States. *Comparative Education Review, 3,* 282-297.

Cooper, R. L., Fishman, J. A. (1977). A study of language attitudes. In J. A. Fishman, R. L. Cooper, & A. W. Conrad (Eds.), *The spread of English* (pp. 239-276). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Day, R. R. & Iida, M. (1988). Use, attitude, and motivation in foreign language acquisition. *Working papers in ESL, 7* (1), 109-118. Hawaii: University of Hawaii.

Gardner, R. C. (1985). *Social psychology and second language learning.* London: Edward Arnold.

Gardner, R. C., & Lambert, W. E. (1972), *Attitudes and motivation in second-language learning.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Hino, N. (1988). Yakudoku: Japan's dominant tradition in foreign language learning, *JALT Journal, 10,* 45-55.

Hildebrandt, N., & Giles, H. (1980). The English language in Japan: A social-psychological perspective. *JALT Journal, 2,* 63-87.

Kachru, B. B. (1976). Models of English for the third world: white man's linguistic burden or language pragmatics? *TESOL Quarterly. 10*, 221-239.

Morrow, P.R. (1987). The users and uses of English in Japan. *World Englishes, 6*, 49-62.

Pearson, E. (1988). Learner strategies and learner interviews. *ELT Journal, 42*, 173-178,

Sarnoff, I. (1970). Social attitudes and the resolution of motivational conflict. In M. Jahoda & N. Warren (Eds.), *Attitudes* (pp. 271-282). Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Shaw, W.D. (1983). Asian student attitudes towards English. In: L.E. Smith (Ed.), *Readings in English as an international language* (pp. 21-33). Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Stanlaw, J. (1987). Japanese and English: Borrowing and contact. *World Englishes, 6*, 93-109.

Wordell, C.B. (Ed.). (1985). *A guide to teaching English in Japan*. Tokyo: The Japan Times.

The Effects of English Language Ability on Approaches to Learning

Lyn Gow
David Kember and
Rosalia Chow
Hong Kong Polytechnic

Abstract

The relationship between approach to learning and English language ability of students in a tertiary institution in Hong Kong was examined. The Study Process Questionnaire (SPQ) developed by Biggs was used to measure students' approach to learning, with the 42 questionnaire items presented in both English and Chinese. English language ability was assessed by a scale comprising three self-rating items and two self-reported examination results. Multiple linear regression was used to relate the six sub-scales of the SPQ with the English language scale and other student background variables. Subjects with lower ability in English language were found to be more likely to adopt a surface strategy in their learning. On the other hand, deep motivation was positively related to English language ability. Qualitative data were also collected from interviews in an effort to explain the mechanisms behind these observations. It is suggested that students who are weaker in English concentrate initially on deciphering the rhetorical aspects of text so are less likely to visualise the underlying meaning of what they are reading.

Introduction

Many students receive instruction in a language other than their first language. Some have emigrated from their home country to another with a different language. An increasing number find it necessary or desirable to go to an overseas institution for secondary or tertiary education (Altbach, 1989). Others are members of linguistic minorities in a country with a different dominant language. Often students studying in their home countries, especially developing countries and former colonies, are taught in a language other than their native language (Gallagher, 1989).

The degree of exposure to the non-native language can be seen as a spectrum. Students who belong to linguistic minorities in their home country or students who have emigrated are immersed in the medium of their second language. In countries with several linguistic groups, an official second language may be used for communication between different groups. In other countries with a dominant native language, a second language may be used for higher education or business communication.

If the non-native language is not in common usage it is best termed a foreign language.

The study described in this paper was conducted in Hong Kong where almost the entire population have Chinese as their first language (Gibbons, 1987), that is, mostly spoken Cantonese and a few other dialects and written Chinese. The use of English is so restricted that, despite the status of English as an official language in Hong Kong, Luke & Richards (1981) classify it as an auxiliary language rather than a second language. The term auxiliary language learners is therefore used throughout this paper to describe the students in the examined population who use English as the medium of tertiary learning.

The focus of this paper is the influence of learning in an auxiliary language and the effects of the student's ability in English language on approaches to learning. The extent to which the findings are applicable to other second language students with more or less exposure to their second language is discussed in the paper.

Approaches to learning

Biggs (1979) identified three different approaches to learning in students: surface, deep and achieving. Similar conceptualisations have been proposed by other researchers (e.g. Entwistle, Hanley & Hounsell, 1979; Marton & Säljö, 1976).

Each of Biggs' three approaches comprises a motive for learning and an associated strategy. For the surface approach, the motivation is extrinsic where the student considers education as a means to some other ends, such as getting a better job. The corresponding strategy is to study just enough to get through, with the result that the student tends to focus on rote-learning the concrete and literal aspects of the learning materials, rather than on understanding the meaning. On the other hand, the deep approach is based on intrinsic interest in the subject matter being studied. As a learning strategy, the student will search for the underlying meaning, rather than concentrate on the literal aspects of the learning task. The achieving approach is based on enhancing one's ego through succeeding academically. The related strategy would be to organise one's learning efficiently and effectively in the temporal and spatial context in order to perform the best in assessment. It is possible for students to combine an achieving approach with either a surface or a deep approach. That is, students may see the way to obtain top marks as consisting of rote-learning in a highly organised way; or of reading widely and seeking meaning in an organised and systematic way (Biggs, 1987a).

The three approaches of learning lead to different outcomes. Students who score highly on the surface approach are more likely to report:

> ....a narrow approach to studying where they are anxiously over concerned with assessment demands and are unable or unwilling to see the wider implications of what they are learning.
>
> (Ramsden, 1983, p. 9)

Students with a high score on the deep approach are more likely to:

> ....use evidence effectively, show an interest in the subject matter for its own sake, reveal an active and critical interaction with what is being learnt and be able to relate academic knowledge to personal experience and 'real-life'."
>
> (Ramsden 1983, p. 9)

The achieving approach, particularly in combination with the deep approach, leads to good performance in examinations, a good academic self-concept, and to feelings of satisfaction (Biggs, 1969).

The approach adopted by students depends not just on their own attitudes, habits, abilities and personality but also on the demands made by the learning environment (Biggs, 1987a; Gow & Kember, in press). Course syllabi, teaching and assessment all place constraints on the students and affect their approaches to learning, depending on how they view the demands of the course. Students are more likely to adopt a surface approach to learning if they perceive that there is an excessive amount of material to be learnt, a lack of choice over content and methods of study and that the assessment system requires the reiteration of information. On the other hand, students are more likely to develop a deep approach if they are given time for contemplation and discussion with other learners, and if their examinations probe for the understanding of principles rather than the reproduction of facts and procedures (Biggs, 1987a).

English as a medium of instruction in Hong Kong

The students under investigation in this project attend a tertiary institution in Hong Kong where both Cantonese and English are used in instruction. The proportion of the teaching in English and Cantonese varies from subject to subject and teacher to teacher, with a range from limited to almost complete use of Cantonese. Code-switching between Cantonese and English by Chinese teachers is common, with increasing use of Cantonese in less formal situations, like tutorials and discussions after class. The situation is similar to the kind of code-switching that has been observed of teachers' instruction in secondary schools in Hong Kong (Johnson, 1983; Tam, 1980). Examinations are in English, as are most of the written materials, like textbooks and handouts.

English instruction in Hong Kong may affect learning outcomes partly through its effects on the learning approach that students adopt when faced with a learning task in a language in which they are not proficient. The effects of instruction in English on the learning of students in Hong Kong has attracted much concern, largely because many of the students are not proficient in English (Cooper, 1980; Ho, 1979; Llewellyn, 1982). Ho (1979) commented that:

> A common complaint among university teachers is that students' sub-standard proficiency in English, especially in oral expression, constitutes a formidable impediment to effective learning. (p. 45)

Cooper (1980), similarly, commented on the negative effects on students' creativity of the use of English in instruction in Hong Kong:

> There can be no question of the debilitating effects upon academic curiosity and creativity in young children of having to cope with an alien tongue in their everyday educational experiences...the child is reduced to memorization by rote, both of what is said in class, and what is written in books...That the Chinese child is confronted with an endless regimen of exams in an alien language which he has all he can do [sic] to understand let alone use creatively is not considered relevant. (pp. 40–41)

English language ability and performance

Studies have been carried out to investigate the relationship between English language ability and performance of students in Hong Kong, although most of them have concentrated on secondary school students. Gibbons (1982) argued that cumulative evidence (Cheung, 1979; Poon, 1979; Siu *et al.*, 1979) suggests that Chinese is a more effective medium in instruction, especially for lower ability students who seem to have more problems with English instruction. Yu & Atkinson (1988), studying Form 4 students in Hong Kong, found that the students reported difficulty in expressing themselves in English, either orally or in written form. Yu & Atkinson also found that these students did better when using Chinese rather than English in composition. They reported that the majority of the essays written in English were below average, which were marked as such because they were "ambiguous or inconsistent", that they had "childish or inappropriate illustrations; inadequate command of even the basic vocabulary and expressions to bring across the ideas" or "nonsense". On the other hand, only about 40% of the Chinese compositions written by the same students were scored as below average. Studies have also shown that students performed better when tested in Chinese rather than English, especially for the low-achievers (Mok, 1985; Tam & Yuen, 1985).

At the tertiary level, Ho (1979) and Ho & Spinks (1985), studying undergraduates at the University of Hong Kong, found a significant relationship between ability in the English language and students' examination performance. It seems that whilst proficiency in the English language alone does not determine educational outcome, a certain level of English is a prerequisite for effective learning (Graham, 1987; Ho & Spinks, 1985). This paper provides further data on the effects of English ability among auxiliary language tertiary students and their approaches to learning.

Method

Measures

The Study Process Questionnaire (SPQ) developed by Biggs (1987b) was used to measure students' approaches to learning. The questions in the SPQ can be grouped together to describe various approaches to learning of students. The students' profiles revealed by the questionnaire show an individual's general orientation to learning which is a composite of motivational states and strategy deployment which Biggs (1987a) claims is relatively consistent over situations. Table 1 provides a description of the Biggs' approaches to learning and their constituent motives and strategies.

Table 1
Motives and strategies in approaches to learning and studying

Approach	Motive	Strategy
Surface	Surface Motive (SM) is instrumental: main purpose is to meet requirements minimally: a balance between working too hard and failing.	Surface Strategy (SS) is reproductive: limit target to bare essentials and reproduce through rote learning.
Deep	Deep Motive (DM) is intrinsic: study to actualize interest and competence in particular academic subjects.	Deep Strategy (DS) is meaningful: read widely, interrelate with previous relevant knowledge
Achieving	Achieving Motive (AM) is based on competition and ego-enhancement: obtain highest grades, whether or not material is interesting.	Achieving Strategy (AS) is based on organizing one's time and working space: behave as a "model student".

(adapted from Biggs, 1987a)

The forty-two items of the original questionnaire were translated into Chinese for the survey by a research team at the Hong Kong University led by Professor John Biggs. Contributions to the translation were made by a number of people before independent back-translation. The questionnaire given to students had the item statements in English, followed immediately by the Chinese translation. Responses to the questionnaire items were made by ticking responses to a five-point scale on a separate cover sheet.

The reverse of the cover sheet contained eighteen questions, requesting personal details, grades in two English language examinations and self-ratings in reading, writing and speaking English. The student's name, student number and Hong Kong identity-card number were also requested so that the data from the questionnaires could be compared with grades from later examinations. In addition the research project is longitudinal in nature so there is an intention to re-administer the questionnaire.

All questionnaires were administered during the third or fourth week of the academic year, the intention being to compare approaches to learning near the start of a course with those at the end of the first year and at the completion of the course. Lecturers handed out the questionnaire and cover sheet to students in lectures. Students were asked to complete the questionnaire before leaving the lecture. At the start of an academic year, the majority of Polytechnic students attend lecture classes so the usable response rate for the survey was 80.6%, which is very high for a survey of this type.

An *English Language Scale* was constructed to measure the students' English language ability. To maintain the goodwill of students and departments participating in this longitudinal study, it was recognised that extensive testing of the students in English language would be impractical. A measure of English language ability was therefore obtained, which consists of five measures: responses to three self-ratings scales in reading, writing and speaking English, and self-report of two public English language examination results (Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination and Advanced Level Examination). These five items were requested on the reverse of the cover sheet for the SPQ and subsequently combined together into one scale which is referred to as *English language*.

The Cronbach α coefficient for the scale was 0.64, which is satisfactory for such a scale. Factor analysis of the five items, using an unweighted least-squares extraction, yielded two factors. The first contained all five items and explained 39.4% of the variance. The second contained the two examination results and explained 15.6% of the variance. The scale can therefore be seen as reasonably coherent.

Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in Cantonese by two skilled bilingual interviewers. The questions in the interview schedule were clustered into several categories to address different issues of interest to the researchers, including: motive for study; strategy in learning; note-taking; reading assignments; test and examination strategies; and the use of English in instruction. These interviews revealed data on how the students perceived the teaching methods and course requirements. This paper reports on the specific responses from the interviewees which addressed the issue of the use of English in instruction.

The questions asked were of a general nature and open-ended. The order and the phrasing of the questions differed between interviewees; depending on their responses. Probing of the interviewees' responses helped to obtain a clearer picture of the students' experience of learning. Every endeavour was made to make the questioning as non-directive as possible. All interviews were tape-recorded and translated into English. Three judges examined the complete English transcripts independently to search for common constructs and student concerns.

Subjects

The sample for the SPQ consisted of first- and final-year students in degree-level courses at the Hong Kong Polytechnic. The students were from selected departments participating in this longitudinal study. The number of respondents from each department is shown in Table 2. The enrollment column shows the number of students in the selected classes in that department. The return shows the number of questionnaires with

Table 2
Responses to the survey by department

Department	Enrollment	Return
Accountancy	590	509
Applied Social Studies	40	39
Diagnostic Sciences	104	90
English	45	38
Rehabilitation Sciences	82	58
Textiles & Clothing	433	299

sufficient responses to calculate SPQ scores for each of the six sub-scales of the questionnaire. The overall response rate was 80.6%.

Subjects for the interviews were nine full-time first-year students who had filled in the SPQ in the first phase of the research project and twenty-two students enrolled for distance learning courses offered by the same institute. Twelve of the distance learning students were studying a textiles and clothing course with study packages written in English. The remaining ten distance learning students were enrolled in a taxation course which had Chinese study materials.

Results and Discussion

SPQ

The questionnaire yields scores for each student on six sub-scales for the SPQ by summing seven items in each case. To search for the relationships between the six sub-scales of the SPQ questionnaire, the English language scale and other variables, six stepwise multiple linear regression (Nie *et al,* 1975, p. 321) were performed, with the dependent variables being, in turn, the six sub-scales of the SPQ questionnaire. The independent variables were:

- English language
- age
- number of years since leaving school
- sex
- marital status
- highest qualification
- year of study in the Polytechnic

The results of the six regressions are shown in Table 3.

Analysis of variance of the regression equation for surface motive showed that it was significant at the 0.01 level. The remaining five equations were significant at the 0.001 level. In addition, the table shows the significance of the simple correlations with variables which appeared in the regression equations.

English language variable in the regression equation

The composite English language scale appears in the regression equation of five of the six sub-scales. The only equation in which English language did not appear was surface motive. The correlation between the

785

Table 3
Results of the stepwise multiple linear regression analyses

	Multiple r	Simple r	Beta
Dependent variable: surface motive			
years since left school	0.094	−0.094*	−0.094
Dependent variable: deep motive			
English language	0.093	0.093**	0.125
year of study	0.135	−0.090*	−0.211
age	0.224	0.093**	0.210
Dependent variable: achieving motive			
years since left school	0.196	−0.196**	†
English language	0.214	0.095**	0.120
sex	0.227	0.069	−0.085
year of study	0.243	−0.182**	−0.190
highest qualification	0.256	−0.110**	−0.095
Dependent variable: surface strategy			
years since left school	0.107	−0.107**	−0.112
English language	0.140	−0.084*	−0.091
Dependent variable: deep strategy			
year of study	0.154	−0.154**	−0.252
age	0.206	0.036	0.165
sex	0.221	0.083*	−0.088
English language	0.236	0.042	0.083
Dependent variable: achieving strategy			
year of study	0.299	−0.299**	−0.310
English language	0.324	0.098**	0.125

(*$p<0.01$ **<0.001 for the simple r)
(†variable removed on step 6)

two scales was 0.00. The correlation coefficient between the English language scale and four of the remaining five sub-scales was small, but statistically significant: the correlation of the English language scale with the deep motive scale, the achievement motive and the achieving strategy scale was significant at the 0.001 level; while the correlation with the surface strategy scale was significant at the 0.005 level.

Discussion of SPQ findings

The results of the regression analyses appear to have a coherent interpretation. They show that ability in English language does not motivate a student to employ a surface approach, but that students who are weaker in English language are more likely to employ a surface strategy.

The findings suggest that an English-as-an-auxiliary-language student with limited English language ability may not have a greater predilection for rote-learning but, faced with an English reading or writing assignment, might be forced to employ a surface strategy. A student who is struggling to understand the language is more likely to try to remember small sections which have been deciphered, rather than seek a global understanding of assigned reading. Similarly in writing tasks, a student who is weak in that language is more likely to rely on verbatim reproduction than on original expression. On the other hand, it is possible that students who habitually use a surface approach are less likely to develop language proficiency.

According to Faerch & Kasper (1983), when faced with a learning task in a second language, students with limited linguistic competence will have to selectively ignore certain aspects of the input in order to cope with the overwhelming demands on processing capacity. They concentrate either on the rhetorical (i.e. the letters, syllables and words) or the content aspects (i.e. main ideas) of the text or discourse. Our data suggest that tertiary students in Hong Kong may be so preoccupied with the rhetorical aspect of the text that they are left with little time or energy to understand and apply creatively the content of what they have to learn.

Biggs (1987b), however, found that among the Australian students which he studied, those for whom English was a second language scored significantly higher on deep approach than native English speakers. Biggs hypothesised that students who were immersed in a second language culture had to be "sensitive to all possible cues for meaning, focusing on implications rather than on specific words" (Biggs, 1989, p. 26). The inconsistency between Biggs' findings and the findings reported in this paper may be due to the fact that Biggs' Australian students were highly proficient in their second language (English), having been immersed in the English medium, often since an early age. Hong Kong students, however, typically use English only within the instructional context. This analysis is supported by a later finding of Cantwell & Biggs (1988) when they analysed the essays of ESL (English as a Second Language) writers and found that even for those who employed a deep approach in their writing, they were "unsupported' by a corresponding linguistic competence in the language so that they were unable to put forward coherently the specifics of their argument.

English language ability has a positive correlation with the deep motive scale and a non-significant positive correlation with deep strategy. It is also positively related to both achieving motive and strategy. It may be that auxiliary language students who are proficient English language users are more likely to be motivated to develop intrinsic motivation through wide reading and have the flexible reading approaches needed for seeking the underlying meaning of an academic text. Whether or not the presence of a deep motive actually leads to the use of a deep strategy seems to depend more strongly on variables other than language ability. English language was the fourth variable to enter the regression equation for deep strategy and made only a small contribution to the multiplier. This finding is consistent with a number of studies (e.g. Biggs, 1987a; Entwistle & Ramsden, 1983; Marton, Hounsell & Entwistle, 1984; Watkins & Hattie, 1981) which have shown that whether or not a student employs a deep strategy is dependent upon environmental and contextual variables.

English language ability can perhaps be seen as a pre-requisite for an auxiliary language student to employ a deep approach, if the course is in the English language. Auxiliary language students with limited English ability may find it difficult to progress beyond a surface strategy. On the other hand, auxiliary language students may have a sufficient command of English to employ a deep aproach but might not have learnt an appropriate orientation to tertiary learning or might have been discouraged from adopting a deep approach by the learning environment.

The English language scale is significantly related to achieving strategy and motive. The language scale contains three self-rating measures which could influence the correlation with the achieving motive subscale. Students who express confidence in their ability in relation to one scale are presumably more likely to rate themselves highly on another. Students who are more competitive and more extrinsically motivated are perhaps more likely to develop their English language proficiency. They may realise that success in secondary and tertiary education and in many areas of employment is influenced by such proficiency, which they, therefore, strive to improve.

Semi-structured Interviews

The interview data shed further light on the issue of English as the medium of instruction. The distance learning students taking the course written in English typically expressed neither great difficulties with the course being in English nor a preference for learning materials in Chinese.

> I find no problem with the course in English, rather it is quite useful for us when meeting the English-speaking customers. A course in Chinese is certainly useful but its usefulness will be restricted to the local factories....
>
> The presentation of materials in English is somehow better than that in Chinese.
>
> I don't prefer a course presented in Chinese. A Chinese course will only be suitable for the local garment factories, but the use of English is essential to the garment trade with foreign buyers.

Some of them added, however, that they would appreciate it if the technical terms were presented in Chinese as well because they were used widely in their trade:

> I find no problem with the course in English. However, I would suggest that some technical terms be presented in Chinese as well in the course.
>
> Basically I have no problem with the course in English but I would prefer it if some Chinese technical terms can be put within brackets next to the English terms.

The textiles and clothing distance learning students received their instruction through reading materials written in English with the language abilities of the students in mind. The packages were all edited to ensure that the communication was clear and straightforward for auxiliary language speakers. Virtually all tutorials and administrative communications were in Cantonese.

Interestingly, the students taking the taxation course in Chinese would appear to have preferred a course in English. The issue of language of instruction was not specifically addressed in the interview schedule for these students as it was not anticipated as being an issue of concern. However, five of the ten students interviewed expressed a preference for a course in English and one had no preference between English and Chinese. The other four did not raise the issue of the language of the study materials. Typical comments were:

> It is better to have the study materials printed in English because my job mainly deals with English tax terms. Also I have to write management reports in English. I have no problem with the Chinese version but I still think an English version is better.
>
> The study materials are good but I found difficulty in reading Chinese. It would be a lot better if there were English terms accompanying the Chinese terms. In fact, an English version would be preferable, at least I can read faster and my job deals mostly with English terms rather than Chinese terms.

However, the full-time first-year students interviewed reported some difficulties with instruction in English. This can be seen from the following comments.

> It is all right if the teachers use English when they talk about special terms. But, for the explanation, the explanation of the relationship between the concepts, it is better to use Chinese. That is, if it is very complicated, then use Chinese....if they have to explain very complicated stuff, for example, if they have to use a lot of complex sentences to do the explanation (English student).

Some students also expressed a preference for Chinese on certain occasions. For example, they would use Cantonese to think on certain occasions or preferred to read Chinese materials to English ones, especially when dealing with ideas and issues that are novel or abstract:

> Of course I prefer reading Chinese books....For "linguistics", reading Chinese books is actually more difficult because the terms are originally in English, and if they are translated into Chinese, sometimes it is even more difficult than just reading in English. But reading in English is difficult. It's harder to read. (English student)

> When the materials are more abstract, then, I will translate the information into Cantonese to think about it. (Diagnostic Sciences student)

> For a new subject, if we basically have no idea about it, then it will be easier to get the idea at the beginning if Chinese is used. (Rehabilitation Sciences student)

Not only did the requirements to use English hamper the student with limited English proficiency from learning about the content areas, they also made it difficult to express ideas as discussed earlier. A Rehabilitation Sciences student explained that he did his best to follow the original words in the lecturer's notes in his own essays:

> ...if not, I am afraid that the lecturer may think that I am unable to give the points in my answer, because I do not have much confidence in my own English ability in expressing myself. (Rehabilitation Sciences student)

The interview data also suggest that students may be more comfortable reading English than listening, speaking or writing English.

Mental Translation to Second Language

When a new language is learnt, the student still thinks via the first language until a reasonable level of fluency has been attained in the new language. When communicating in the new language one or two stages of translation are required. A message spoken or read in the new language must be translated into the first language prior to information processing. If a response is required it is composed in the first language and translated into the new language for verbal or written output. Biggs (1989) has also noted the necessity for mental translation for second language users who are not fluent in their non-native language.

Students in the two sets of interviews were asked whether or not they mentally translated into Cantonese textbooks or lectures presented in English. Responses ranged from habitual translators to those who reported that they never found it necessary to mentally translate for information processing. Some students mentally translated between the two languages on occasions such as when material was particularly difficult or abstract.

On the basis of the interview transcripts, the students were divided into two groups: those who never mentally translated English communications into Cantonese for processing and those who did translate some or all communications. Scores for surface approach for the two groups were then compared. The results are shown in Table 4.

Table 4
Surface approach and mental translation

Mental translation of English communications	n	Mean z score for surface approach
never	7	− 1.13
sometimes/always	6	+ 0.40

A t-test was carried out to compare the two groups, with t = 2.61 which is significant at the 5% level. This shows that the groups who never mentally translate English communications into Cantonese have significantly lower scores for surface approach.

It seems reasonable that the necessity to mentally translate English communication does influence the study approach adopted by the student. The process of translation itself must be an exacting one. It is little wonder if students who do need to mentally translate concentrate on words and significant grammatical features rather than seek main ideas to gain a comprehensive understanding of the lecture or reading. The generation of an internal representation of the material which has to be translated for subsequent output in English would be even more demanding. Obviously, many students who mentally translate find it too demanding and may instead memorise selected extracts for verbatim reproduction in assignments and examinations.

Improvident Learning and English Language Ability

Further insights into the influence of language ability on approach to study came from the administration of the Approaches to Studying Inventory (ASI) (Ramsden & Entwistle, 1981) to a further sample of 159 students. The ASI has sixteen sub-scales, many of which correspond closely to the scales in Biggs' SPQ. The additional sub-scales in the ASI mainly relate to concepts developed by Pask (1976 a and b).

Correlation coefficients between the ASI sub-scales and the English language scale were calculated. Table 5 lists the sub-scales with a correlation coefficient with a probability of significance greater than 0.005.

Table 5
Correlation between ASI sub-scales and the English language scale

ASI sub-scale	*r*	*p*
improvidence	−0.32	**
syllabus-boundness	−0.29	**
negative attitude	0.25	*
fear of failure	−0.24	*
surface approach	−0.23	*

**$p < 0.001$
*$p < 0.005$

Pask (1976 a) uses the term improvidence to describe a learning pathology, symptoms of which are failure to build an overall picture or concept map of the elements of a subject, and absence of any vision of the interrelationship between topics. Pask sees improvident learners as failing to make use of appropriate analogies.

It is not difficult to see how a limited ability in the language of instruction could result in improvidence, particularly if students find it necessary to mentally translate communications from the language of instruction to their first language for information processing. As has been discussed in the previous two sections, students with limited English language ability are likely to concentrate on the surface structure of the communciation. Their attention is likely to be directed at the level of deciphering individual sentences. With such an approach it would be difficult to recognise major concepts let alone build a map showing their relationship.

Conclusion

The data provide evidence of a relationship between a surface approach to learning and a low level of English language ability among auxiliary language students. Students who were weaker in English language tend to use a surface approach to learning. It seems that students who have limited proficiency in the language might have to resort to surface strategies whereby they decipher small chunks of information to be reproduced in the examinations. These findings are interesting particularly with regard to the implications for instruction. However, with the exception of the work of Biggs (Biggs, 1987a; Cantwell & Biggs, 1988), there have been no other studies of this type cited in the literature.

Other studies have relied on an input-output model of educational research to investigate the link between language ability and performance. The research on approaches to learning examines the processes used by the students between the input and output. By utilising the constructs developed in this literature it has proved possible to investigate the way in which language ability influences the approach students adopt for academic tasks.

The results cited in this article suggest that students with lower levels of ability in English tend to adopt a narrow or even blinkered orientation to processing assigned study tasks. They concentrate on deciphering the rhetorical aspects of text rather than seeking underlying meaning. The process of searching for meaning can be hindered by the need to mentally translate between the second and first languages. Faced with these difficulties in reaching an understanding of the content, some students seek refuge in memorising selected passages for reproduction in examinations.

As discussed earlier, the Hong Kong students have been classified as auxiliary language students. On a spectrum of language immersion they would therefore be placed between EFL (English as a Foreign Language) students who have limited use of the language and ESL students who use the language reasonably often. Assuming that fluency in the non-native language increases with use and immersion, the study approaches found in Hong Kong students are likely to apply to EFL students. They are less likely to be discovered as the use and degree of immersion increases. This is consistent with the results of Biggs' (1987) survey of Australian second language students, who had been immersed in an English language environment for extensive periods. They actually showed a lesser tendency to use a surface approach than first language speakers.

The study did not seek an answer to the long-standing debate of whether instruction in Hong Kong should be in English or Cantonese. This issue has been extensively debated elsewhere (e.g. Cheung, 1979, Fu, 1977; Kvan, 1969; Poon, 1979; Siu *et al.*, 1979). The student interviews, however, do suggest avenues for further exploration. Some face-to-face students who receive instruction in spoken English and have to read standard English textbooks expressed difficulties with the language of instruction, whereas the distance learning students who studied from English materials written and edited with their English ability in mind, did not express great difficulties with the language nor a preference for a course in Chinese. The students enrolled in the distance learning course written in Chinese would seem to have preferred one in English, though the sample was very small. Future research on the language of instruction might differentiate between spoken and written instruction and take into account the suitability of textual materials for the students.

References

Altbach, P.G. (1989). The new internationalism: foreign students and scholars. *Studies in Higher Education,* 14, 2, 125-136.

Biggs, J.B. (1969). Coding and cognitive behaviour. *British Journal of Educational Psychology,* 60, 287-305.

Biggs, J.B. (1979). Individual differences in studying processes and the quality of learning outcomes. *Higher Education,* 8, 381-394.

Biggs, J. (1987a). *Student approaches to learning and studying.* Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research.

Biggs, J. (1987b). The study process questionnaire (SPQ): manual. Hawthorn, Vic.: Australian Council for Educational Research.

Bigs, J.B. (1989). Does learning about learning help teachers with teaching? Psychology and the tertiary teacher. *University of Hong Kong Supplement to the Gazette, 36(1), 21-34.*

Biggs, J.B. (1989). Approaches to learning in two cultures. In Bickley, V. (ed.) *Teaching and learning styles within and across cultures: implications for language pedagogy.* Hong Kong Institute for Language in Education.

Cantwell, R. & Biggs, J.B. (1988). Effects of bilingualism and approach to learning on the writing and recall of expository text. In: M.M. Gruneberg, P.H. Morris & R.N. Sykes (Eds.), *Practical aspects of* *memory: volume 2 — clinical and educational implications.* London: Wiley.

Cheung, M.W. (1979). A comparison of secondary school pupils' comprehension of lessons taught in English and in auxiliary language. In N.L. Cheng (Ed.), *Issues in language of instruction in Hong Kong.* Hong Kong: Cosmos.

Cooper, S. (1980). Colonialist fetishism: an answer to the Hong Kong apologists. *Bulletin of the Hong Kong Psychological Society* 4, 33-43.

Entwistle, N.J., Hanley, M. & Hounsell, D.J. (1979). Identifying distinctive approaches to studying. *Higher Education, 8,* 365-380.

Entwistle, N.J. & Ramsden, P. (1983). *Understanding student learning.* London: Croom Helm.

Faerch, C. & Kasper. G. (1983). Plans and strategies in foreign language communication. In: C Faerch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Strategies in interlanguage communication.* London: Longman.

Fu, G.S. (1977). Affective factors in teaching English in Hong Kong. *Education Journal (CUHK), 6,* 215-22.

Gallagher, E.B. (1989). Institutional response to student difficulties with the "language of instruction" in an Arab Medical College. *Journal of Higher Education, 60(5),* 565-582.

Gibbons, J. (1982). The issue of the language of instruction in the lower forms of Hong Kong secondary schools. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 2, 117-28.

Gibbons, J. (1987). *Code-mixing and code choice: a Hong Kong case study.* Avon, England: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Gow, L. & Kember, D. (1990). Does higher education promote independent learning? *Higher Education,* 19, 307-322.

Graham, J.G. (1987). English language proficiency and the prediction of academic success. *TESOL Quarterly,* 21(3), 505-521.

Ho, D.Y.F. (1979). English language skills and academic performance. In: R. Lord (Ed.), *Hong Kong language papers.* Hong Kong: Hong Kong University.

Ho, D.Y.F. & Spinks, J.A. (1985). Multivariate prediction of academic performance by Hong Kong University students. *Contemporary Educational Psychology,* 10, 249-259.

Johnson, R.K. (1983). Bilingual switching strategies: a study of the modes of teacher-talk in bilingual secondary classrooms in Hong Kong. *Language Learning and Communication,* 2, 276-385.

Kvan, E. (1969). Problems of bilingual milieu in Hong Kong: strain of a two-language system. In: I.C. Jarvie (Ed.), *Hong Kong: a society in transition.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

795

Llewellyn, J. (Chairman) (1982). *A perspective on education in Hong Kong: report by a visiting panel.* Hong Kong: Government Printer.

Luke, K. K. & Richards, J. (1981). English in Hong Kong: functions and status. Paper presented at the RELC 16th Regional Seminar: Varieties of English and their implications for English language teaching in Southeast Asia, Singapore April 21-24.

Marton, F., Hounsell, D. & Entwistle, N. (1984). *The experience of learning. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.*

Marton, E. & Säljö, R. (1976). On qualitative differences in learning. I: outcome and process. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 46, 4-11.

Mok, M.C. (1985). The effects of medium of test on performance. Paper presented at *the Second Annual Conference of the Hong Kong Educational Research Association.*

Nie, N.H., Hull, C.M., Jenkins, J.G., Steinbrenner, K. & Bent, D.H. (1975). *SPSS statistical package for the social sciences.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Pask, G. (1976a). Styles and strategies of learning. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 46, 128-148.

Pask, (1987b). Conventional techniques in the study and practice of education. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 4b, 12-25.

Poon, S.K. (1979). An investigation of the language difficulties experienced by Hong Kong primary school leavers in learning Mathematics through the medium of English. In: N.L. Cheng (Eds.), *Issues in language of instruction in Hong Kong.* Hong Kong: Cosmos.

Ramsden, P. (1983). Student experience of learning. *Higher Education*, 12, 6, 691-703.

Ramsden, P. & Entwistle, N.J. (1981). Effects of academic departments on students' approaches to studying. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 51, 368-383.

Siu, P.K., Cheng, S.C., Hinton, A., Cheng, Y.N., Lo, L.F., Luk, H.K., Chung, Y.F. & Hsia, Y.S. (1979). *The effects of the medium of instruction on student cognitive development and academic achievement School of Education.* Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Tam, P.T.K. (1980). A survey of the language mode used in teaching junior forms in Anglo-Chinese secondary schools in Hong Kong. *RELC Journal*, 11(1).

Tam, P.T.K. & Yuen, P.P.Y. (1985). The effects of language of testing on performance. In L.F. Lo *et al.* (Eds.), *Selected papers from the First Annual Conference, Hong Kong Educational Research Association.*

Watkins, D. & Hattie, J. (1981). The learning processes of Australian university students: investigations of contextual and personological factors. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 51, 384–393.

Yu, V.W.S. & Atkinson, P.A. (1988). An investigation of the language difficulties experienced by Hong Kong secondary school students in English-medium schools: I: the problems. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 9(3), 267–284.

Acknowledgements

This research was carried out with a grant from the Hong Kong Polytechnic.

The research team would like to thank Professor John Biggs for supplying the SPQ questionnaire for the project and Mr. Peter Barnes for his advice.

The research team acknowledges the fruitful collaboration with the research team at the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong who are undertaking similar research into the approach to study of their students.

The Graeco-Latin Vocabulary of Formal English: Some Pedagogical Implications

Robert Kelly
Flinders University
Australia

Introduction

A well known difficulty for advanced students in dealing with formal English is that of vocabulary. Given the vast range of the lexicon, students, as Carter 1987 points out, will have to resort to various inferential strategies to solve lexical problems in comprehension.

Now, within the set of lexical items that is characteristic of formal English is a large number of words compounded of roots that are, ultimately, of Greek and Latin origin. Corson 1985 argues that these words pose considerable difficulties for certain groups of native speakers of English and that unfamiliarity with the Graeco-Latin vocabulary of English is a major cause of educational failure. Though most of Corson's argument is directed to the linguistic and educational difficulties of native speakers, some of his observations are relevant to the learning of English as a second or foreign language.

The two points of difficulty about the Graeco-Latin vocabulary that Corson mentions (its morphological complexity and what has been called "opacity" of the relationship between form and meaning) are to a large extent related. As Corson puts it:

> "Most of the abstract terminology of English lacks the 'aide memoire' to thought which is offered by the native-language-derived elemental metaphors embedded in the abstract words of other languages" (22).

By this he means that most lexical items of Greek and Latin origin cannot be analysed by native speakers, as they are based on foreign, unknown roots. As a result, both the form and the relationship of form to meaning is opaque. The complex form is an arbitrary sequence of written or spoken units without internal structure and the semantic contribution of the various internal units of the word to its meaning as a whole is simply not appreciated.

Consider the three words *see-through, transparent* and *diaphanous,* which are sufficiently similar in meaning for purposes of illustration. The first, *see-through,* is compounded of familiar English words and could be interpreted on first meeting without much difficulty by most learners. The second, *transparent,* though built of Latin roots, is a fairly common word and is likely to be learnt in the ordinary way, much as any other English word. The third word in the set, *diaphanous,* is rare and is probably not even in the recognition vocabulary of most native speakers. If it is known, it is recognised in form as a combination of an unknown *diaphan* and a recurring suffix *ous*. As a matter of historical fact, *diaphanous* is built on the Greek roots *dia* and *phan,* which can be glossed as "through" and "appear", respectively. The meaning of *diaphanous* ("transparent", "see-through"), in Greek terms, is thus related in a principled way to its internal structure. Moreover, the suffix *dia* is found in many English words borrowed from Greek (*diameter* and *diachronic,* for example) in a sense that can be seen to be constant ("through" in the spatial sense in *diameter* and in a temporal sense in *diachronic*). The second component of *diaphanous,* the root *phan* ("appear"), is less prolific but is also found in *phantom* in the related sense of "apparition". But this information is not available to speakers of English, which is the point that Corson is making. In borrowing from Latin and Greek, English has made much of its vocabulary opaque to its speakers.

A Proposal

Much of the Graeco-Latin vocabulary of formal English can be shown to be quite regular in the relationship between form and meaning. The principal difficulty that Corson alludes to, the "foreignness" of the constituent roots of the words, which results in both their formal and semantic obscurity, can be the object of systematic teaching.

It is therefore proposed that as part of a strategy for the vocabulary development of advanced students we teach, in some effective way, roots of Latin and Greek origin that underlie a significant number of English words of interest to given groups of students. The roots will be presented as forms accompanied by glosses that give a broad indication of their sense (or senses). Adopting the convention of writing these roots in all capitals, we might, for example, teach GE glossed as "earth", GRAPH, as "write, describe", CHRON, as "time" and so on (consider *geology, geochronology, geography, chronology, synchronise, asynchronous, graphic, graph*).

In evaluating this proposal, it is important that one bear in mind that it is offered for pedagogical purposes: as one way, among others, for students to develop their vocabulary. More precisely, one could describe the proposal as applied, synchronic and interventionist.

The analysis is applied in that it is meant to serve certain practical ends. This being so, there is no requirement that the forms of the roots or the glosses offered be pedantically true to the historical facts. Rather, the point of the proposal is to provide for the chosen roots those glosses which best account for the present day meanings of the words in which they occur. For example, it may turn out to be more useful pedagogically to treat AUTO as having two separate general senses: "self (as in *autosuggestion*) and "car" (as in *autospares* and *autoracing*), despite the historical connection via *automobile.*

The proposal adopts a synchronic, not a diachronic, perspective. It takes as its primary datum the spelling and meaning(s) of contemporary English words, so that it is not being suggested that the etymological structure of words determines their meaning. Rather the claim is that for a large number of words of classical origin their present meaning can be related in a principled way to their root structure. The proposal is also synchronic in another sense, in that it assumes no special knowledge of the history of English in the students.

The proposal is termed interventionist because it does not claim that the knowledge to be made available to students is to be equated with that which native speakers have as part of their lexical competence (see Aitchison 1987:112-7 on this point). While native speakers may be aware of patterns such as *extrude, extrusion* and *collide, collision,* and while an elegant theory of linguistic (phonological) competence may well attempt to capture such generalisations (cf. Hudson 1984:70), native speakers, without formal study, do not recognise any sense (or form) connections between, say, *delude* and *illusion*. This being so, a linguist who describes the structure of the English lexicon and equates this with the lexical competence of the idealised native speaker will not recognise any formal or semantic connection between these two words. It is irrelevant, from a synchronic perspective, that both *delude* and *illusion* are based on a common Latin root LUD (with the same spelling and sound changes as seen in *extrude* and *extrusion*) and that an appropriate glossing of LUD as "play, trick, deceive" can provide a semantic bridge between the two which complements the formal similarity. It is precisely this sort of connection that the proposal seeks to make known to students on the grounds that such information can be exploited for pedagogical purposes. In this sense, then, the proposal advocates an intervention in the learning process, aiming to provide (where it can be shown to be helpful) knowledge of an explicit kind that is not ordinarily acquired in either first or second/foreign learning.

Finally it should be noted that no particular way of teaching these roots is implied. In particular, it is not being suggested that students be given lists of roots and glosses to be learned by heart. The purpose of this paper is to argue for the usefulness of a certain kind of meta-linguistic knowledge. The task of developing pedagogical techniques to impart this knowledge is a separate issue. Whether or not it is better to deal with the root structure of words as they occur in class activities or to include a systematic examination of classical roots throughout a course are not matters that are dealt with here.

Proposal Detail

The aim of teaching classical roots is to contribute to vocabulary development and the claim is that one who is aware of the constituent roots and their senses will (in some way that is to be specified) be better equipped to deal with such words in comprehension and perhaps also in production. Before the justification for the proposal is developed, it will be useful to provide more details about what is intended and to point out some important limitations. In this way, the full scope of the proposal to be justified and defended will become apparent.

The status of Graeco-Latin words

In one important sense there is nothing special about the Graeco-Latin words that are used in English. Many of these words are part of ordinary English vocabulary and are not recognised as foreign or different by native speakers. Though such words as *transparent, comprehend, invade, apparent, agent, flame* and literally thousands of others are based on Latin roots, they are part of the ordinary vocabulary of English and pose no special problems for either native speakers or foreign learners.

Moreover, and this is an important point, the contemporary senses of many of the Graeco-Latin words that are in common use are now far removed from the constituent senses of the roots of which they are compounded, so that any attempt to account for the form-sense relationships of these words would fail. The word *manufacture* is a good example, being based on MANU ("hand") and FAC ("make") and thus having the etymological meaning "hand-made". The historical explanation is that the word was originally used with reference to goods made by human hand in contrast to those which were naturally occurring. The contemporary sense of *manufacture* has developed away from the original sense, so that now one could paraphrase the sense of the word as "machine-made" and contrast manufactured goods with those that are hand-made. Examples such as this are easy to cite. It is a safe assumption that the more frequently used a word is, the more likely it is to undergo shifts in meaning from the historical, etymologically based sense. In the case of words such as *manufacture* an analysis in terms of root structure would serve no useful purpose and may even be counter-productive.

The words of interest for the purposes of this proposal are those Graeco-Latin words which are typically found in formal English and likely to be unfamiliar for that reason, but which are still transparent in their structure and sense to those who are aware of their constituent roots and the meanings of those roots.

Productive roots

There are certain classical roots that are so productive in English that their teaching hardly needs justification. They are so frequent in formal, technical discourse that many will already have been learnt intuitively by students. Moreover, the words of which they are a part are typically still close in meaning to the root-derived senses. Consider the following two short lists:

> HOMO ("same") HETERO ("different") POLY ("many")
>
> PHON ("sound") GRAPH ("write, describe") MORPH ("form, shape, outward appearance") CENTR ("centre") GEN ("kind, type")

To anyone familiar with the form and senses of these roots the otherwise complex and difficult words listed below are both simple in structure and transparent in the relationship of form and meaning:

> homophonous ("having the same sound or pronunciation")
>
> homographs ("words that have the same spelling")
>
> homomorphic ("having the same form or shape")
>
> homocentric ("sharing the same centre point")
>
> homogeneous ("of the same kind" therefore "uniform in some way")

The list could be multiplied by combining all the given roots in the same way as in the examples, producing actual words such as *polymorphic* and *heterogeneous,* which, like others above, are at once easily analysable and comprehensible in meaning. Some of the words that the exercise of random combination would produce happen not to exist (e.g. *heteromorph* and *heterocentric*) but they could be invented if needed and would be as easily decipherable in form and meaning as the extant words based on these roots. An attested example of a phrase which, it can safely be assumed, would be intimidating to students and lay native speakers, but which is easily analysable to one who is familiar with the roots given

8'2

above is "heterographic homophone". To me, at least, the term *heterographic* was new but posed no problem even in an unhelpful context. One can safely infer that the writer wished to distinguish *homographic homophones* (such as *bank* "financial institution" and *bank* "side of a river") from *heterographic* ones (*sew, so, sow,* for example).

In certain favourable instances, such as those exemplified above, knowledge of the form and glossed senses of classical roots can be shown to be very useful, reducing words that are otherwise complex in form and mysterious in meaning to easily analysable and readily comprehensible products of familiar roots. Note that the patterns and consistencies only become apparent when a number of these forms and their derived words are studied together. If met in isolation or haphazardly in the course of communicative use, the patterns of form and meaning would not be obvious.

Hidden relationships

Not all the words of classical origin are as transparent in their structure or as uniformly related in their meanings to the senses of their constituent roots as those discussed above. Languages are not so regular in their lexical (or grammatical) structure as the carefully selected sample given above would seem to imply. So, while it cannot be claimed that the predictive and explanatory power of the technique of root analysis will be generally as productive as in those cases, there are other, lesser, benefits to be gained by those who are aware of the Graeco-Latin sources of English words.

As an example of these other benefits consider the two words *immense* and *limitless.* While *limitless* is transparent in its structure (given that *limit* is a common word and the suffix LESS is also learnt early), the word *immense* for most students (and for native speakers, for that matter) is unanalysable, an arbitrary sequence of phonemes or letters, arbitrarily paired with a sense. But if one learns that *immense* is composed of the negative prefix IN (with the usual sound and spelling assimilation to IM in Latin, which is taken over into English) and MENS ("measure") the form-sense relationship becomes transparent: "immeasurable, therefore huge". The overall sense of *immense* is thus seen to be as transparent as the familiar *limitless* and structured in much the same way.

More important, however, for the proposal is the fact that the value of knowing the roots IN and MENS is not limited to this case. For it can be easily shown that the now analysable *immense* can be related to *mensuration* ("measurement") and *commensurate.* The prefix CON in

803

commensurate is assimilated to COM in the same way as is IN in *immense* and is used in a common sense of "equal to". The etymological sense of this word would be "of equal measure to", which turns out to be a reasonable dictionary-style definition of its contemporary sense. Thus *commensurate* is plausibly related in sense and obviously related in form to *immense* and *mensuration*. All three are based on the one key root, MENS, which retains identity of form and a similarity of meaning in all three words, and all are prefixed with forms (IN and CON) that make a constant semantic contribution to the meaning of these and the many other words in which they occur. The claim then is that this approach will serve a mnemonic function, relating both form and meaning. For example, *commensurate*, as a written form, is no longer a sequence of twelve letters but is reduced to just three familiar chunks: CON, the frequently occurring ending URATE and the moderately productive MENS, which makes a constant and ascertainable semantic contribution to the words in which it occurs.

Form recognition

Another, somewhat weaker, claim that supports this proposal is that even if the meaning of unknown words cannot be inferred, either because the contemporary sense of a particular word has shifted from the original or because one constituent root is not known, certain help is still available to the student who recognises all or some of the constituent roots of words. To appreciate why this is so, suppose that a student of English meets the (to him) unknown words *greenhouse* and *fireworks* in unhelpful contexts. Now even though these words are transparent in their structure and based on familiar (Anglo-Saxon) constituents, there is little chance that the actual senses of these terms could be inferred from a knowledge of the meanings of the roots. However, it is reasonable to assume that the forms are much more likely to be recognised and retained, even if their senses have to be learned as a separate property of the words. Contrast this with the likely response of student who meets *pyrotechnics* and is unfamiliar with its root structure. It is reasonable to assume that *fireworks* will pose fewer difficulties as far as retention and reproduction of its form is concerned than will the unanalysable *pyrotechnics*.

The difference between *fireworks* on the one hand and the synonymous *pyrotechnics* on the other is that whereas *fireworks* is composed of roots that also occur as words (*fire* and *works*), which will be known to the student and recognised as the constituent element of *fireworks*, the constituent roots of *pyrotechnics*, PYR and TECHN, like many of the other productive classical roots that cause difficulties for students (and native speakers) do not occur as free morphemes and so are never met except as constituents of compound words. If the argument that knowledge of the form and a carefully chosen gloss is of value in predicting or explaining the form-meaning relationship of words or in providing mnemonic assistance with their written form then the roots will have to be taught specifically and directly, as it is unlikely that students, any more than native speakers, will come to an awareness of the form and senses of these roots in the normal course of language learning and language use.

Of course it may be that certain of these bound roots which are of frequent occurrence will be recognised (in form at least and perhaps also in sense) by some students. Consider the fairly common prefix TRANS ("across, through, over") which occurs in easily analysable examples such as *transatlantic (flights)* and *trans-Siberian (railway)*, and, less obviously, in such compounds as *transfer, transmit, transfusion, transition, transpose* and *transcribe*. If these words are known, they may well provide sufficient evidence for students to infer the semantic force of TRANS (in much the same way that most students will have become aware of the force of the negative prefix UN). But not all students or native speakers arrive at this knowledge, and given the claim that in all the words in which TRANS occurs (those listed in the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, for example) the etymological sense is still discernible, it would be as well not to leave such useful information to chance, but to draw students' attention to it (together with other productive roots) in some systematic and effective way.

English spelling

The prefixes CON and IN are highly productive in English. CON, which can be appropriately glossed as "with, together, equal to", appears in a number of guises: CO (as in *co-vary, co-worker*) and in the regular assimilations exemplified in *collide, compassion and correlate*. IN ("not") has a similar range of assimilated forms, seen in *illegible, impotent* and irregular. This is a highly regular pattern of form change and therefore can be learnt. Moreover, the only explanation for the doubled consonants in the written forms of *collide, correlate, illegible* and *irregular* and other such English words is in their root structure and not in the phonic rules of English spelling. An awareness of the structure of words can thus also serve as an explanation for the written form of English words and introduce order into what is otherwise capricious variation.

The aid to spelling that flows from a knowledge of the internal structure of words of Graeco-Latin origin is not limited to variations in the written forms of prefixes such as CON and IN. The apparently arbitrary spelling of a large number of words can be seen to be motivated if one has knowledge of the form and sense of the roots of which they are compounded. On the face of it, there is no good reason why the final syllable of *astronaut* is spelled as it is and not as *-nort*, *-nought* or *-naught* all of which (in British English at least) would result in exactly the same pronunciation.

It is of course no accident that this particular spelling of *astronaut* has been adopted. The word is a recent coinage, consciously built on the classical roots ASTRO ("star" and NAUT ("sailor"). (NAUT also occurs in *nautical* and, less obviously, in a different form, NAV--which shows a regular change of u to v--, in *navigate* and *navy*). The preservation of the original written form of classical root NAUT here (and in most other instances where classical roots occur in English words) is not fortuitous but represents the continuation of a convention deliberately adopted in the sixteenth century to render Latin and Greek roots in their romanised forms and thus to keep transparent their etymological origins (see Scragg 1975).

English (and also French) preserves the Latin spelling in words such as *philosophy*, using the digraph *ph* borrowed from Latin and prizing etymological considerations over orthographic regularity. Even colloquial expressions in English observe this convention. The very recent informal term *techie* (in the sense of "one skilled in the use of technology") preserves in its spelling its etymological connection with TECH (as in technology) and would not be recognised if rendered as *teckie* (which would result in the same pronunciation and uses the far more common *ck* as a rendering of /k/). Spanish and Italian, on the other hand, valuing spelling consistency more highly, adopt *philosophy* as *filosofia*, making the written form conform to the native spelling conventions, which uses the letter f to represent /f/. The same preference for an orthography that is consistent in sound-symbol relationships is seen in Malay and Indonesian (which render *science* as *sains*, and *fashion* as *fesyen*, for example).

Carol Chomsky 1970, from the perspective of generative phonology, has argued that, historical considerations aside, English is well spelled, despite its apparent waywardness. She claims that English adopts the principle of "lexical spelling" which, as she puts it, means that "...on the lexical level and in the orthography, words that are the same look the same" (298). In terms of generative phonology, words are "the same" if derived by consistent phonological rules from the same underlying phonological form. However, the generativist explanation is, in effect, equivalent for pedagogical purposes to the historical account adopted in this paper. Thus though the spelling of *sign* with its "unphonetic" letter *g* may appear unwarranted, in C. Chomsky's account, the

8[illegible]6

spelling preserves the lexical relationship of the word with *signature, signal* and others based on the underlying form /sign/, thus satisfying the principle of "lexical spelling". In historical terms, all the cited words are based on the classical root SIGN, which remains constant in its written representation, here as elsewhere.

From the perspective adopted in this paper, it can be claimed that the written form of many English words of classical origin is better accounted for with reference to their root structure and, crucially for present purposes, this consistency of form is accompanied by a semantic relationship as well, in a large number of cases. The common form and the shared element of meaning that many such words exhibit can be used as a mnemonic device giving help with both form and meaning.

Metaphorical relationships

It often happens that the more common of a number of senses that a lexical item has is one that, in historical terms, is a later metaphorical extension of the original sense. The word *intangible,* for example, would be known to students and native speakers of English in a sense that might be rendered as "non-substantial, difficult to see or specify". A phrase such as *intangible benefits* would then be understood as referring to benefits that in some way are less evident, less easy to describe or quantify than *tangible benefits,* that is, benefits which are open to inspection and immediately obvious. Yet the source of these contemporary senses of *tangible* and *intangible* is a common metaphor from the literal to the figurative domain: the common root of both words is TANG ("touch"), so that the etymological sense of *tangible* is "touchable", hence "real, substantial". The other member of the set, *intangible,* has the prefix IN with its usual negative force, producing an etymological sense "untouchable", hence, "not evident to the senses, not immediately apprehensible".

Now it might be asked what benefit follows from knowing that the contemporary senses of these two words are systematically related by metaphorical extension to the Latin meaning of the principal root TANG. In the case of the root TANG the benefit is that it makes available to the language user ("whether native speaker or advanced second or foreign language student) the source of the metaphorical senses of the words. This is the second of the points that Corson made above, that English in deriving so many of the terms it uses in abstract formal discourse from foreign roots hides from its speakers the source of the metaphors that furnish the means of dealing with the abstract. Moreover, and this is crucial, being aware of the "original", non-metaphorical sense of the term, can be a useful hint to the contemporary, metaphorically extended sense.

It often turns out that certain words are used in both literal and figurative senses whose connection defies comprehension. Take the case of the word *abstract* itself and recall that it occurs as a verb (to abstract something), as a noun (an abstract of an article) and, in the sense in which it has been used here, as an adjective. On the face of it, there seems no semantic connection at all between its sense as a verb ("remove something"), as a noun ("a summary of the content of an article") and as an adjective ("non-physical, non-concrete"). In etymological terms, the fundamental sense is that seen in the verb: the roots are ABS (a variant form of AB, "from, away") and TRAC ("drag, take, move"), hence the etymological sense, which is preserved in the verb *abstract*, is "take, remove from". The historical explanation for the sense of the noun is that an abstract of an article is the result of taking the gist of the article, while in the adjective (and the related *abstraction*) the contemporary sense can be accounted for metaphorically: that which is abstract has been removed from the physical, tangible world, or, as the Concise Oxford Dictionary defines it, is "separated from matter, practice or particular examples". Consider also the force of TRAC in such words as *subtract, detract, extract, traction, tractor, protract* and *retract* and the sense relationship that the gloss provides for the contemporary meanings of these words.

As a further example of this kind of dormant semantic relationship among words, we may examine the apparently unrelated set of words all based on PUNC: *puncture, punctuate, punctilious, punctual.* The common form they share can profitably be glossed as "point". The sense of the verb *puncture,* in etymological terms, is to make a small hole or point in some material, while to *punctuate* is to make points or marks in written texts. *Punctilious* in the usual sense of "fastidious" is related to the others through the notion of paying attention to small points of detail, while *punctual* is based on the same metaphor that is still current in "point of time": one who is punctual comes "on the dot", so to speak. The words based on PUNC, as in the case of *abstract, tangible* and *intangible* above and many other words of classical origin, show the same pattern of literal and figurative variation on an etymological sense which is plausibly related to the current senses of the items.

That words of Graeco-Latin origin are often related through metaphorical extensions of an underlying sense, as in the cases cited and many others, is not a peculiarity of these words. The English-based word *breakthrough,* for example, in its metaphorical sense of "important advance (in knowledge or in the solution of a problem)" is just one example of the general way that words are pressed into service to meet conceptual and communicative needs (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980 and Aitchison 1987:143 ff.). However, while *breakthrough* is composed of familiar roots and transparent in form (if not predictable in its metaphorical meaning), words such as *abstract*, which show the same linguistic and conceptual forces at work, cannot be analysed because they are built of foreign roots whose forms and literal senses are not available to the native speaker or the learner, because they never occur as free morphemes (in contrast to *break* and *through*, for example).

Justification of the Proposal

In summary, the proposal to make advanced students aware, in some pedagogically effective way, of the form and senses of certain useful roots of Greek and Latin origin can be justified on a number of grounds.

In certain cases a knowledge of such roots enables one to predict, within limits, the likely senses of the compound words of which they are formed (e.g. *polymorphic*) and to reproduce the correct spelling. The fact that these productive roots occur in a large number of words means that students are dealing with known forms, not arbitrary sequences of letters (cf. *astronaut* and *nautical*), which, moreover, are related to the sense of the word in some plausible way. Even if the contemporary sense or a reasonable approximation cannot be derived, familiarity with some of the constituent roots of these Graeco-Latin words is likely to be an aid to retention of the form (e.g. take the case of *heterophyllous:* "(a tree) that has different kinds of foliage", which is built from the now familiar HETERO and OUS suffix and an unknown PHYLL--"leaves, foliage": the new learning required is focussed on just one element of the word).

The second justification is that the spelling of English words is explicable in the case of classical words only with reference to their root structure and not to any regular pattern of sound-symbol correspondence. Examples given were the doubled consonants of such words as *irregular, illegal* and *immutable* (representing assimilated versions of the negative prefix IN) but the phenomenon goes far beyond this and is the result of a conscious decision to preserve the original written form of words imported into English from classical sources with no concessions to English pronunciation or native spelling conventions.

The third claim is that exploitation of knowledge of the root structure may open up the metaphorical origins of much of the abstract terminology of formal discourse and also enable students to see the connections between words that, in synchronic terms, seems to have no discernible semantic relationship. In many cases, knowledge of the etymological sense of a word, even if its contemporary meaning is a metaphorical extension of that sense, can provide a good basis for the understanding of that contemporary meaning. This is so because, as Lakoff and Johnson 1980 argue at length, metaphorical extension is the usual case in lexical development and language users are peculiarly apt at seizing the metaphorical and figurative connections in the senses of words. It was an ESL speaker, for example, who suggested to me the relationship of *punctual* to PUNC ("point") through the expression "on the dot", showing an awareness not uncommon, of figurative connections. Paradoxically, then, knowledge of a no longer extant, literal, root-derived meaning of words can often serve as a basis for an appreciation of their current extended senses.

Generally, the justification for the proposal rests on the claim that knowledge of the form and senses of classical roots can assist in the development of vocabulary and can serve a predictive, explanatory or mnemonic function for the contemporary meanings and forms of lexical items of classical origins.

Limitations and Difficulties

There are certain difficulties and limitations connected with this proposal. First of all it will be important not to lead students into what Lyons (1977:244) calls the etymological fallacy, that is, the belief that in some way the historical senses of the constituent roots of words *determine* their current meaning. The contemporary senses of lexical items in English are to be taken as given and root analysis is valuable only in so far as it can help students with the present form and meanings of words.

Secondly, it is likely this information on the form and senses of productive classical roots will be of value only to advanced students who are already proficient in English and are required to deal with formal abstract discourse such as that which characterises tertiary level studies. The study of classical roots and the structure of words of Graeco-Latin origin will be only one of many possible strategies for vocabulary extension for these students.

The third limitation is the fact that root analysis will be successful only with a restricted set of Graeco-Latin words, generally, those that are not in common use. Even here there will be some unexpected results typical of less than complete regularities one finds in language: *impertinent*, for example, is not the negative form of *pertinent*, despite the identity of root structure and the presence of the negative prefix IN in its usual assimilated form IM (see Cruse 1986:28 for other examples).

The fourth difficulty that needs to be mentioned may be more apparent than real. Whatever pedagogical techniques are developed to impart, and help students retain, this metalinguistic knowledge of classical roots, it is clear that these activities will not be "communicative", as the term is used in current pedagogical discourse. In some way students will be focussing on words as linguistic objects and not as components of connected text.

I mention this point to draw attention to a wider issue and to cast doubt on the belief that underlies much current speculation about language teaching, namely that all aspects of language learning should be "communicative" and that the direct, formal study of language is to be avoided. Though these strictures are typically aimed at the direct teaching and examination of grammatical rules, the general climate of opinion is that there is little place for the study of language as a system. Yet the value to advanced students of being aware of the form and senses of such classical roots as those given above is at least one example of the benefit of explicit meta-knowledge of the system as an aid to proficiency, (given that extending one's vocabulary and being confident in inferring the meaning of complex but unknown lexical items can be counted as a contribution to proficiency). In any case, as Richards points out, there is no reason to believe that all learning activities should be communicative or indeed that exclusively communicative syllabuses are likely to be more successful than other kinds of syllabus (1985:43).

References

Aitchison, J. 1987. Words in the mind: An introduction to the mental lexicon. Oxford: Blackwell.

Corson, D. 1985. The lexical bar. Oxford: Pergamon.

Carter, R. 1987. Vocabulary and second/foreign language teaching. Language Teacher 20. 1, 3-16.

Chomsky, C. 1970. Reading writing and phonology. Harvard Educational Review 40, 2. 297-309.

Cruse, D. A. 1986. Lexical semantics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hudson, R. 1984. Word grammar. Oxford: Blackwell.

Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. 1980. Metaphors we live by. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lyons, J. 1977. Semantics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J.C. 1985. The context of language teaching. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Scragg, D.G. 1975. A history of English spelling. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Fluency Improvement in a Second Language

Supot Arevart and
Paul Nation
Victoria University of Wellington

Abstract

This article looks at the effect of a technique which gets learners to tell the same story three times to different listeners with decreasing time for each retelling. During the activity learners made substantial gains in speed of speaking and reduced the number of hesitations in their retellings. The technique allowed learners to perform at a level higher than their normal level of fluency.

Fluency in language learning includes the ability to make the most effective use of what is already known. Fillmore (1979) describes four kinds of fluency, the first of which is "the ability to fill time with talk". This requires learners to be able to draw quickly on their language resources in order to put their message across. A lack of fluency is characterized by a slow and hesitant delivery and in some cases by the presence of grammatical error as a result of a lack of sufficient time for planning.

The 4/3/2 Technique

In an attempt to provide spoken fluency practice for learners of English as a second language, Maurice (1983) devised the 4/3/2 technique. In this technique, learners deliver a 4-minute talk on a familiar topic to a partner. Then they change partners and deliver the same talk to a different partner but with a 3-minute time limit. Finally, they change partners again and deliver the same talk in two minutes to their new partner. Thus, each speaker has to deliver the same talk three times to three different people with a decrease in the time available for each delivery. Each of these three features, a changing audience, repetition, and decreasing time, makes an important contribution to the development of fluency. The changing audience makes sure that the speaker's focus continues to remain on the message, because although the message is repeated it is delivered each time to someone who has not heard it before. This also reduces the speaker's need to add new information to the talk. If it was delivered to the same listener more than once, the speaker may feel the need to keep the listener interested by changing the content. The second feature, the repetition of the talk, has a major effect on fluency because it increases the speaker's familiarity with both the form and content of the material and thus increases the speed with which a speaker can access wanted forms. The third feature, the decrease in time from four to

813

three to two minutes, has several effects. Firstly, it puts pressure on the speaker to increase the rate of speaking, and secondly it greatly limits the opportunity for the speaker to add new material in the 3- and 2-minute deliveries of the talk. This is important because the addition of new material reduces the proportion of repeated material between the talks. Having the same material repeated from one talk to the other allows the speaker to reach a level of performance in terms of fluency and accuracy which is higher than the speaker's usual performance.

In the following study the speaker's performance on the first (4-minute) delivery is assumed to be the speaker's usual level of performance. The second (3-minute) and third (2-minute) deliveries are compared with this to see if there is improvement.

Repetition and Fluency

Research on the effect of repetition on speaking fluency has shown that repetition has positive effects on spoken performance. Study of the role of repetition on spontaneous speech can be traced back to an experiment conducted by Goldman-Eisler (1968). In the experiment, the subjects were asked to describe and interpret cartoons. Under unlimited time, the speakers were asked to repeat the talk six times. Goldman-Eisler found that the duration of pauses gradually decreased from the first to the sixth repetition.

Hieke (1981b) studied a procedure he devised called Audio-Lectal practice (ALP), and conducted a study to investigate the effect of repetition on fluency. In the procedure, graded texts of increasing length and complexity in both vocabulary and sentence structure are recorded at normal native speed. First, learners listen to the text while silently reading the text given. Secondly, while listening and looking at the text, they simultaneously speak onto the tape in an imitative fashion. Thirdly, they listen to their own versions, comparing them with the model and jotting down phonological errors and all other deviant features. Finally, the learners repeat step 2, but at this stage they must reduce their errors. Repetition continues until their version matches the model as much as possible.

Tests were given before and after 12 sessions of training to 29 intermediate to low-advanced students studying English as a foreign language. The format of each test was identical. In the first part of each test, the subjects were asked to listen to a 5 minute short story once. They were not allowed to take notes. Then they had to paraphrase the story in three minutes. In the second part of each test, the subjects' task was to tell a story based on a series of cartoons. The recordings were transcribed and analyzed. Fluency was measured in terms of speech rate. It was obtained by calculating the number of syllables spoken divided by total speech time. Hesitation phenomena were also counted. The comparison between the results of the pre- and post-tests within each test showed that the speaking rate increased and the number of hesitations decreased. Further, Hieke pointed out that, amongst hesitation phenomena, ah-phenomena tended to decrease much more than repeats and false starts.

A study involving the effects of repetition on the control of content was carried out by Brown et al. (1984). Their subjects were asked to work on two types of tasks, namely a static task and a dynamic task. In the static task, the speaker had to provide the hearer with sufficient instructions on how to reproduce a diagram, re-arrange a particular model, or put parts of an object together. In the dynamic task, the speaker had to describe pictures so that the hearer could either choose the correct picture according to the order or identify persons or things appearing in the pictures. Two studies were conducted, each of which consisted of two sessions one week apart. In the first study, the subjects were given practice in speaking on the task. In the second type, the subjects experienced the hearer's role immediately prior to performing the task as the speakers. The learners' talks were analyzed for the amount of detail they contained.

Brown et al. (1984) found that the amount of required information increased in the second occasion of each study. Further, it significantly increased if the subjects had been in the hearer's role before they performed as the speaker. Brown et al. concluded that speakers performed better when offered prior experience in speaking on the task, and even better if they had experience in taking the hearer's role.

In a study involving only six speakers, Nation (1989) found that while doing the 4/3/2 technique learners significantly increased their speed of speaking, reduced the number of hesitations, reduced certain types of grammatical errors, and used two or three more complex constructions to convey the same information. The present study is an attempt to replicate the previous study with a larger group of people and to look at the relationship between speed of speaking and hesitation. It investigates the following questions. Does repetition of a talk result in increased fluency as measured by words per minute and hesitations per 100 words? Are both of these measures necessary to assess fluency?

Subjects and Procedure

The 20 subjects in the experiment were 10 males and 10 females with ages ranging from 19 to 50 years. They came from 16 different countries including Switzerland, China and Tonga. They were all members of an English proficiency course at Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, and had obtained total scores on dictation, vocabulary and cloze tests that placed them within an intermediate range of proficiency. The study was conducted after the subjects had been following the course for eight weeks.

The speakers talked to classmates who shared the same daily experience, and the relationships among the learners were established in that they had become acquainted with each other over the preceding eight weeks of their course. As the transcripts show, the learners had no difficulty in addressing one another and talking at length to each other.

To avoid the effect that shared L1 backgrounds might have on the performance, the subjects were split into five groups. Each group participating in the experiment consisted of students with four different first languages.

Initially, the subjects were told to talk about their own experiences, but topics of common interest were also permitted since they made the subjects feel at ease. It was decided to have the subjects select the topic according to personal interest because such a topic might encourage a better performance in that the speaker has a particular reason for speaking and feels confident about it.

Table 1 summarizes the relationship and sequences in which the subjects performed each of the four 4/3/2 activities that they were involved in. For example, when Subject A became a speaker, the other subjects, B, C and D, in turn played the role of the listener. As soon as A finished the task, A became the third listener in the second sequence; and Subject

Table 1
The Arrangement of the Subjects

Sequence	Speakers	Listener 1	Listener 2	Listener 3
1	Subject A	Subject B	Subject C	Subect D
2	Subject B	Subject C	Subject D	Subject A
3	Subject C	Subject D	Subject A	Subject B
4	Subject D	Subject A	Subject B	Subject C

B, in turn, became the first speaker in the second sequence. So in the four activities that A was involved in, A was the speaker in the first activity, the third listener in the second activity, the second listener in the third activity and the first listener in the fourth activity.

The talks were tape-recorded and later transcribed. Where necessary the transcriptions were checked with the speakers. Hesitations, repetitions, long pauses and errors were all included in the transcripts. Each 9 minutes of talk (4 plus 3 plus 2) took approximately an hour and a half to transcribe. The Appendix contains one full transcript of the Swiss learner's three deliveries. It is typical of the average performance according to words per minute and hesitations per 100 words. Notice the large amount of material which is common to all three deliveries.

The study examines the effectiveness of the 4/3/2 technique and does not attempt to separate the effects of decreasing time and repetition. As has been pointed out in the description of the technique, these two variables form an important relationship in the 4/3/2 technique. The decreasing time allowance increases the pressure to repeat the same material in the following deliveries and not add new material, and the repetition allows the speaker to cope effectively with the decreasing time allowance.

Analysis and Results

Fluency was measured by calculating a) the speaking speed in words per minute and b) the number of hesitations per 100 words. Words per minute were counted with contracted forms counted as separate words. So, *I'm* was counted as two words. In this study hesitations included *ah* phenomena (*ah, er, um*), repairs (*you had hadn't you had never met*), sentence incompletion (*before they said that the it mean that is 1975*), repetition (*if anyone don't go to work they they they accuse that* ...), markers of correction (*about five years or sorry about five or seven year*), and intrusions such as throat clearing or sighs. Each hesitation unit was counted as one item. So, one repair containing four words was counted as one hesitation. Each repetition was counted as a hesitation. So, *to to to go to different schools* included two hesitations, the second and third utterances of *to*. Research by Lennon (1990) supports the use of speech rate (words per minute) and filled pauses (hesitations) as indicators of fluency improvement.

There was an average increase of just over 18 words per minute (21.5%) from the first to the third delivery. If the first delivery is taken as the learners' normal rate, we can see that by the third talk they are clearly

Table 2
Changes in speed of speaking for 20 subjects over three deliveries of the same talk

Subject	Wpm in the 1st delivery	Wpm in the 2nd delivery	Wpm in the 3rd delivery	Percentage increase
1	106.75	91.33	118.50	11%
2	97.00	110.33	127.00	23.6%
3	56.75	62.33	57.50	1.3%
4	122.75	120.00	121.00	– 1.4%
5	78.75	84.66	88.00	11.7%
6	84.00	87.00	105.00	25%
7	88.25	95.00	104.00	17.8%
8	94.00	105.66	111.00	18.1%
9	64.25	70.33	82.50	28.4%
10	85.50	101.00	111.00	29.8%
11	66.25	76.33	82.00	23.8%
12	130.00	139.00	151.50	16.5%
13	89.00	88.66	101.00	13.5%
14	66.75	85.33	108.19	62.1%
15	58.75	65.33	82.50	40.4%
16	101.00	120.00	114.50	13.4%
17	110.50	117.66	112.50	1.8%
18	49.50	71.00	77.00	55.6%
19	79.00	96.33	120.00	51.9%
20	60.00	65.66	77.00	28.3%
Average	84.44	92.65	102.59	21.5%

performing well above normal. Only three subjects showed little change in the words per minute rate, and two of these were already speaking at a reasonable rate in their first delivery. PROC GLM in SAS was used to analyze the data with subject as a random effect crossed with occasion (i.e. whether it was the 1st, 2nd or 3rd delivery). Using the occasion-subject interaction as an error term for the test of an effect due to occasion produced an F value of 33.41 on (2, 38) degrees of freedom, which is significant at 0.0001. That is, while doing the 4/3/2 activity the learners made significant increases in their speed of speaking.

As learners move from one delivery to the next we would expect the number of hesitations they make to decrease. Table 3 shows that this happens. On average, the speakers made 17.5 hesitations in their first delivery and 13.64 in their third. This represents a decrease of 3.88

hesitations per 100 words or 22%. A similar calculation to that used for rate of speaking produced an F value of 8.65 on (2, 38) degrees of freedom, which is significant at 0.0008, showing that the increase in speed was accompanied by a significant decrease in the rate of hesitations.

Table 3
Change in rate of hesitations for 20 subjects over three deliveries of the same talk

Subjects	Hesitations per 100 words in the 1st delivery	Hesitations per 100 words in the 2nd delivery	Hesitations per 100 words in the 3rd delivery	Percentage decrease
1	5.39	4.02	1.27	76.4%
2	22.42	16.92	15.35	31.5%
3	15.86	12.30	13.91	12.3%
4	10.00	15.56	18.18	+81.8%
5	22.86	16.93	18.75	18%
6	7.44	8.81	10.48	40.9%
7	13.88	11.23	6.25	55%
8	22.87	15.77	17.57	23.2%
9	21.01	21.80	13.94	33.7%
10	19.30	16.83	18.02	6.6%
11	17.74	13.54	11.59	34.7%
12	2.70	2.16	1.98	26.7%
13	10.39	9.77	5.94	42.8%
14	33.71	23.05	24.38	27.7%
15	25.53	26.02	26.06	+2.1%
16	6.43	5.83	6.55	+1.9%
17	12.67	9.63	13.78	+8.8%
18	36.36	22.54	20.13	44.6%
19	9.81	6.57	7.75	21%
20	34.00	26.40	21.00	38.2%
Average	17.52	14.28	13.64	22.1%

Note, however, that five of the learners increased the number of hesitations from the first to the third delivery. Three of these people however made substantial increases in rate, supporting Lennon's (1990) finding that learners may improve on different variables. The two measures of fluency show that having the opportunity to repeat a talk results in regular, significant improvements for most learners. Several repetitions are clearly better than just one because the effect is incremental.

The two variables, words per minute and hesitations per 100 words, are so strongly correlated that a combination of words per minute minus (hesitations per 100 words times 7.648) explains 95% of the variance in the covariance matrix. The two variables are thus very similar measures of fluency. If this combination of the two variables is analyzed using a similar procedure to that used for the individual variables (i.e. a Multivariate ANOVA), then the F value is 33.49 on (2, 38) degrees of freedom using Roy's maximum root criterion, and the significance of occasion is 0.0001. Note that this is only fractionally larger than the F value of 33.41 for words per minute alone. This shows that using just words per minute as a measure would be sufficient to reach an acceptable comparative estimate of a learner's fluency.

Discussion

The significant improvement that learners made over the three deliveries of their talks indicates the value of spoken fluency activities that provide the opportunity for repetition with a focus on the message. Although learners have a command of lexical and grammatical items, they may have difficulty in accessing them when their attention is focused on conveying a message. As this study of the 4/3/2 technique shows, given repeated opportunities to access wanted items, most learners are able to do this successfully. If learners are to improve in fluency they need to have the chance to perform at a level above their usual level of performance. The 4/3/2 technique allows them to do this.

Some linguists such as Mahl (1956), have characterized hesitations as ill-formedness phenomena which interrupt the smoothness of utterances. Others, e.g. Hieke (1981a), Crystal (1981) and Temple (1985) have considered them as well-formedness phenomena which contribute to better quality speech production. The findings of our study incorporate both of these views. In the initial delivery of their talk, hesitations allowed the learners to plan what they would say and to access wanted items. This is the well-formedness aspect of hesitations. By the time learners gave their third delivery of the talk, the presence of hesitations had been greatly reduced and many of those left marred a fluent performance adding an ill-formed element.

Using 4/3/2

The 4/3/2 technique can be used with both small and large classes. In large classes seating needs to be arranged so that half the learners stay where they are and the other half moves on to their next partner. We have used it in large lecture halls with the people at the ends of rows moving and those inside staying seated.

Maurice (1983) suggests that the learners in a pair take turns at delivering their talks before moving on to their new partner. In this experiment and our use of the technique, we have had speakers repeat their talks immediately without having to alternate listener roles, so that there is more chance of them repeating more of the material in the later deliveries of their talk.

On occasions with learners of low proficiency, we have allowed time for learners to plan and discuss their talk with each other before beginning the 4/3/2 procedure. Planning should have the effect of raising the speakers' level of performance, but we have not tested this experimentally.

The value of the research described in this paper rests on the following assumptions. Firstly, fluency is a trainable aspect of skill in language use. Secondly, one way of improving fluency is through message focused repetition of long turns. Thirdly, the fluency improvement achieved in practice tasks will carry over to other tasks requiring similar language resources. This experiment has provided support for the first two of these assumptions. Further research is needed to test the third.

References

Brown, G., Anderson, A., Shillcock, R., and Yule, G. (1984) *Teaching Talk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crystal, D. (1987). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fillmore, C.J. (1979). On fluency, in Fillmore, C.J., Kempler, D., and Wang, W.S.-J. eds. *Individual Differences in Language Ability and Language Behavior*. Academic Press, New York.

Goldman-Eisler, F. (1968). *Psycholinguistics: Experiments in Spontaneous Speech*. New York: Academic Press.

Hieke, A.E. (1981a). A content processing view of hesitation phenomena. *Language and Speech*, 8:207-216.

Hieke, A.E. (1981b). Audio-lectal practice and fluency acquisition. *Foreign Language Annals*, 14, 3:189-194.

Lennon, P. (1990). Investigating fluency in EFL: a quantitative approach *Language Learning*, 40:387-417.

Mahl, G.F. (1956). Disturbances and silences in the patient's speech in psychotherapy. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 53, 1-15.

Maurice, K. (1983). The fluency workshop. *TESOL Newsletter* 17(4), 29.

Nation, I.S.P. (1989). Improving speaking fluency. *System* 17, 3:377-384.

Rochester, S.R. (1973). The significance of pauses in spontaneous speech. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research*, 2, 51-81.

Temple, L. (1985). He who hesitates is not lost: Fluency and the language learner. *Revue de Phonetique Appliquee*, 73-74-75, 293-302.

APPENDIX

A transcript of a 4/3/2 talk

The four-minute delivery

"Hallo Hiro I would like to tell you about eh events the traditional events who happened in Switzerland it's called eh /k/eh Fastnacht it's in English means carnival it happens eh in the month of the February and it's goes it happens one month, the whole February and it is some people they dress up in fancy clothes long clothes coloured clothes and also they paint their face so you can't eh recognize them or sometimes they put on masks and then sometimes they wear big hats or without hats and then they walking during the day through the street and make noise with drums or they blow et in in instruments and a lot of people watch them it ah all people are included or involved in this eh events also children they do the same and (2 secs) you can watch them and if you stand in the street and you hear the music you get very warm you know exciting because it's ah very ah exciting but it's very cold because it's winter time do you know the winter time in eh do you have winter in in Japan winter winter it is very cold and snow so sometimes we have to go in a restaurants to warm up us to get warm you know and they make also some wagons carriage with eh eh events who happen during the year you know like political (3 secs) events or or I I don't know and then after then when you watch them you can have eh hot sausage they they make hot sausages and you can buy them and eat them it's very funny and there in the evening there are are some balls you know for dancing the meet the people meet each other to dance by music also in these fancy clothes and you can't see the face before twelve o'clock after twelve o'clock they eh they they mask off their faces and then you can see who with who you enjoy the whole evening (laugh) oh it's it's very funny and shshsh then eh make this balls goes on till two o'clock in the morning then they go home you know also lots of alcoholic eh consumed consumed because eh it's ah ah happy things eh this eh festivity means they would like to throw away the winter thus the summer should come very soon so they like to have the time the warm time the the summer."

The three-minute delivery

"Hello Sherry em I would like to tell you about a traditional events who occur in Switzerland and in the during the month of February it's eh nice events people they dress up ah in fancy clothes long clothes long long clothes coloured clothes in eh different kinds of of shape and also they paint their eh faces in many colours and sometime thick colour you know and also all mask them so you can't recognize them and they wear also big hat and they walking to the through the street um they sometimes they have instruments like drums or um to blow in blow in instrument children are also involved in these events they dress up also sometimes the most of them are clow clowns you know nice faces and they have some pipes to make noise and (2 secs) there are some people they watch them when they go through the street (2 secs) um (4 secs) after sometime it's very cold because it happens in the winter if you get cold you have to go inside to have eh some drink but if you stand outside if the people walk through the street and with this music you get very exciting you know there is a lot of fun (3 secs) um after the af in the evening there are some balls you know people they go in these dresses for for dancing eh and also their faces eh with colour or masks and they dance the whole evening with somewhere maybe with different people and then after twelve o'clock they they mask and eh also put the eh paint away so the people can recog recognize with whom she they enjoy the evening it's a very funny eh events and it is a lot of fun I I was also sometimes clown eh dressed up and and you can make joke with people you you never done before (3 secs) and (2 secs) it it's eh go."

The two-minute delivery

"So I talk you about the events who happens in Switzerland it's called "Fasching" or Carnival people they dress up in fancy clothes coloured clothes in different shapes also they colour their face or mask their face and wear hats they have also some musics instruments like drums or blow instruments and they are walking during the day through the street some people watch them also little children are children are involved in this a um events (2 secs) it is very cold at this time it's winter time and it happens during the whole February in the evening people meet each other in in for a ball for a dancing also in these fancy clothes in these fancy ah coloured face or mask and after twelve o'clock (3 secs) eh they make joke with people you know but they don't know them so after twelve o'clock they they mask their face so the pe the people know with whom they enjoy the evening (2 secs) um (3 secs) it's very cold what would I say and it's it's going on till two o'clock in the morning and it means because it's winter time they would like to come very soon the spring and summer these events means the the spring these events means the the spring or summer should come very soon because they don't like the winter."

Current Research in Southeast Asia

Yolanda Beh
RELC

There is continuous demand for information on language-related research pertaining to Southeast Asia. Attempts to meet it are made by publishing reports of research being undertaken in or related to the region. Appreciation is expressed to researchers for their reports and at the same time a plea is made for more contributions. Researchers may either send write-ups on their work (under the headings: Title, Description, Principal researcher, Sponsoring or financing body, if applicable,) to or request a form from the following address:

Librarian and Head of Information Centre
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

MALAYSIA

Title: **Towards a Lexicon of the Kelabit Language**

Description: This study proposes to record the verbal form of the contemporary Kelabit language and more specifically to establish the meanings and usages of words as they are used in social situations by the native speakers. It is essentially a case study of lexicographical research, an initial step towards an eventual comprehensive examination and codification of the Kelabit language.

The Population Census (1987) estimated that there are 5059 Kelabits. The majority of the younger Kelabits are now living in the urban centres where they are engaged in a wide range of occupations, some having attained tertiary and college education. Many of the older generation, however, are still living in their "homeland" in the region of Bario, Long Lellang and Lond Seridan.

An important motivation of this study, besides the compilation of a preliminary lexicon, is its potential value as a source book of the Kelabit culture since the lexicon of a language reflects the social realities of the speech community which uses the language.

Principal researcher: Eileen Yen Ee Lee
Language Instructor
Centre of Social Sciences and Management
Universiti Pertanian Malaysia Bintulu Campus
P O Box 396, 97008 Bintulu, Sarawak
Malaysia

Sponsoring or financing body: Universiti Pertanian Malaysia

Title: **Commercial Correspondence in English**

Description: The purpose of this research project is to evaluate the existing commercial correspondence course "Written Communication in Business" taken by students of the Faculty of Economics and Resource Management in Universiti Pertanian Malaysia. A needs analysis will be conducted among the companies that accept the students for practical training which should reveal the kinds of Business English writing tasks that the students need to perform on the job. A sample analysis of the students' writing in English will also be done. Based on the results, a new Business English writing course will be proposed.

Principal researcher: Goh Seng Pang
Lecturer
Jabatan Bahasa
Fakulti Pengajian Pendidikan
Universiti Pertanian Malaysia
43400 UPM Serdang
Malaysia

Other researcher: Chan Swee Heng
Lecturer
Jabatan Bahasa
Fakulti Pengajian Pendidikan
Universiti Pertanian Malaysia

Title: **An Investigation into the Possible Application of Vygotskyan Cognitive Theory as a Valid Psycholinguistic Framework for Second Language Acquisition**

Description: This is a study of the acquisition of English over a ten-month period of two four-year-old Malay children. Video technology is used to obtain natu-

825

ralistic data which are to be analysed within the systemic-functional model of grammar. Learning theories expounded by Vygotsky are explored with a view to extending the learning theory embodied in the "zone of proximal development" to second language acquisition. Language development is traced as the child moves from "object" through "other" to "self" regulation, the point at which external language is internalised, and a measure of control is gained over the environment. It is envisaged that this study will show that early language development is meaning-driven and depends on contextual/situational forces as well as caretaker and peer support or "scaffolding".

Thesis (Ph.D.) — National University of Singapore.

Principal researcher:
David Ellis
Visiting Lecturer
International Islamic University
Jalan Universiti
Petaling Jaya, Selangor
Malaysia

Sponsoring or financing body: Centre for British Teachers

PHILIPPINES

Title: **Academic Writing in Filipino: A Linguistic and Discourse Analysis of Psychology Theses**

Description: The study aims to analyze the linguistic and discourse features of psychology theses written in Filipino, using Swales' genre analysis framework. Psychology has been chosen as the content field because it is the most developed in terms of using Filipino as medium of instruction. The genre of theses will be studied because of the applicability of results since some undergraduate and all graduate students need to write a thesis as a prerequisite for graduation.

The six "best" theses in psychology written in Filipino will be identified and then analyzed section by section (Instruction, Review of Related Literature, Methodology, Results, and Conclusion) in terms of verbal aspect and in terms of rhetorical function/discourse organization.

Principal researcher: Maria Lourdes S Bautista
Professor
Languages Department
De La Salle University
P O Box 3819
Manila
Philippines

Sponsoring or financing body: SEAMEO Regional Language Centre

SINGAPORE

Title: **The Cultural Politics of Teaching English as an International Language**

Description: Within the framework of a larger project which aims to explore the cultural and political implications of the global spread of English, the research in Singapore and Malaysia involves (1) colonial language policies of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States, with a view to understanding the pre-independence spread of English and its legacies; (2) post-independence language policies in Singapore and Malaysia, with a view to understanding how English has been involved in cultural and political struggles within the countries and within the global economy; (3) writing in English, with a view to showing how the cultural politics of English constrain and produce the voices available in Singapore and Malaysia post-colonial literature.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — University of Toronto.

Principal researcher: Alastair Pennycook
Graduate Student
Modern Language Centre
Ontario Institute of Studies in Education
252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario M5S 1V6
Canada

Title: **The Use of Conjunctions in the Written Essays of Upper Secondary Students in Singapore**

Description: This is a qualitative study in which the researcher will explore and document the ways in which conjuctions are used in the written essays of upper secondary students. The use of some conjunctions and identification of recurrent patterns and recurrent errors in their use will be examined. The study is based on personal observations as well as on previous research which shows that the inability to effectively use conjunctions is impeding effective written communication.

Thesis (M.A.(Appl.Ling.) — National University of Singapore

Principal researcher: Elsie S. Jeremiah
Teacher
Whampoa Secondary School
1 St Wilfrid Road
Singapore 1232

THAILAND

Title: **The Relationships Between Communicative Activities and Communicative Grammar**

Description: The purpose of the research is to study the relationships between communicative activities and communicative grammar, with a specific focus on the types of language activities and tasks employed in Chulalongkorn University Foundation English II course in relation to their relevant linguistic realization. The research also proposes to study the types of language skills which lend themselves most to the teaching of communicative grammar and to determine which types of learners benefit most. The tools include questionnaires, pre- and post-tests, supplementary exercises and unit tests. The questionnaires are administered at the beginning and at the end of the course, the first to survey the students' attitudes towards the role of traditional grammar teaching and learning, and the second to survey the attitudes to communicative grammar teaching. Unit tests serve as a progressive check while pre- and post-tests measure the students' proficiency before and after the insertion of the supplementary materials specifically constructed to emphasize the role of communicative grammar as an integral part of language activities. As regards the population, the students in both the experimental and control groups are from various faculties in the social sciences, grouped as good, average and weak according to scores obtained in Foundation English I. The research is an attempt to show that the communicative approach, if used with care and understanding, can be of value to EFL students.

Principal researcher:
Siengtip Sukhsri
Assistant Professor
Chulalongkorn University Language Institute
Premburachatra Building
Phaya Thai Road
Bangkok 10330
Thailand

Other researchers:
Siriporn Pongsurapipat
Assistant Professor
Chulalongkorn University Language Institute

Piyanart F Thongpan
Assistant Professor
Chulalongkorn University Language Institute

Melvyn Sharman
Instructor
Chulalongkorn University Language Institute

BOOK REVIEWS

Issues in Second Language Acquisition: Multiple Perspectives

Leslie M. Beebe (Editor). 1988. New York: Newbury House, 190 pp.

Reviewed by
Roger Griffiths
Nagoya University of Commerce and Business Administration,
Japan

The view that second-language acquisition is a core phenomenon which can, and should, draw on the theories and findings of related disciplines (psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, etc.) provided the initial impetus for assembling this collection of articles. The book therefore emphasises the interrelationship which SLA research must necessarily have with parallel social sciences. It also satisfies a need to bring these diverse perspectives together in a single introductory volume which can be used as a main or supplementary text on SLA courses.

One of the many strengths of the book, perhaps in fact the major one, stems from the initial recognition that "no individual professor can do justice to all of these approaches..." (Beebe, p. 1). In gathering contributions from specialists in a number of very disparate fields the book therefore largely overcomes the fundamental limitation of single-author general reviews which can no longer be relied upon to be consistently authoritative (if ever they could).

Between Beebe's introduction and Scovel's concluding overview, five "perspectives" are covered, these being the psycholinguistic, the sociolinguistic, the neurolinguistic, the classroom research perspective and, rather differently (even oddly), the bilingual education perspective.

Unlike most of the other papers (which can be thought of as state-of-the-art contributions), the first of these, Seliger's psycholinguistic perspective, provides a more general historical description of the area. Beginning by focusing on "milestones" (p. 17) in the literature, these being Chomsky's "Syntactic Structures" (1957) and Corder's "The Significance of Learner's Errors" (1967), Seliger charts the development of psycholinguistic issues in SLA. Brief, but convincing, reviews of research attempting to answer questions such as "How does the learner develop his or her second language system?", are followed by a regrettably perfunctory section on the psychological characteristics thought to contribute to language learning success. The plight of the overly long and unhappy marriage of linguistics and psychology has been thoroughly exposed by O'Connell (1988) and it would clearly have been preferable to include independent chapters on both areas rather than attempting to compress them into a single paper.

The second article focuses on sociolinguistics. Here, Beebe's review of diverse approaches to SLA (Labov, Bickerton. Hymes/Wolfson, Giles, and Lambert) is both informed and informative. The only reservation which might be entertained results from the urgent need in applied linguistics for critical review. Further description of, for example, Gardner and Lambert's motivational orientation research (centred on integrative/instrumental motivation) is far less useful than critical articles such as that of Au (1989), which actually give perspective to the status of the construct. However, even though criticism which assesses the significance of a contribution need not be detailed, Beebe could of course reply that this collection might not be the appropriate place for it; she does, after all, amply fulfil her intention of providing a guideline to the themes and issues currently being discussed in the area.

Few reservations can be held about the third contribution, Genesee's article on neuropsychology and SLA. This covers the issue of differences in hemispheric localization of L1 and L2, experimental effects of language-specific effects and L2 processing, and the critical period hypothesis. Each of these areas is comprehensively reviewed and impressively referenced (there are, for example, 9 references to hemispheric involvement in processing Japanese phonetic and ideographic scripts). In general, despite the current limitations to application of neuropsychological research to L2 learning, the promise apparent in findings from this area is constantly made apparent in the article; it is much more than simply a good introduction to the field.

The next contribution, Long's article on instructed interlanguage development, starts by reminding us that "One of the many positive outcomes of modern...SLA research has been the jolt it has given the language teaching establishment" (p. 115). Referring to the "unsubstantiated prescriptions" (p. 115) of 1960's and 1970's methodological gurus, Long observes "Most teachers assumed that the people making the pronouncements had taken the trouble to test them, that they knew how people learned second languages in classrooms and how best to teach them. In fact, of course, this was, and still is, simply untrue" (p. 115). Long then proceeds to undermine the argument that teaching could have little or no effect on the L2

831

acquisition process, one of the sillier notions of the time. All of this makes for a punchy beginning to the article, but that should not be read as implying that the paper is other than scholarly. The analysis is, in fact, extremely well documented and opinions offered are both weighty and considered. The modest conclusions which can currently be derived from L2 research are presented as just that. The paper does however leave the reader in no doubt that answers to pressing questions in the field of SLA, must be obtained through conducting appropriately rigorous research. Long's view on this issue is well known among researchers, but it is good to see it expressed in this introductory volume (although proponents of "neanderthal teaching practices" [p. 136] may not be equally enamoured of the sentiment or the paper).

Cumming's article on SLA within bilingual education programs seems rather out of keeping with the other contributions; it is listed under the heading of bilingual education perspective but justification for its inclusion is not convincingly established. It is, nonetheless, an interesting paper which includes surveys of both the general area and specific programs. It cannot, however, be thought of as giving a "perspective" comparable to those given by other contributors.

Scovel begins the final "multiple perspectives" article by noting the difficulty of summarizing the diverse contributions (a task Beebe accomplishes with some credit in the introduction) and reporting on the possible teaching applications which might be derived from articles in the volume. Apart from Scovel's oft-repeated high jumping analogy the paper consequently contains little not in the original articles. It also finishes with an appallingly condescending and unwarrantedly triumphalistic conclusion which I, for one, could have done without: it begins "I hope you have not been unduly intimidated by the wide-ranging and far-reaching topics introduced in this book" (p. 188). This is seemingly aimed at students and teachers but nowhere else in the book is there a sense of talking-down to the reader and it is a regrettable, and uncharacteristic, finish to an extremely fine book.

We can, however, all afford to give page 188 a miss, but not reading the rest of the book would leave one the poorer (and that, I think, probably applies as much to researchers as it does to students — something of an accomplishment). It's an impressive and scholarly work which offers and delivers a truly multiple perspective of some quality and of great service. It was, of course, published in 1988, but it still belongs (where few introductory L2 books belong) in the not-to-be-missed category.

References

Au, S.Y. 1988. A critical appraisal of Gardner's social-psychological theory of second-language learning. *Language Learning,* 38,75–100.

Chomsky, N. 1957. *Syntactic structures.* The Hague: Mouton.

Corder, S.P. 1967. The significance of learners' errors. *IRAL,* 5, 161–170.

O'Connell, D. 1988. *Critical essays on language use and psychology.* Springer-Verlag: New York.

Teaching Language With Computers

Martha C. Pennington et al. 1989. La Jolla, Ca. Athelstan Publications, ix. 177 pp.

Reviewed by
Joseph Rézeau

This book on CALL is sub-titled "The State Of The Art", always an ambitious claim, but especially so in the rapidly changing field of the new technologies where yesterday's sophisticated computer is a mere steam-engine machine compared to today's fast train and tomorrow's space rocket! However, it does give quite a substantial idea of the State of the Art of CALL at the end of the 1980s as well as interesting insights into the future of CALL in the following decades.

The book is a collection of chapters written by various authors, but, apart from the unavoidable repetition and overlap here and there, it gives an overall impression of unity of tone and seems to be the result of good team-work. In her introduction, the editor is quite clear that "this is not a how-to book, nor one for teachers looking for tips and techniques". It claims, on the contrary, to be "a rich source of the big ideas that can shape educational curricula".

Each of the seven chapters starts with a review of current views and the state of research on the particular Language Learning/Teaching topic that it is dealing with. Then the author addresses the question of how that topic can be enhanced by CALL, studying in turn recent developments, current usage and future potential of the computer.

1. *Technology:* Nothing will be found in this chapter which is not found elsewhere in similar books on CALL. However, clear definitions are given, and some pertinent examples are provided. The authors tend to be rather over-optimistic, for example when they say that "we can expect laserdisc players to be widely incorporated into language learning software".

2. The *Courseware* chapter, entitled *A Direction for CALL: From Behavioristic to Humanistic Courseware* discusses this trend with respect to the three principles that CALL Courseware should be (1) intrinsically motivating, (2) truly interactive, and (3) eclectically selected. Among other advantages, it views the computer as provider of a risk free learning environment, and as an exploratory tool. It also pre-

sents current directions for use of the computer in individualization of learning, and in facilitating socialization and peer interaction. The author's insistence on the positive *social effects* of CALL sounds very American to a European mind. One questionable point, which is not questioned by the author is what appears to many CALL practitioners as a delusion. It is the claim that if several students are gathered round a communicative activity presented by the computer they will automatically communicate. In my experience of monolingual classes, the reality is that students will indeed communicate, but they will do so in their mother tongue 90% of the time, not in the target language! However, this chapter provides a number of useful insights into the use of CALL in the classroom, and common-sense tips for CALL programers, and it ends on a very sensible piece of advice to teachers who would reject drill-and-practice software: "they should give it a try with a foreign language they themselves want to learn!"

3. Chapter 3, *Research*, was found rather boring and inconclusive by this reviewer, and the accumulation of citation upon citation quite indigestible! And indeed, what is one to make of a chapter which concludes on such *self-obvious* statements as the following ones: "Students tend to like to use CALL if the materials are meaningful and appropriate for them" and "CALL materials cannot be based on insights about second language acquisition until those insights become available"?

The saving grace of this chapter could well be the list of appropriate and well to the point questions it raises, regarding CALL effectiveness:

- Do students who use CALL learn more efficiently than those who do not?
- Are there particular lesson strategies that are better in general?
- Are there some lesson strategies that are better for particular learners?
- Do students like to use CALL?
- What kind of learning takes place while students are using CALL?

And it might be to the author's credit that they eventually admit that these questions are not easy to answer!

4. The chapter on *Reading* describes three types of computer applications: those which are similar or *identical* to non-computer media such as text-books, those which extend existing models in an *evolutionary* way, and those which actualize the potential of the new medium in truly *revolutionary* ways. This chapter is richer in interesting remarks about reading strategies in general than about computer-

based activities. It does mention the enormous storage capacity and the great flexibility of retrieval and display of the computer, but it remains too theoretical when it comes to describing *real* classroom applications, and most of its statements are in the "can", "could" and "likely to" mode. The author has a thought-stimulating section on Reading Activities Made Possible by the Computer Medium, obviously referring to the fascinating possibilities of the new concept of *hyper-text*, although, curiously enough, he never uses that word.

5. The chapter on *composition* opens with a thorough review of research on the topic (no less than eighteen citations in a single paragraph on page 84!). The author gives an honest assessment of the ways in which the computer can improve the student's attitude towards writing, and suggests a number of practical activities for implementing a Writing Workshop. She gives two examples of instructional templates: EXPLORE YOUR TOPIC and PERSUASIVE PAPER PLANNER which at first sight look a little naive and simplistic but are undoubtedly valuable as writing guidelines to the average student.

6. The chapter on *Speaking and Listening* is somewhat disappointing. It suffers again from the delusion I mentioned earlier, that "virtually any computer activity can become an environment for speaking". It only mentions the proper "sound" elements of the computer (synchronized audio-tape, digitized or synthesized speech enhancements) after *nine* full pages. It expands a great deal on the computer used as a tester of phonetics. This may be an interesting research activity, but does not sound feasible within the framework of secondary education.

7. The final chapter is an extremely detailed review of all the steps to be taken in designing CALL Software for Vocational Language. Obviously, a number of remarks could equally well apply to the design of *general* Language Learning CALL Software. The authors particularly insist on the branching possibilities of the programs, and on the record-keeping facilities. All their suggestions are excellent and common-sense advice which, as an end-user of CALL, I do wish all CALL Software producers would take into account!

The book also comprises the following elements: a fairly detailed Glossary, an impressive Bibliography (13½ pages!) which in itself could be a precious tool for any CALL researcher, and comprehensive Name and Subject Indexes.

In conclusion, this book should appeal to anyone interested in CALL. Although it is more geared to the University researcher's interests than to the classroom teacher's practical needs, the latter will find a number of thought-provoking insights, especially in the chapters about Courseware, Reading and Program Development.

837

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

1. Alexander, L.G. 1990. Longman English grammar practice. Self study edition with key. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
2. Arengo, Sue. 1989. Baby robot. (English today readers; 2). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
3. ______. 1989. A taste of murder. (Streamline graded readers; level 5). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
4. Baldauf, Richard Jr and Luke, Allan (eds.) 1990. Language planning and education in Australasia and the South Pacific. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.
5. Bassett, Jennifer. 1989. Milo. (Streamline graded readers pack; level 5). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
6. ______. 1989. $100,000. (English today readers; 4). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
7. ______. 1989. The watchers. (Streamline graded readers pack; level 1). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
8. Baudains, Richard and Baudains, Marjorie. 1990. Alternative: games, exercises and conversations for the language classroom. (Pilgrims Longman resource books). Harlow, Essex: Longman.
9. Begin, Silvia and others. 1990. Suspicious minds: listening strategies and life skills: intermediate. New York: Longman.
10. Blum, Lila. 1990. Tuning in to spoken messages: basic listening strategies. New York: Longman.
11. Boyd, Frances and Quinn, David, 1990. Stories from Lake Wobegon: advanced listening and conversation skills. New York: Longman.
12. Brookes, Arthur and Grundy, Peter, 1990. Writing for study purposes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
13. Casler, Ken, Palmer, David with Woodbridge Teresa. 1989. Business assignments: eight advanced case studies with video. — Deskwork. — Information file. — Teacher's notes. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
14. Collie, Joanne and Slater, Stephen. 1991. Speaking 1. (Cambridge skills for fluency). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
15. Dalzell and Edgar. 1989. English in perspective. Student's book 2. — Teacher's book 2. — Workbook 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
16. Davis, Paul and Rinvolucri, Mario. 1990. The confidence book: building trust in the language classroom. (Pilgrims Longman resource books). Harlow, Essex: Longman.
17. Deller, Sheelagh. 1990. Lessons from the learner: student-generated activities for the language classroom. (Pilgrims Longman resource books). Harlow, Essex: Longman.
18. Denniston, Jen. 1990. Michael Jackson: who's bad? (Collins English library; level 2). Glasgow: Collins ELT.
19. Devitiis, G. De, Mariani, L. and O'Malley, K.O. 1989. English grammar for communication exercises. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
20. Dixon, Dorothy. 1988. The night of the green dragon. (Streamline graded readers pack; level 4). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
21. Doff, Adrian and Becket. Carolyn. 1991. Listening 1. (Cambridge skills for fluency). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

22. Duff, Alan and Maley, Alan. 1990. Literature. (Resource books for teachers). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
23. Gass, Sustan M. and Schachter, Jacquelyn (eds.). 1989. Linguistic perspectives on second language acquisition. (Cambridge applied linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
24. Gethin, Hugh. 1990. Grammar in context: proficiency level English. New ed. London: Collins ELT.
25. Greenall, Simon and Pye, Diana. 1991. Reading 1. (Cambridge skills for fluency). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
26. Harmer, Jeremy. 1990. Coast to coast. Tests 1. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
27. Harley, Birgit and others (eds.). 1990. The development of second language proficiency. (Cambridge applied linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
28. Heaton, J.B. 1990. Classroom testing. (Longman keys to language teaching). London:Longman.
29. ______. 1990. Longman preliminary English skills: a skills and practice course for the Cambridge Preliminary English Test. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
30. Hill, David A. 1990. Visual impact: creative language learning through pictures. (Pilgrims Longman resource books). Harlow, Essex: Longman.
31. Holdernss, J.A. 1990. Chatterbox 3. Pupil's book. — Teacher's book. — Activity book — Cassette tape. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
32. ______. 1991. Chatterbox 4. Pupil's book. — Teacher's book. — Activity book. — Cassette tape. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
33. Hopkins, Felicity. 1990. American get ready! 1. Student book. — Teacher's book. — Activity book. — Handwriting book. — Numbers book. — Cassette tape. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
34. ______. 1990. American get ready! 2. Student book. — Teacher's book. — Activity book. — Handwriting book. — Numbers book. — Cassette tape. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
35. Hopkins, Felicity. 1990. Get ready! Picture flashcards. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
36. ______. 1990. Get ready! Word flashcards. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
37. Iggulden, Margaret. 1988. African adventure. (Streamline graded readers pack; level 3). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
38. ______. 1989. The sacrifice. (Streamline graded readers; level 5). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
39. ______. 1990. Susan and the flying saucer. (English today readers; 5). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
40. International English. 1989. Basingstoke, Hamps.: Macmillan.
41. Jones, Leo. 1991. Cambridge advanced English. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
42. Keaney, Brian. 1989. Every picture tells a story. (Streamline graded redaers; level 3). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
43. Kroll, Barbara (ed.). 1990. Second language writing: research insights for the classroom. (Cambridge applied linguistics series). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
44. Lindstromberg, Seth (ed.) 1990. The recipe book: practical ideas for the

language classroom. (Pilgrims Longman resource books). Harlow, Essex: Longman.

45. Littlejohn, Andrew. 1991. Writing 1. (Cambridge skills for fluency). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
46. Luis, Mochtar. 1991. Tiger! Singapore: Select Books.
47. McCarthy, Michael. 1990. Vocabulary. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
48. McNorton, Maggy. 1989. Jo and the eggs. (English today readers; 1). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
49. McRae, John and Pantaleoni, Luisa. 1990. Chapter & verse: an interactive approach to literature. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
50. O'Malley, J. Michael and Chamot, Anna Uhl. 1990. Learning strategies in second language acquisition. (Cambridge applied linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
51. O'Neill, Robert, Duckworth, Michael and Gude, Kathy. 1991. Success at First Certificate. New ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
52. Ong, Marcia Fisk. 1991. New wave 3. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
53. Rabley, Stephen. 1988. The eyes of Montezuma. (Streamline graded readers pack; level 2). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
54. Ramsey, Gaynor and LoCastro, Virginia. 1990. Talking topics. Harlow. Essex: Longman.
55. Redman, Stuart and Ellis, Robert. 1989. A way with words: vocabulary development activities for learners of English. Book 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
56. Rees-Parnall, Hilary. 1990. Face the music. Students' workbook. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
57. Richards, Jack C. 1990. The language teaching matrix. (Cambridge language teaching library). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
58. ______. 1990. Listen carefully. Book and cassette tapes. (Listening practice for elementary schools). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
59. ______ and Nunan, David. 1990. Second language teacher education. (Cambridge language teaching library). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
60. ______ with Hull, Jonathan and Proctor, Susan. 1991. Interchange: English for international communication. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
61. Room, Adrian. 1990. An A to Z of British life. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
62. Sheerin, Susan, Seath, Jonathan and White, Gillian. 1990. Spotlight on Britain. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
63. Smith, Mike and Smith, Glenda. 1990. A study skills handbook. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
64. Spratt, Mary. 1990. Successful use of English for First Certificate. Book with key. — Book without key. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
65. Stevick, Earl W. 1990. Humanism in language teaching: a critical perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
66. Strange, Derek. 1989. The old house. (English today readers; 3). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
67. Swales, John. 1990. Genre analysis: English in academic and research settings. (Cambridge applied linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

68. Thomson, A. J. and Martinet, A.V. 1990. Oxford pocket English grammar. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
69. Vaughan, Andrew and Heyen, Neil. Ready for business. (Longman business English). Harlow, Essex: Longman.
70. Vicary, Tim. 1988. The visit. (Streamline graded readers pack; level 2). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
71. ______. 1989. City of lights. (Streamline graded readers pack; level 5) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
72. ______. 1989. The hitch-hiker. (Streamline graded readers pack; level 4). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
73. Viney, Peter. 1988. The locked room. (Streamline graded readers pack; level 1). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
74. ______. 1988. Sunny vista city. (Streamline graded readers pack; level 3). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
75. ______ and Viney, Karen. 1989-90. Grapevine 1. — Student's book. — Teacher's book. — Workbook 1A. — Workbook 1B. — Cassette tape one and two. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
76. Wajnryb, Ruth. 1990. Grammar action. (Resource books for teachers). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
77. Whitney, Norman. 1990. Successful vocabulary for First Certificate. Book with key. — Book without key. Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press.
78. Willis, Jane. 1990. Collins Cobuild English course: first lesson. Student's edition. — Teacher's edition. — 2 cassette tapes. London: Collins.
79. Woodward, Tessa. 1991. Models and metaphors in language teacher training: loop input and other strategies. (Cambridge teacher training and development). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

RELC

ANNOUNCEMENT

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

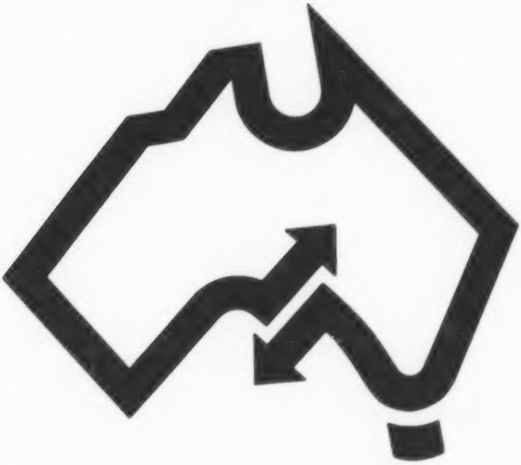
Language Teacher Education in a Fast-Changing World

Singapore, 20-23 April 1992

For more information, please contact:

CHAIRMAN,
SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE,
SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
30 ORANGE GROVE ROAD
SINGAPORE 1025
TEL. (65) 7379044
FAX. (65) 7342753

PROSPECT
THE JOURNAL OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM



Prospect is the national professional journal of the Australian Adult Migrant (Immigrant) Educational Program (AMEP). This Commonwealth-funded program offers English as a Second Language and Orientation tuition to approximately 100,000 adult immigrants to Australia from all over the world each year.

Jill Burton, Editor

Reference Panel includes
Professor J. Anderson
Flinders University of S.A.
Professor H. Holec
Universite de Nancy 11
Dr. D. Ingram
Brisbane College of Advanced Education
Mr. H. Nicholas
La Trobe University
Dr. M. Pieneman
University of Sydney
Professor J. Richards
University of Hawaii

It publishes articles, notes, reports and reviews on applied linguistic and teaching concerns related to the adult E.S.L. field. Prospect is published three times a year by the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research. Information about subscription rates and advertisements can be obtained from:

GERD S. STABLER
SALES AND MARKETING MANAGER
NCELTR ◆ SCHOOL of ENGLISH and LINGUISTIS ◆ MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY ◆
SYDNEY ◆ NEW SOUTH WALES 2109 ◆ AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE (02) 805 7673 TELEX MACUNI AA122377 FACSIMILE (02) 805 7849

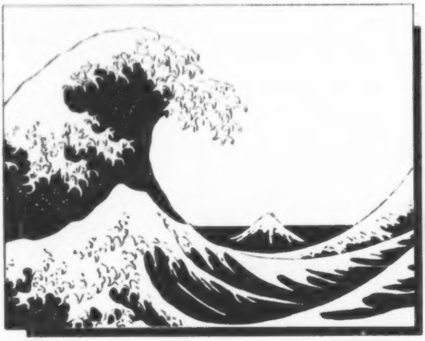
CROSS CURRENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

***Cross Currents* is a semi-annual publication of the Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) which provides a forum for the interdisciplinary exchange of ideas within the areas of cross-cultural communication and language skill acquisition and instruction. At *Cross Currents*, we are particularly committed to issues concerning both the theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, English language teaching as it applies to Japan, and English as an International Language.**

Recent contributors to *Cross Currents* include:

Robert O'Neill
Braj Kachru
Alan Maley
Walter Hirtle
Richard Via
Larry Smith
Paul LaForge



SUBSCRIPTIONS	**Single issue**	**1 year**	**2 years**
Inside Japan*	¥1,300	¥2,600	¥5,150
Outside Japan — Individual Subscription	$8.00	$15.00	$25.00
Outside Japan — Institutional Rate		$19.50	$35.00

* *Special rates available for JALT members. (See postal form in the Language Teacher.)*

***• Japan Subscriptions*:**
School Book Service
FI Building 4F
1-26-5 Takadanobaba
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
03-200-4531
(By postal transfer to Tokyo postal account No 9-86192, or cash delivery - Genkin Kakitome.)

- Current Issues are also available in major Japanese bookstores through **YOHAN** in Japan

- Back Issues are available from Cross Currents

***• Outside Japan*:**
Cross Currents
Language Institute
of Japan
4-14-1 Shiroyama
Odawara, Kanagawa 250
Japan
(Make checks payable to *Cross Currents* (LIOJ) drawn on a U.S. bank.)

ARE THESE ON YOUR READING LIST?

ISSN 0289-7938

全国語学教育学会

VOL. XII, NO. 12

NOVEMBER 1988

THE Language Teacher

THE JAPAN
ASSOCIATION OF
LANGUAGE TEACHERS

JALT

¥350

JALT JOURNAL

Publications of

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

The Language Teacher
A monthly magazine with features, reviews, meeting announcements, employment opportunities, etc.

JALT Journal
A semi-annual journal featuring articles relevant to language teaching/learning in Japan and Asia

Annual Membership Fees (including subscriptions to both publications)
Domestic: Regular, ¥6,000, Joint, ¥10,000, Student, ¥4,000, Associate, ¥50,000
Overseas: sea mail, US$30, air mail, US$40
Send remittance by bankers draft in yen drawn on a Japanese bank, or dollars drawn on an American bank
The postal giro account may also be used by international subscribers
Postal furikae (giro) account: Kyoto 15892, "JALT"

JALT International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning
An annual event featuring over 300 lectures/workshops/demonstrations
Over 2,000 participants yearly.

November 3-5, 1989 — Okayama
November 23-25, 1990 — Tokyo area
November 2-4, 1991 — To be announced

Send requests for further information and remittances to:
JALT, Lions Mansion Kawaramachi #111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-agaru
Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan. Tel.: (075) 361-5428; Fax: (075) 361-5429

Subscription form

RELC JOURNAL

A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and a subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is eighteen Singapore dollars (S$18.00) for subscription within SEAMEO countries and US$18.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and sent it to

The Publications Officer
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
RELC Building
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at S$7.00*/US$7.00+ per copy.

For the complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications Officer.

I enclose S$18.00*/US$18.00+. Please send me the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for..

Name:..

Address:...

....

....

* within SEAMEO countries
+ other countries

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Clarification:

The present members of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) are: Negara Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

GUIDELINES

A PERIODICAL FOR CLASSROOM LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Every issue of *Guidelines* is a unique collection of practical ideas that have direct usefulness for the classroom teacher. Articles are written in a simple, readable style.

• Vocabulary Teaching	June 1980	• Drama Activities	Dec. 1983
• Audio-Visual Aids	Dec. 1980	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No. 1)	June 1984
• Language Games	June 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No 2)	Dec. 1984
• Writing Activities	Dec. 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 1)	June 1985
• Study Skills	June 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 2)	Dec. 1985
• Group Activities	Dec. 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 8 No. 1)	June 1986
• Classrooms Tests	June 1983	• Classroom Interaction	Dec. 1986

From the June 1984 issues onwards each issue covers a variety of topics in its selection of articles.

Guidelines is published twice a year, in June and December.
Individual copies can be ordered for S$7.00/US$6.00. Reserve future copies with the detachable money-saving coupon below. The annual subscription is S$14.00 (within SEAMEO countries) and US$14.00 for other countries.

Please begin my subscription for Guidelines with the issue for

(month) ____________________ 19 ____________________.

Enclosed is S$/US$ .... (Bank draft/Money order)

Name .... (Block letters)

Address (in full) ....

....

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copy must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, e.g., the suffix-*s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text.

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221-222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14-16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, 221-254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

VOLUME 22 NUMBER 2 **DECEMBER 1991**

Articles

Devon Woods **Teachers' Interpretations of Second Language Teaching Curricula** 1 ✓

Kenneth Williams **Anxiety and Formal Second/Foreign Language Learning** 19 ✓

Goh Soo Tian **Higher Order Reading Comprehension Skills in Literature Learning and Teaching at the Lower Secondary School Level in Singapore** 29 ✓

Amy B M Tsui **Learner Involvement and Comprehensible Input** 44 ✓

Judith Kennedy **Perspectives on Cultural and Individual Determinants of Teaching Style** 61 ✓

Ian Tudor & Richard Tuffs **Formal and Content Schemata Activation in L2 Viewing Comprehension** 79 ✓

Mick Randall **Scanning in Different Scripts: Does Jawi interfere with Bahasa Malaysia and English?** 98 ✓

Yolanda Beh **Current Research in Southeast Asia** 113 ✓

Book Review

Antonia Chandrasegaran **Second Language Writing: Research** Insights for the Classroom 118

Publications Received 125

843

PUBLISHED BY THE SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, SINGAPORE

Editorial Committee

Makhan L Tickoo *Editor*
Audrey Ambrose-Yeoh *Review Editor*
Andrea H Penaflorida
Yolanda Beh
Melchor Tatlonghari
Joseph Foley
V K Bhatia

NOTES FOR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Asia.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$18.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$18.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal,* SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of th
respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the R
Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southea
Ministers of Education Organization.

(Notes for Subscribers continued on inside bac ver)

© REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1991
ISSN 0033-6882

RELC
JOURNAL

Volume 22

Number 2

December 1991

RELC P395-91

851

Teachers' Interpretations of Second Language Teaching Curricula

Devon Woods
Carleton University
Canada

A view of the curricular/teaching/learning process held either implicitly or explicitly in many education systems and second language teaching situations, is what Hutchinson (1988) calls the "input model", where the implementation of the program is assumed to move in a linear fashion from top to bottom: overall educational objectives are set by a ministry or planning body, a syllabus is designed to carry out these objectives, materials are developed to instantiate the syllabus, the teaching is carried out to teach the content presented in the materials, and, finally, the learners are evaluated on the degree to which they have learned this content. A version of this model is presented in Figure 1.

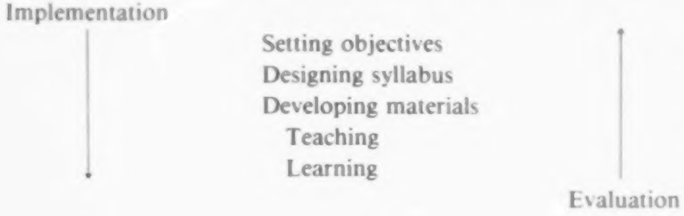


Figure 1.

Hutchinson notes that teachers in many educational systems have begun to shift to an alternative view with regard to their teaching - what he calls a "process model", which sees the management of classroom language learning in a much more multidirectional way, a model in which learners interact with teachers and materials to determine what and how they learn. Nevertheless, Hutchinson states, "the wider Language Teaching system is still locked into the input model" (1988:14) with its assumptions about a unidirectional line of implementation and accountability from ministry or organizing body all the way down to the learner. He suggests that this model is not an accurate reflection of "all the stages of interpretation by syllabus designers, materials writers, teachers, learners and testers" (1988:15) and the effect these stages of interpretation have upon what the learner takes away from the lesson.

This paper describes a research project carried out with ESL teachers in Canada which seems to indicate that, even in cases where this "input model" is assumed by the system, Hutchinson's "process model" seems to capture more accurately the way in which second language teaching takes place. This is particularly the case at the level of the teacher's interpretations of the curriculum, both in terms of the content to be taught and learned, and the methods or procedures for the teaching and learning. In this paper, I would like to suggest that the teacher plays a far greater role than is generally assumed in the literature on syllabus design and teacher training - in the way in which a language teaching curriculum and the associated teaching materials are interpreted, and in determining the classroom learning experiences that the learners undergo.

The Study

The overall goal of the research project was to map the second language teacher's decision-making process, and to examine the curricular/teaching/learning process from the perspective of the teacher. The subjects in this research were eight university level teachers from four institutions in Canada. These teachers were followed through an entire course, from the first moments when they had been assigned the course, until the end of the course when the final evaluations were handed in.

The data was collected in the following ways. An initial interview delved into the teachers' backgrounds, their perceptions of their experiences learning and teaching languages as well as their educational experiences in general, and their initial plans for the upcoming course. The teachers were then tracked through the whole course via weekly interviews, which elicited their narratives about what was going on in the course and about the decisions they were making to plan and implement it. These interviews were carried out following two important principles of ethnographic interviewing outlined by Agar (1979). First, each interview began with very open-ended elicitations, allowing the subjects rather than the interviewer to initiate discussion of issues and to constrain topic focus. Second, each interview began by dealing with the most concrete and observable of events, allowing the subjects rather than the interviewer to make generalizations and abstractions during the discussion of specific events. For example, at the beginning of the interview, a typical question might be "what did you do in your lesson today?" The teacher's view of teaching grammar, for instance, would not be elicited overtly; if however, several lessons went by and the issue of grammar arose frequently and the teacher indicated stopping the class to deal with a grammar point, a question might be formulated in response to this, such as "Do you consider it important to deal with grammar explicitly, as you did in this lesson?" Or "Do you usually deal with grammar points as they come up, as you did in this lesson?" In other words, generalizations were grounded in observable patterns of behaviour.

A second source of information came from teachers' logs: the teachers kept regular logs in which they noted important decisions they made or issues they considered. The logs were an attempt to fill in the gaps between interviews. No attempt was made to be exhaustive about the decisions that were made during the course. There were far too many interrelated decisions made and issues contemplated (and at very strange times) to be able to keep track of them all. However, it was up to the teachers to note those that they felt were the most important or significant in terms of what they were trying to accomplish in the course, and these were later linked to recurring issues that arose in the interviews.

In addition to this on-going data collection over the entire course, an attempt was made to get in-depth information about moment-to-moment decisions made as a classroom lesson was unfolding, to see how these decisions are related to the longer range flow of decisions. To do this, a lesson was videotaped; then the teacher watched the taped lesson the same day or the next day and made comments about his or her perceptions of what was going on during the lesson. These comments, usually initiated by the teacher, were overdubbed onto the video, allowing the possibility of finding out what kinds of issues were relevant to the teacher as the teaching was being carried out, and providing some tentative hypotheses about the teacher's thinking during the lesson. This procedure was adapted from a technique used by Frankel and Beckman (1982) to examine patient-doctor interviews from the perspective of the participants, and is based on previous work by Erickson (1975). Similar procedures have also been used in educational research, in particular on teacher practices in schools.

Teacher Beliefs, Teacher Decision-Making and the Curriculum

One of the most interesting outcomes of the overall study is what it revealed about teacher decision-making: how the decisions that teachers made reflected their interpretations of tasks, materials and objectives, and how these interpretations are related to an underlying level of assumptions and beliefs. These assumptions and beliefs therefore play a crucial role in classroom events and in the learning experiences that the learners undergo.

This paper focuses on two of the eight teachers studied (called Teacher A and Teacher B for the purposes of this report). During the period of the study, these teachers taught different sections of the same course, with the same objectives and overall curriculum, many of the same materials, and a common final exam on the content to be learned. Both of these teachers were highly regarded by their institute (and recommended to me by their supervisor), and considered to be expert teachers. Because of this, they were chosen to be the first teachers to implement a new curriculum that had recently been developed. Teacher A, in addition, had worked on developing the new curriculum, and had initiated many of the changes.

The course in question was a university ESL course, one of a sequence of four levels that made up the credit ESL program of this university. The overall goal of the sequence of courses was to prepare Canadian and foreign students whose mother tongue was not English for a regular program of academic study in English. The students who successfully completed this course and the subsequent level would be considered capable of (and eligible for) academic study in English. The students taking this course were therefore at a high intermediate to advanced level of proficiency in English.

In the following description I will not discuss the exact materials used in the course, but rather the concepts that the materials embodied. The objectives of this course included: 1. paragraph writing employing each of five patterns of rhetorical development - definition, comparison and contrast, process, classification, cause and effect; 2. grammar related to these kinds of paragraphs, including coordination and subordination, and verb tenses and verb tense sequences; 3. reading and listening skills, involving identification of the rhetorical and organizational structure of the academic texts they read or hear, including the patterns of development, main points and supporting detail. The new curriculum was being implemented for the first time (which made it easier for both teachers to be explicit about their decisions because they were having to make many decisions for the first time).

For each teacher, there was strong evidence that:

(1) the decisions made in planning and carrying out the course were internally consistent, and consistent with deeper underlying assumptions and beliefs about language, learning and teaching; yet

(2) each teacher's decisions and beliefs differed dramatically from the other's along a number of specifiable dimensions.

1. Coherence of decisions and underlying beliefs

With these two teachers, as with each of the eight teachers in the study, there were a number of recurring issues or "themes" which came up in the interviews: in their verbalization of what they were attempting to achieve in their teaching, in their discussions of the planning for what they were going to do, and in their descriptions and evaluations of what they did. Because the data was collected longitudinally, it was possible to examine these themes as they arose in different contexts as the course progressed. Over time, a number of relationships began to emerge for each of the teachers. First, the relationships among different decisions, or among similar decisions made at different times, became evident. Second, the relationships of these decisions to underlying beliefs also gradually became evident as each teacher commented on their intentions and evaluated what had happened. Eventually the relationships among different beliefs themselves began to appear. In a number of cases, beliefs which had initially seemed contradictory turned out to be coherent parts of a larger picture. The first sign of this was usually an indication that the beliefs were prioritized, with one belief consistently used as the relevant basis for decisions made in situations which produced a conflict. In many of these cases, the apparent conflict between beliefs was later resolved by indications of the existence of a superordinate belief that made each of the lower level beliefs coherent. The examples from Teacher A and Teacher B that follow illustrate these points.

In the interviews with Teacher A made as the course progressed, certain themes recurred frequently. One of these was the importance of sequencing texts and tasks, beginning with simpler ones and moving to more complex ones when the earlier ones were completed successfully. For example, early in the course Teacher A revealed her view of reading materials for her students:

> "...it's a feeling I've had for a while, and a lot of the [graduate] courses that I took pointed to this... I believe in using unauthentic simplified texts, and I know that's a hotly debated issue these days, but I've built up my own rationale from my reading [for her graduate courses].... I really do believe that we shouldn't be giving our students completely unadulterated text... my feeling is very much that you build them up to that but you don't necessarily start them off with it...."

Both the interpretation of the research literature from her graduate course that she voiced here and the decisions that she made as a teacher about the reading texts she chose for her students are related to a view that she expressed in later interviews of the importance of starting the students off with relatively simple activities at which they can succeed and feel a sense of accomplishment. Subsequent course decisions about how to sequence activities and exercises were also coherent with the statement quoted above and with a broader and more general view expressed at other times throughout the course of the learning process moving from the less complex to more complex.

In the background interview in which she talked about her plans for the upcoming course, Teacher A touched on another theme which recurred in subsequent interviews: her growing appreciation of the similarities between reading and writing ("they mirror each other") and the importance of integrating the two skill areas in her teaching. This issue arose on a number of occasions during the term, for example, the choice of reading texts was often made in light of what rhetorical patterns and grammar they were working on in writing. Teacher A indicated in the interviews, by her comparison of her teaching in the current course to previous courses, and by her discussion of some of her decisions, that this was an area in which her views and her practices were undergoing some change.

Teacher A also indicated at numerous other points in the interviews a strong belief in the importance, for students' learning, of doing things one at a time (a belief related to that mentioned above of moving from the less complex to the more complex). Although these beliefs - the importance of integration and the importance of doing things one at a time - appear potentially contradictory, when the two issues arose together several lessons into the course, Teacher A revealed a conception of how the issues are related.

> "I was quite pleased to be able to show my students how things that we talked about in writing came up in reading.... I think that it's good for them to see this as all being different parts of similar processes, so I'll try and organize things so that one area complements the other - even though I don't think I'll ever take a lesson and try and do reading and writing at the same time.... I think in my own head that they are separate things - they're integrated but separate ... I think if you try and make them understand it too globally they're going to miss the point."

From this comment, we can begin to see Teacher A's interpretation of the term "integrate", a crucial term in current theoretical discussions of methodology. In the interpretation in evidence here, it is clearly important to relate the two processes of reading and writing, but not to deny their separateness. To her, the term "integrate" means bringing together in the sense of being done in parallel, but not in the sense of being completely intertwined. In other words, her understanding of the notion of integration reflected the evolution of her beliefs about different aspects of teaching and learning, and yet remained a coherent part of her overall view.

A similar phenomenon occurs in the case of Teacher B. In the interviews held with Teacher B, certain themes recurred repeatedly in his descriptions of his planning, his eventual classroom decisions and his subsequent evaluation of the lessons. In the initial interview held before the beginning of the course he emphasized the importance of the final exam in determining how he would approach the course, and what he would do in the first lesson. In effect, as the course proceeded, many decisions were made in light of this factor.

A second important element for him was "authenticity": the reading and listening texts he chose to use in class and the activities to exploit them were continually discussed and evaluated according to how authentic their use was in the "real" world outside the classroom. When a conflict occurred, for example, when one aspect of the final exam, - the listening portion - did not seem authentic to him, Teacher B weighed and commented on both factors in coming to decisions related to listening texts and listening activities that he planned to use in class. The conflict was initially resolved by prioritizing: in this case, the exam was considered a more important criterion than the authenticity. Although Teacher B discussed both factors, and sometimes complained about the unfortunate effects the lack of authenticity of the exam had on the teaching, he nevertheless consistently used the exam as the primary basis for decisions about listening tasks.

The prioritizing of these conflicting factors can be seen as a coherent part of Teacher B's decision-making process when viewed in light of a third "theme" of the interviews. In the background interview, Teacher B also talked about the importance of motivation in language learning. He discussed how his own experiences learning a second language in school were demotivating for him due to the lack of authenticity: the absence of real language, real contexts, real purposes. As his discussion turned to the students in his course, he emphasized their instrumental motivation: they wanted to pass the exam and get on with their university studies. So, although the concept of authenticity seems to clash with the idea of preparing students for a final exam, these competing criteria in his decision-making were coherent because they were both part of a higher level belief regarding the crucial role that motivation plays in language learning success. It was also this higher level belief that provided him with a heuristic for decision-making: by establishing that focusing on the final exam was more motivating to these particular students than using authentic language and activities, he produced a general criterion that was used subsequently in weighing alternatives for the classroom.

His beliefs and the relationships between them were not static, however. Over the longer term of the course, his conception of "authenticity" evolved as he gradually came to view the final exam as being authentic in light of the felt needs of the students. In his teaching practices, he began to be able to justify and feel comfortable with a focus on exam-related classroom activities based on this revised sense of "authenticity". As in the case of Teacher A, his evolving interpretation and understanding of this critical theoretical notion reflected the evolution of his beliefs about different aspects of the teaching/learning process.

2. Dimensions of Difference

In the context of the present discussion about teachers' interpretations of curriculum, the point related to the differences between the two teachers is of particular interest because it claims that their decisions regarding common aspects of the curriculum will differ in significant ways. I will examine this claim in detail, by looking at two "dimensions" of teacher beliefs related to teaching/learning in which these differences are evident, dimensions which have particular relevance to implementation of the curriculum.

The two dimensions were chosen, first, because they reflect issues that recurred frequently in the interviews as high level factors in the decision-making process and, secondly, because they demonstrate quite dramatically the profound differences between the teachers. However, my work with the other six teachers in the study suggested that these dimensions are not common to all teachers: a comparison of each pair of teachers (in all of the various permutations) would produce a different set of high level dimensions in which differences occur.

The first dimension is related to the role of the preplanned curriculum and the role of the students in determining what classroom decisions are made by the teacher. The extremes of this dimension we might call "curriculum-based teaching" and "student-based teaching". The second dimension is related to the organization and presentation of language content. This dimension involves a cluster of intertwined beliefs that might be expressed as follows: at one extreme is explicit teaching for mastery of a linear sequence of abstracted items; at the other extreme is implicit teaching for holistic apprehension of contextualized abilities. The contrasting features include teaching explicitly versus implicitly, teaching discrete items versus overall abilities, and teaching out of context versus in context. It is clear, from the teachers' individual comments quoted below, that there are a number of separable issues here. However, when the entire body of interview data is taken into account for each teacher, the cluster of beliefs at each extreme of this latter dimension is interwoven. Therefore, for purposes of the present discussion, I am treating this as a single dimension.

Curriculum-based versus Student-based teaching

An approach to teaching which is curriculum-based implies that decisions related to the implementation of classroom activities are based primarily on what is pre-planned according to the curriculum. Student-based teaching, on the other hand, implies that decisions are based primarily on factors related to the particular group of students in the classroom at that particular moment. There is of course a spectrum of possibilities between one extreme and the other; however the interview data makes it clear that the two teachers differ quite dramatically in terms of this particular dimension.

I wish to emphasize that both of these extremes are, within themselves, valid ways of proceeding and there is no attempt made in this paper to argue for one or the other; the attempt is rather to describe how each perspective functions within the context of the course in question. On the one hand, the validity and importance of curriculum-based teaching is demonstrated by the fact that virtually all teaching institutions develop a clear curriculum to be followed by teachers, and institute means of determining whether the pre-set curriculum has been taught and learned. Very few institutions would trust a curriculum that is based entirely on the specific students in each class. Nonetheless, the validity of student-based teaching is well recognized in the field of second language pedagogy, especially in adult education, where students are considered to have an important role to play in what goes on in the classroom.

Although both of these approaches are in principle valid, there is an inherent tension between them. The curriculum is the institution's agenda, and, although it may be made with the student in mind, it may not agree with the priorities, conceptions or interests of the individual students in a particular class at a particular time. So, at any given moment, there may be a conflict between the institution's agenda and the students' agenda. At such a point, a choice must be made by the teacher. The kinds of choices a teacher makes will reveal, over a period of time, the philosophy of that teacher with regard to implementation of the curriculum, and will have a consequent effect on the content taught and methodology used.

Both teachers (A and B) were required by the institution to follow a set curriculum, and have their students' learning of the content evaluated by a common exam at the end of the term. In other words, there was at least an implicit expectation of curriculum-based teaching by this institution. Nevertheless, there was a dramatic difference in how course-related decisions were made in terms of the dimension of curriculum-based versus student-based teaching.

Throughout the interviews, logs, and the comments on the videotaped lesson, Teacher A explained and evaluated her decisions in terms of accomplishing the planned curricular content. This does not imply, however, a lack of concern for the students. She often mentioned the students in her comments, and was clearly concerned about them as individuals and about their learning. Although she had the students in mind, however, they were not typically the basis for the decisions she made about what to present when and how. Her focus was primarily on whether or not they had understood the material and whether they were adapting to and following her presentation. She evaluated her presentations and illustrations positively or negatively in terms of how clearly she explained them and whether they helped her accomplish what she had set out to do according to the curriculum. She allowed the students' choices at various points in the course, such as a choice of topics to write on. These choices functioned as a means of accomplishing the planned curriculum, and were not choices about the organization and presentation of the content or methodology.

At various points in the course when there was a conflict between sticking with her planned curricular activity and following another direction initiated by the students, she made the decision to carry out the planned activity. For example, in the lesson captured on videotape, she introduced one of the patterns of development to be learned - that of definition - with an initial focus on its formal aspects. In responding to a particular example in the presentation, a student suggested using a synonym instead of a formal definition. Although Teacher A considered the student's point a valid one, because she was trying to focus at that point on how definitions are formed, reserving discussion of their function until the next lesson, she downplayed his comment in order to stick to the planned curriculum.

While watching this videotaped lesson of one of the two sections of the course she was teaching (her "morning" section), Teacher A commented on a spontaneous decision she made to involve the students in her presentation by overtly eliciting their views (which could have been taken as a sign of being willing to depart from her planned lesson). She then commented on the consequences of this decision both in the morning section and when she tried it again later in her afternoon section of the course.

> "...after I did it [elicited the students' opinions] I was glad that I did it because I thought it worked out well ... and the information they provided me with helped lead me to where I wanted to go, although I had to kind of fill out what they said because they were on the right track but they weren't exactly giving me what was necessary. In the

> afternoon class I did the same thing ... and that time it didn't work as well because the students didn't give me the kind of information I was looking for.

Although this decision seems on the surface to reflect a student-based procedure for implementing the curriculum, her comments make it evident that the curriculum was the top priority: she wished to involve the students for the purpose of, and not at the expense of, presenting the preplanned curricular information. This comment by the teacher also reveals her basis for evaluating an event occurring in the class, one which views the success of an activity and the responses of the students in terms of taking the teacher "where she wanted to go" according to the immediate plan for the lesson and for the larger plan provided by the curriculum and the goals set by this institution.

In sharp contrast to Teacher A, Teacher B's decisions and evaluative comments reflect his attitude about the crucial role student input and student characteristics play in guiding his teaching. His interpretation of the curriculum was coloured by his view of the role of learner and teacher in the language learning process. For him, the teacher's role is to determine in an on-going way what the students need and want, and to use those needs and wants as a basis for deciding what to do and how to carry it out, both in course planning and in in-class decision making, even if it involves reinterpreting or sacrificing aspects of the preset curriculum.

This view is evident in how he approached the course. In the first lesson he not only handed out the regular departmental information sheet, he also handed out a questionnaire which required students to write about their purpose for taking the course and what they expected from it. He subsequently made a number of course-level decisions based on his evaluation of the students' goals and characteristics.

This is not to say that Teacher B ignored the curriculum in this course. In fact, in the initial stages of the course, he carefully made plans and decision according to what was outlined in the curriculum. However, the basis for these plans, and the way they were presented to the students did not reflect curriculum-based teaching, but rather student-based teaching. Teacher B's discussion consistently focused on student characteristics. Since the students were very "instrumentally motivated" - their reason for taking the English course was to pass the required English exam and get into full time academic study in their field - his overall course focus was determined with the required curriculum in mind:

> "if you don't pass the writing portion of the final exam, you don't pass the course, so I consider really the most important thing to make sure they could pass their writing portion of the final exam when they have finished".

When considering activities for the course, he also took into account the students' goals of passing the course:

> "They have a tendency to ask you 'what does this have to do with the course", so it is important to make the activities 'useful' or the students might start to think you're wasting their time".

In spite of the fact that Teacher A and Teacher B both intended to carry out the required curriculum (although for quite different reasons), we find that Teacher B's decisions regarding individual activities within the overall course organization contrasted to those made by Teacher A. These differences were often directly related to this dimension of curriculum-based versus student-based teaching. For example, for the first lesson, where Teacher A chose an introductory reading passage from the reading textbook recommended as part of the curriculum, Teacher B looked for an article in his own files that he could use as part of a "mock exam", which he created in order to give the students a clear idea of what they would have to achieve by the end of the course. This activity is related to curricular success, but stems from a focus on the students rather than on the curriculum. Because of this focus on the students, instead of emphasizing the formal elements of the curriculum as Teacher A did (leaving the exam somewhat implicit), Teacher B focused on strategies for succeeding in the exam, leaving the formal aspects of the curriculum somewhat implicit.

Teacher B's basis for a number of methodological decisions was also related to the characteristics of the particular students in the course. For example, he decided to use frequent group activities once he determined that his current students were "mature" enough to benefit from group work. This decision contrasted to a decision made the previous term, when he found that the students were "less mature" and less independent, and did not work effectively in groups. As a result he planned and carried out group activities much less frequently. Although in general, he favoured group work in the classroom, and although involving students in groupwork is consistent with other beliefs he held about student responsibility and independence, this decision not to do group work with the previous class of students is consistent with his beliefs about the importance of taking students' characteristics into account in his decisions about the course.

Teacher B also expressly involved the students in the decision-making process of the course, including a number of curricular decisions, by giving them choices about classroom procedures. For example, in one lesson he gave the students the choice of watching a videotaped lecture once or twice before using the information from the lecture in a subsequent exercise. Although there is a possible theoretical justification for either way of handling the listening task, for Teacher B the more important theoretical issue was assuring student input into classroom decisions.

The reliance on the students' characteristics in his course-level plans also filtered down into the more immediate decisions he made during the lessons. In the videotaped lesson, there were many points at which his decisions were affected by considerations of the students which overrided the planned activities. For example, one section of an activity was abandoned as it became clear to Teacher B that "it was no longer appropriate" in terms of how the lesson had evolved, and the direction the students had taken it in. His discussion of the lesson - who to group with whom, which groups he sat down with when, and what issues he broached with whom - were described in terms of his past experiences with the individual students, of his knowledge of their personalities and working habits, and of his perception of how they were dealing with this particular content. Accomplishing the planned lesson was not a concern, and when he abandoned part of it he indicated no regrets.

His discourse with the students was also consonant with this attitude of going with the students; at one point in the lesson he said: "okay I agree with you there" when a student suggested an alternative interpretation of part of the article under discussion. In the interviews, his style of discourse also revealed a relaxed attitude about what would be covered and the possible directions the students might take things in:

> "The discussion [in the next class] will start with more of a structurally-oriented thing, looking at the structure of the paragraph and the ideas, and then sort of maybe naturally work into discussing the ideas themselves and seeing what people feel about it".

The terms he used ("structurally-oriented thing"; "then sort of may be naturally work into", "seeing what people feel about it"); as well as his tone of voice (on the tape of the inverview) make it clear that he was quite open about the possible ways that the lesson might evolve.

On a number of occasions when discussing the institutional curriculum, he expressed a conflict that he felt between the demands and organization of the curriculum as it was set up and his desire to respond more spontaneously to the student-related factors that he considers most important in organizing his teaching. At one point he complained:

> "I've been putting too much emphasis on the material and not as much on the needs of the students".

Later, he stated:

> "I'd like to see the students put a lot more into the actual organization of the course. By presenting them with an outline that is so packed

> full, there's very little opportunity for student investment or involvement in the organization of the course. And not only because I think it will help their motivation if they're pursuing things that are of interest to them. I think it will help their understanding if they're the ones who initiate a certain direction in their learning and then end up following it through."

Teaching based on linear versus holistic organization of content

The second dimension in this comparison between the two teachers' bases for teaching decisions involves a cluster of beliefs and assumptions related to how the material should be organized and presented to the students. At one end of the spectrum is a linear organization of individual items, which are abstracted from context in order to be taught and mastered. These items are taught explicitly in the form of "knowledge" or information. This knowledge is assumed to be a prerequisite for the ability to perform the required tasks. At the other end of the spectrum is a holistic organization of contexts in which language appears authentically and in its natural functions. Experience with this language in context (through exposure and use) is assumed to lead to a gradual apprehension of language abilities. In this case, knowledge related to the abilities to be learned is not a prerequisite and may or may not become explicit.

It is theoretically possible to hold a view anywhere along this dimension (or perhaps it is equally accurate to say that it is theoretically possible to hold some of the views at either end of the spectrum, but not all). For example, the audio-lingual method organized abstract items of language linearly, but did not teach these items explicitly in the form of knowledge ("teach the language, not about the language"). Some situational approaches contextualized language into situations, and then explicitly taught the situations one by one in a linear fashion. The particular nature of the dimension and its poles as it is presented here evolved out of the two teachers' discussions of their courses and their views about teaching.

Again, I wish to make it clear that I am not arguing that one of these approaches to teaching is intrinsically more valid than the other (in spite of the fact that the contemporary literature on second language teaching seems to strongly favour one of the ends of the spectrum). Rather the focus is a descriptive one: an attempt to describe how each perspective functions in the context of the teaching being carried out and in the resulting course that the students experience. In the past, aspects of both of these extremes have been supported by arguments in the literature. In the more recent literature, arguments have been made that language is not made up of discrete items and that language learning is not a linear

865

process (these arguments made in reaction to the atomistic and behaviourist assumptions of prior theoretical stances). However, work in linguistics and language acquisition continues to make the assumption that units of language exist at various levels, and are acquired by learners. In addition, arguments are made in the field of human learning (in adult learning especially) that acquisition of more complex abilities is enhanced by the prior mastery of certain less complex activities.

Teacher A organized material reflecting the curricular objectives in a linear form, simplifying each item, and abstracting it from context in order to have it mastered before moving on to the next. For Teacher A, understanding something cognitively was clearly perceived as a prerequisite to learning to do something (for example, understanding the concepts of the rhetorical patterns and the grammar points is a necessary step before practising the skills of using them). This is evident, first, in the handouts that Teacher A provided to the students. They typically started with an explanation of the rules or principles to be applied followed by exercises which apply those rules. Her usual classroom organization followed the same pattern: introduction of the concept followed by practice using it. Her belief regarding this point, although usually implicit rather than explicit in her discussion, is supported by an explicit statement made in one of her log entries. For a lesson in which she was planning to explain the different sentence types (simple, compound and complex) to the students before having them practice them, she noted in her log;

> "Personal intuition that such knowledge is prerequisite for work to be done later on subordination and coordination."

The use of the word "knowledge" in this context points further to her assumption that learning takes place through an application of principles which first must be understood. This conclusion comes not only from her way of wording her ideas as in the above example, but also in an explicit discussion of her own personality and how it relates to her teaching:

> "...I'm the kind of person who likes to first figure out how something works and then try and use it - like I read instructions before I try something. I'm not the kind of person who sits down and tries to figure it out."

Teacher B, on the other hand continually tried to recontextualize the material so it could be experienced in a more holistic way. There was no attempt to have it mastered; in fact Teacher B tried to steer his students away from "set rules" that they could master and instead tried to get them to become aware of the complex ways in which things can function. A primary concern for him was the "authenticity" of the texts and the activities he had the students working on. He focused on the relationship of the texts they used in class to the "real world" through a constant emphasis on audience and purpose. His handouts never included explanations, instead they consisted of authentic documents taken from non-pedagogic sources outside the classroom, in order to provide examples of the pattern of development in these naturally occurring contexts. He sometimes purposefully avoided explicitly mentioning the particular focus of the lesson. He noted once in his log:

> "Although not warned that they are looking for definition, several found it."

When students asked questions or produced work which seemed to him to be an attempt to learn a particular rule or master a particular formal pattern out of context, he tried to impress on the student the negative consequences it could have. For example, when a student produced a perfect definition of a teaspoon as a means of showing that he knew what formal definitions are, Teacher B responded, quite automatically, with a comment related to "real life authenticity": "Why would anybody want to define a teaspoon?"

Conclusion

The differences noted along these two dimensions resulted in differences in classroom activities, differences in the teachers' estimation of what "works and does not work", and differences in the teachers' evaluation of the work that the students do in response to those activities. In other words, there was different teaching and different learning. (There was no attempt in this study to relate teaching to different outcomes in learning, but it is worth noting that the students in both classes performed on a roughly equivalent level on the final exam. It was also interesting to note that each teacher reported some students who really succeeded and others who just "didn't get it" according to that teacher's terms of success, but no attempt was made in this study to link learning styles and teaching styles.)

The evidence that aspects of the curriculum were interpreted in individual ways by the two teachers in the study, according to their own views of language learning and language teaching supports the "process model" described by Hutchinson. However, it is perhaps unwise to generalize the specific results of these two teachers to teachers in other situations. A similar kind of study needs to be carried out, for example, in a foreign language teaching situation where teachers feel that there is little

867

individual freedom to alter the curriculum, or where the range of possible beliefs about language learning and teaching is narrower.

Nonetheless, the comparison of these two teachers, as well as the other eight teachers who made up the study, suggests that underlying beliefs and assumptions have an important impact on very subtle aspects of the teaching (for example, the off-the-cuff comments to the students that reveal the teacher's underlying priorities), and not-so subtle aspects (such as the responses to and evaluation of students' work based on those priorities). In addition, the comparison provides an insight into the very individual way in which teachers interpret and reinterpret technical concepts and terms in light of the events of their everyday teaching experience, leading perhaps to much more complex and textured views than those being imposed from above via language syllabuses and programs.

As methodologies are changing in many parts of the world, and there is increased pressure for syllabuses, materials, and textbooks to reflect these changes, it is important for curriculum planners and materials developers to be aware of the different degrees to which these changes conflict with individual teachers' existing beliefs and assumptions about teaching and learning. The challenge now is for language teaching materials, textbooks and curricular developments to support not just the traditional and not just the radical, but rather to allow teachers to interact with the materials and with the learners so that all three can participate in the process of development.

Acknowledgements

This is a revised version of a paper presented at the RELC Regional Seminar, April 1988. Revisions were sparked by comments from John Fanselow, Ian Pringle, Virginia Swisher and George Yule, although responsibility for interpreting their comments and integrating them into the paper lies with me. Funding for the research reported here was from Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada, grant no. 410-86-0524. I would also like to thank Teachers A and B for letting me into their lives and thoughts.

References

Agar, M. (1979). The professional stranger. New York: Academic Press.

Erickson, F. (1975). Gatekeeping and the melting pot: interaction in counselling encounters. Harvard Educational Review, 45:44–70.

Frankel, R. and H. Beckman (1982). Impact: a method for preserving and analyzing clinical transactions. In L. Pettigrew (ed.), Explorations in patient and provider interaction, pp. 71-85. Louisville, KY: Humana Press.

Hutchinson, T. (1988). Materials and the system: what role do materials play? Paper presented to RELC Conference. Singapore, April, 1988.

Anxiety and Formal Second/Foreign Language Learning

Kenneth Williams
Japan

The SLA/FLA View of Anxiety

I will consider briefly the inverted-U model, facilitating and debilitating anxiety and state trait anxiety. I will also examine the relationship of these concepts to second-language learning. Finally, I will present the work accomplished in the area of foreign-language classroom anxiety.

The inverted-U model is dependent on the concept of arousal, which is defined in the *Longman Dictionary of Psychology and Psychiatry* (1984) as "a state of alertness and readiness for action" (p. 60). The model states that when arousal is low, performance is low. Then, for a time, as arousal increases, so does performance, to an optimal point. As arousal increases further, performance falls ultimately to zero (Lundberg, 1982). It has been theorized that stress (anxiety) may function in a similar manner (McGrath, 1982).

The inverted-U model has seldom, if ever, been tested in the second-language classroom. But research has suggested and been interpreted in a way that indicates the presence of this uni-dimensional construct. For example, Backman (1976) found that the two Spanish-speaking students who had the most difficulty learning English also had the highest and lowest scores on the anxiety measure she utilized. Chastain (1975) found a negative correlation between scores on tests and anxiety in an audiolingual French course. On the other hand, he found a positive correlation between anxiety and scores in regular French or German courses. Chastain (1975) resolves these conflicting results by saying, "perhaps some concern about a test is a plus, while too much anxiety can produce negative results" (p. 160).

It is reasonable to assume that some level of brain arousal is necessary for learning to occur and that learning is optimal somewhere between a brain-dead state and an epileptic grandmal seizure. However, Chastain's terms "some concern" and "too much" are far too vague. Such definitions leave it up to the instructor to, more or less, arbitrarily decide what "a little" or "too much" anxiety is, and this could be very difficult to accomplish. Another, and even more compelling, point is presented by Krohne and Laux: (1982)

> In our Western societies, stress and anxiety especially in achievement situations, have become important issues. There is a general concern

> about the adverse effects of stress and anxiety on academic achievement and other aspects of human behaviour (p. xi).

Therefore, rather than depending on anxiety to stimulate students, it would be wiser for ESL instructors to use, for example, motivation as an alternative. For an excellent review of this topic, see Crookes and Schmidt (1989).

One approach, which moves away from the unidimensional model, is that of a facilitating and debilitating dichotomy for the description of anxiety. This construct was first theorized by Alpert and Haber (1960), who view facilitating anxiety as a source of motivation. In contrast, debilitating anxiety, a more commonly used definition, acts as a distractor.

Kleinmann's (1977) work has been cited as an example of the presence of facilitating and debilitating anxiety in the language-learning setting (Scovel, 1978; Long and Larsen-Freeman, in press). Kleinmann's primary intent was to examine the relationship between the syntactic structures in English that are avoided by foreign students (Arabic and Spanish) and the syntactic structures of the students' native language. Of secondary interest to him was the interaction between avoidance behaviour and anxiety. To evaluate the students' anxiety, Kleinmann administered a modified version of the Achievement Anxiety Test (Alpert and Haber, 1960), which is designed to measure the facilitating and debilitating effects of anxiety and academic performance. The test statements Kleinmann used were adapted to the language-learning situation. Example statements used by Kleinmann (1977) are:

1. "Nervousness while using English helps me do better."
2. "Nervousness while using English in class prevents me from doing well" (p. 98).

Kleinmann (1977) found that the Spanish students who scored high on the items designed to measure facilitating anxiety also used various structures (such as infinitive complements and direct-object pronouns) in English that other Spanish students in the same class tended to avoid. The Arabic students showed similar tendencies, with the facilitating-anxiety group tending to use the passive voice in English more frequently than their peers. Kleinmann (1977) contends that some "second language learners resort to an avoidance strategy that cannot be attributed to a lack of knowledge of the avoidance structure" (p. 106). He concludes by saying that anxiety, along with other affective characteristics, should be researched further to help identify potential avoiders.

One possibility overlooked by Alpert and Haber, Kleinmann, Scovel and others, is that observations of facilitating and debilitating anxiety are actually different ends of the same anxiety continuum (Hembree, 1988). In other words, the emotional state of facilitating anxiety may be equivalent to a low-anxiety state that diverts the students' attention only slightly from the language-learning task. On the other hand, debilitating anxiety would represent a high anxiety state that diverts a substantial (debilitating) amount of the students' attention.

Although I have questions with regard to Kleinmann (1977) and others' general interpretation of anxiety as a facilitating stimulus, I agree with Scovel (1978) that the "article by Kleinmann takes a step in the right direction" (p. 132). This direction, in my opinion, is to look at our students as individuals who have the potential to respond differently to anxiety.

A closer look at the situation leads us to the Trait-State Anxiety Theory. This theory separates anxiety into a transitory state and a relatively stable personality trait. Spielberger, Gorsuch, and Lushene's (1970) perspective is:

> State anxiety (A-State) may be conceptualized as a transitory emotional state or condition of the human organism that varies in intensity and fluctuates over time. This condition is characterized by tension and apprehension, and activation of the autonomic nervous system.... Trait anxiety (A-Trait) refers to relatively stable individual differences in anxiety proneness, that is, to differences between people in the tendency to respond to situations perceived as threatening with evaluations in A-State intensity (p. 3).

Individuals high in trait anxiety may perceive a second-language learning situation as more dangerous or threatening than persons low in A-Trait and may respond to this threatening situation with A-State elevations of greater intensity.

An important factor to consider is that when A-State anxiety is evaluated in a complex learning situation (as we would find in many language-learning classrooms), the A-State in an individual may vary with the given situation (Spielberger, O'Neil, and Hansen, 1972). Therefore, it is conceivable that the same person could score in one category on a test for State-Trait anxiety prior to a learning situation and in another category if the test were given during a learning situation. The view that A-State anxiety can play a significant role in complex learning situations is supported by Heinrich and Spielberger (1982), who say: "The research literature provides strong evidence that the impact of stress and task difficulty on complex learning is mediated by state anxiety" (p. 159).

Another significant element in the State-Trait Anxiety theory is the conditions that an individual perceives as threatening. The variable(s) that will increase anxiety and their interaction are still under investigation. However, a useful classification scheme at the macro level is offered by McGrath (1970). After reviewing numerous stress studies, he identified the following stressful conditions: physical threat, ego threat and interpersonal threat. In a more situation-specific setting, the formal foreign-language classroom, Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986) hypothesize that anxiety may be seen as a combination of three components:

1. communication apprehension (a type of shyness characterized by fear of or anxiety about communicating with other people)
2. fear of negative social evaluation (a broad category that may occur in situations such as interviews or speaking in foreign-language classes)
3. test anxiety (a type of performance anxiety stemming from a fear of failure)

Horwitz et al. (1986) also propose that most adults perceive themselves as reasonably good communicators in their first language. Then, when a student is asked to perform in a second language, the concept of being a competent communicator is challenged. This challenge may lead to reticence, self-consciousness, fear or even panic. In Horwitz et al.'s (1986) words, "The language learner's self-esteem is vulnerable to the awareness that the range of communication choices and authenticity is restricted" (p. 128). This hypothesis and information gathered from students studying foreign languages led to the development of the statements on the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) (Horwitz et al. 1986).

In an attempt to evaluate the theoretical framework of Horwitz et al. (1986), MacIntyre and Gardner (1989) designed a three-phase study of 52 male and 52 female native English speakers. In the first phase, they administered a three-part questionnaire containing a series of anxiety scales. The first part contained the French-class anxiety, English-class anxiety and mathematics-class anxiety scales, which were answered on a six-point Likert scale. The second section contained the French-use anxiety, trait anxiety and computer anxiety scales, which were also answered on a six-point Likert scale. The final parts were the measurements of test anxiety and audience anxiety, which required True/False responses. In the second phase, the students were given four trials to learn 38 English-French pairs administered by computer and were tested prior to each trial. Spielberger's (1983) State-Anxiety scale was administered after three of these tests. The final phase involved French vocabulary production and free recall of paired associations.

MacIntyre and Gardner's (1989) results support two of Horwitz et al.'s (1986) hypotheses that communication apprehension and social evaluation are part of the elements of foreign-language classroom anxiety. However, their findings suggest that test anxiety is a general problem and not one that is specific to the language classroom. MacIntyre and Gardner also found that the students with high communicative anxiety tended to have lower scores on free recall on the paired-associates learning task and oral and written vocabulary tests. MacIntyre and Gardner (1989) state that: "The results presented tend to indicate that anxiety leads to deficits in learning and performance" (p. 271).

To summarize: the majority of the early studies in second-language learning anxiety produced conflicting results (Scovel 1978, MacIntyre and Gardner 1989). MacIntyre and Gardner (1989) consider these results to be "likely attributable to an inappropriate level of instrument specificity" (p. 272). Later studies such as Kleinmann's (1977) are significant because the implementation of a situation-specific instrument will produce scores that are more accurate than one based on a general (anxiety) scale (Alper and Haber, 1960). Recently, researchers have attempted to analyze anxiety-evoking situations in a language-learning classroom and build an anxiety-evaluation instrument around their findings (Horwitz et al. 1986).

Operationalizing The Construct

The following is one way to conceptualize the components that create ESL/EFL classroom anxiety:

I. An external element:
A situation that is anxiety provoking.

II. A receptive element:
An acceptance or perception that a situation is anxiety provoking.

II. An expressive element:
A psychological and/or somatic response to number one and two that is measurable or observable.

The external element, the second language-classroom setting, is, at times, controlled by groups outside of the classroom (e.g., the community, the government and the educational bureaucracy). Very likely, these and other groups will decide on the content, the rate of presentation of the material used in the class and the amount of progress expected from the students (Stern, 1986; Dubin and Olshtain, 1987). All three - content, rate of presentation and expected progress - have the potential to be highly anxiety provoking for students if the demands are beyond the students' abilities.

The second element, reception, is still under investigation. It is not known why some people accept or perceive an external setting as threatening and therefore anxiety provoking and others do not. However, Dweck and Wortman (1982) have reviewed the literature concerning the major differences in cognitive processes and coping strategies between individuals who show adaptive behaviour in performance settings and those who are less successful at adapting.

Dweck and Wortman's identification of the elements of adaptive and nonadaptive behaviour can be organized as follows:

I. self-doubt and low-esteem versus self-confidence and high esteem
  A. those in the self-doubt group tend to:
    1. misinterpret or distort neutral or even positive external situations (Sarason, 1960; Diener and Dweck, 1978; Smith and Sarason, 1975)
    2. blame themselves for the situation (Doris and Sarason, 1955; Diener and Dweck 1978)
    3. have a high degree of concern and worry about evaluation (Mandler and Watson, 1966)
    4. have a negative attitude toward a given task (Neale and Katahn, 1968)
  B. the self-confident group tends not to exhibit the traits listed above.

II. self focus (distracted) versus task focus
  A. The self-focus group has a higher incidence of non-task-related thoughts than the task focus group (Weine, 1971; Sarason, 1975; Mandler and Watson, 1968)

If there is a key that suggests why some people accept or perceive a language-learning situation as anxiety provoking and therefore manifest the above symptoms, it most likely is fear of failure (rejection) to meet the demands set in the external element plus the perceived self-perpetuating nature of this condition. Generally, this apprehension includes the fear of failure in interpersonal relationships and/or negative self evaluation because of task failure (McGrath, 1970).

The expressive element, a measurable or observable psychological and/or somatic reaction, is drawn from a classification of indices of stress responses by McGrath (1970).

This element may take the form of:

I. neuro-physiological response detectable through:
    A. a biochemical analysis of body products (e.g., blood and urine)
    B. an instrumental measure of physiological processes (e.g., GSR, EEG)

II. direct observation of behaviour (e.g., pacing, stammering, facial expression)

III. observation of performance on a task (e.g., inability to attend to task)

IV. reporting of a self-observed physical response (e.g., trembling, increased heart rate)

V. reporting of a self-observed psychological state (e.g., fear, nervousness)

Several of the above measurements may be impractical in the second/foreign language classroom. Testing for trace elements in students' bodily fluids or, for example, measurement of the electrical conductivity of the skin (galvanic skin response) seems out of place in the language-learning setting. Direct observation of symptoms of anxiety are vulnerable to observer biases. Also, other factors, such as fatigue or disinterest, could produce behaviour that is indistinguishable from that of anxiety. The third option, self report, also has some limitations. For example, it is dependent on the individual consciously accepting that anxiety is present during a specific stimulus situation and/or that the physical or emotional state represents anxiety. On the other hand, Wallbott and Scherer (1986) argue that a self-reporting approach to the study of emotional processes "may be a suitable way to study not only emotion-eliciting situations but also emotional reactions" (p. 765). Wallbott and Scherer accept that recall and self-reporting processes may bias the results and that the results are subjective, not objective measurements of situations. However, even given the limitations, a self-reporting evaluation appears to be the best option available at this time for the evaluation of anxiety in the ESL/EFL classroom.

Using the above analysis as a guide, I will define anxiety in the foreign-language classroom as a response to a condition in which the external element is or is perceived as presenting a demand that threatens to exceed the student's capabilities and resources for meeting it. The acceptance of the situation as threatening then manifests itself as a psychological emotion and/or a physiological response which acts as a distractor that divides and diverts the student's focus and therefore lowers the amount of attention and effort that otherwise could be used to master the task presented.

Discussion

The role of affect in general and anxiety specifically has been overlooked for too long in the field of second/foreign-language. The key to changing this situation and having researchers, administrators and teachers acknowledge the existence and negative effects of foreign-language anxiety is further research. This research could take many formats; however, a long-term study that would allow an evaluation of the students' foreign-language classroom anxiety and their progress in the target language would be a very good one.

The FLCAS can be used or a situation-specific, culturally based scale could be developed. Several methods are available for the development of a culturally based scale. One way would be to adapt the questionnaire approach used by Matsumoto et al. (1988) to the formal language setting. A second method would be to have students keep a diary study of the anxiety they perceive dŭring a semester (or longer) of studying a foreign language. The results of studies like these could be evaluated and ued to design a culturally based scale.

Another interesting study would be to, along with the FLCAS, administer a scale that would evaluate the students' view of their language-learning skills. In this way more information could be gathered on why students find a situation like a language-learning setting anxiety provoking.

References

Alpert, R., & Haber, R. (1960). Anxiety in academic achievement situations. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 61:207–21.

Backman, N. (1976). Two measures of affective factors as they relate to progress in adult second-language learning. *Working Papers in Bilingualism,* 10:100–22.

Chastain, K. (1975). Affective and ability factors in second-language acquisition. *Language learning,* 25:153–61.

Crookes, G. and Schmidt, R. (1989). Motivation: Reopening the research agenda. *University of Hawaii Working Papers in ESL,* 8:217–56.

Diener, C. I., & Dweck, C. S. (1978). An analysis of learned helplessness: Continuous changes in performance strategy, and achievement cognitions following failure. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 36:451–62.

Doris, J., & Sarason, S. B. (1955). Test anxiety and blame assignment in a failure situation. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 50:335-38.

Dubin, F. & Olshtain, E. (1987). *Course Design.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dweck, C. & Wortman. C. (1982). Learned helplessness, anxiety, and achievement motivation: Neglected parallels in cognitive, affective, and coping responses. In Krohne, H. W. & Layx, L. (Eds.). *Achievement, Stress and Anxiety.* New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation.

Goldenson, R. M. (Ed.) (1984). *Longman Dictionary of Psychology and Psychiatry.* New York: Longman Inc.

Heinrich, D. L. & Spielberger, C. D. (1982). Anxiety and complex learning. In Krohne, H. W. & Layx, L. (Eds.), *Achievement, Stress, and Anxiety.* New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation.

Hembree, R. (1988). Correlates, Causes, Effects, and Treatment of Test Anxiety. *Review of Educational Research,* 58:44-7.

Horwitz, E. K., Horwitz, M. B., & Cope, J. (1986). Foreign language classroom anxiety. *The Modern Language Journal,* 70:125-32.

Kleinmann, H. H. (1977). Avoidance behaviour in adult second-language acquisition. *Language Learning,* 27:93-107.

Krone, K. W. & Laux, L. (1982). *Achievement Stress and Anxiety.* New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation.

Long, M., & Larsen-Freeman, D. (in press). *An Introduction to Second Language Research.*

Lundberg, U. (1982). Psychophysiological aspects of performance and adjustment to stress. In Krohne, K. W. & Laux, L. (Eds.) *Achievement, Stress and Anxiety.* New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation.

Mandler, G., & Watson, D. L. (1968). Anxiety and the interruption of behaviour. In C. D. Spielberger (Ed.), *Anxiety and Behaviour.* New York: Academic Press.

Mandler, G., & Watson, D. L. (1966). Test anxiety and immediate or delayed feedback in a test like avoidance task. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology,* 8:200-3.

Matsumoto, D., Kudoh, T., Scherer, K., & Wallbott, H. (1988). Antecedents of and reactions to emotions in the United States and Japan. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology,* 19:267-86.

McCoy, I. R. (1979). Means to overcome the anxieties of second language learners. *Foreign Language Annals,* 12:185-9.

878

McGrath, J. E. (1970). *Social and psychological factors in stress.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

McGrath, J. E. (1976). Stress and behaviour in organizations. In M. Dunnette (Ed.) *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology.* Chicago: Rand McNally.

McGrath, J. E. (1982). Methodological Problems in Research on Stress. In Krohne, K. W. & Laux, L. (Eds.) *Achievement, Stress and Anxiety.* New York: Hemisphere Publishing Corporation.

MacIntyre P. D. and Gardner R. C. (1989). Anxiety and Second Language-Language Learning: Toward a Theoretical Clarification *Language Learning,* 39:251-75.

Neale, J. M., & Katahn, M. (1968). Anxiety, choice, and stimulus uncertainty. *Journal of Personality,* 36:235-45.

Sarason, I. G. (1960). Empirical findings and theoretical problems in the use of anxiety scales. *Psychological Bulletin,* 57:403-15.

Sarason, I. G. (1975). Anxiety and self-preoccupation. In I. G. Sarason & C. D. Spielberger (Eds.). *Stress and Anxiety* (Vol. 2). New York: Academic Press.

Scovel, T. (1978). The effect of affect on foreign language learning: A review of the anxiety research. *Language Learning,* 28:129-42.

Smith, R. E., & Sarason, I. G. (1975). Social anxiety and the evaluation of negative interpersonal feedback. *Journal of consulting and Clinical Psychology,* 43:429.

Spielberger, C. D., Gorsuch, R. L., & Lushene R. E. (1970). *Manual for the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory.* Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologist Press.

Spielberger, C. D., O'Neil, H. F., & Hansen, D. N. (1972). Anxiety, drive theory, and computer-assisted learning. In Mather B. A. (Ed.), *Progress in Experimental Personality Research: (Vol. 6). New York: Academic Press.*

Spielberger, C. D. (1983). *Manual for the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory.* Palo Alto: Consulting Psychologist Press.

Stern, H. H. (1986). *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching.* Fourth Edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wallbott, H. G., & Scherer, K. (1986). How universal and specific is emotional experience? Evidence from 27 countries on five continents. *Social Science Information,* 25:763-95.

Wine, J. D. (1971). Test anxiety and direction of attention. *Psychological Bulletin,* 76:92-104.

Higher Order Reading Comprehension Skills in Literature Learning and Teaching at the Lower Secondary School Level in Singapore

Goh Soo Tian
National Institute of Education
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Introduction

This paper reports on the Literature Learning Project (LLP), a research study undertaken by the English Studies Department, Institute of Education, Singapore in 1989. The Project has a two-fold purpose. The first concern is a practical one: to find out how well students at the lower secondary level are coping with their literature texts. The second concern is more theoretical in nature: to test the hierarchical properties of Hillocks' taxonomy of skills in reading and interpreting fiction.

Theoretical Background

The theoretical issue behind the research study will be dealt with first. Rosenshine (1980), after reviewing extant lists of reading comprehension skills and examining the re-analyses (Davis, 1968, 1972; Spearritt, 1972; Thorndike, 1973) of the data first presented in Davis' original study (1944), arrived at this conclusion: (a) there was no clear evidence to support the naming of discrete skills in reading comprehension (b) factor analytical studies hitherto did not reveal anything about the hierarchical nature of the skills concerned. Nevertheless, the component-skills view of reading comprehension has greatly influenced textbook design and classroom instruction in reading education over the last two decades despite its lack of theoretical support. The debate between the advocates of the component-skills and the holistic approaches to reading comprehension instruction to date seems unresolved. However, work in the areas of schema activation (Anderson, 1977; Kintsch and Greene, 1978; Spiro, 1980) and metacognition (Flavell and Wellman, 1977; Brown, 1980) seems to show a major paradigm shift in reading comprehension research and the experimental means for tapping skills and subskills in the reading process may not give a true picture of their functioning in real life situations.

The questionable assumption of isolating separable component skills in reading comprehension aside, the related issue of whether the skills as

830

they are commonly listed are ranked in hierarchical order, is the question which this research study addresses. In spite of Rosenshine's dismissal quoted earlier, the skills hierarchy problem has been less well investigated. Rosenshine's classification of the skills under three general types: locating skills, simple inferential skills and complex inferential skills merely confirms the traditional practice of broadly differentiating between the literal and the inferential level of reading comprehension. That making inferences requires more complex processing involving higher order skills than factual recall and recognition seems to be a matter of simple logic or even common sense that does not warrant formal verification. However, as Pearson and Johnson (1978:164) point out, "Questions which on the surface look like they require simple, straightforward, literal recall of factual details may in fact require a complex set of inferences which involve the integration of textual and scriptal information."

The work of Hillocks and Ludlow (1984) on a taxonomy of skills in reading and interpreting fiction appears to be the only piece of empirical research in the area of skills hierarchy. According to Hillocks (1980), before students can deal with the abstractions which structural analysis involves, they must be able to deal with the liberal and inferential content of the work. If they cannot infer the relationships among characters and events as well as the ideas which those relationships imply in a particular work, it will have little or no meaning for them. Thus, in addition to the literal, simple and complex inferential skills identified by Rosenshine, he added a further higher-order skill type: understanding the structural organization of a work. Hillocks' taxonomy has seven skill types organised under two broad levels:

Literal Level of Comprehension

Basic Stated Information (BSI)
Key Detail (KD)
Stated Relationship (SR)

Inferential Level of Comprehension

Simple Implied Relationship (SIR)
Complex Implied Relationship (CIR)
Author's Generalization (AG)
Structural Generalization (SG)

Question sets using the taxonomy were prepared based on four short prose fiction texts. The question sets were each administered to between 77 and 127 students from grades seven to twelve. Responses were scored using a partial credit scoring design. The data, analysed with the Rasch

881

Rating Scale model, confirmed the hierarchical and taxonomic nature of the item types in the taxonomy.

Practical Considerations

The Hillocks and Ludlow research was published in 1984. It was felt that a replication of their study with a larger sample, comprising students in Singapore schools would be a worthwhile project. Apart from the theoretical objective of testing the Hillocks taxonomy, the study would also satisfy certain practical considerations, though reading research in the Singapore context has gradually moved away from a primary school focus to the secondary school level in the more recent years, there was no study which addresses the problems students encounter in reading and comprehending texts of a literary nature. Widdowson's distinction between the study and the learning of literature (1985:184) is particularly relevant to students at the lower secondary level. To what extent is the literature learning a matter of learning how to read and process the text? More specifically, are these students able to go beyond the literal level of comprehension and apply the higher-order inferential and structural skills in understanding and interpretating their literature texts? Answers to these practical questions would provide useful input in literature methods courses at the Institute of Education.

Procedures

Inventory Construction

Three short stories commonly included in the lower secondary school literature curriculum were selected: "The Necklace" by Maupassant, "An Incident" by Lu Hsu and "The Goalkeeper's Revenge" by Bill Naughton (the first two were the English translation versions). Three question sets applying the Hillocks taxonomy were devised for the texts. These question sets were examined by literature graduate students and experienced teachers of literature and were found to conform to the taxonomy. They were trialed on a small scale and found to contain no serious anomaly. The question sets can be found in the Appendix.

Sample

The revised question sets were administered in six sample schools comprising a Special Assistance Plan (SAP)* school, three government secondary schools and two mission schools. Table 1 shows the distribution according to level and stream of the total sample.

---

*The SAP school scheme was initiated by the Ministry of Education in 1979 with the purpose of raising the standard of English in nine selected Chinese medium secondary schools. The students in these schools are given the option to offer both Chinese and English as a First Language at the 'O' Level Examinations.

Table 1
Distribution of the Sample

Text	Sec. One		Sec. Two		Total
	N*	E*			
The Necklace	42	40	40	39	161
An Incident	95	86	80	73	334
The Goalkeeper's Revenge	43	48	35	50	176
	180	174	155	162	671

*N = Normal Stream, E = Express Stream
[N Stream students are allowed 5 years to complete their secondary education; the E Stream students take 4 years to complete their course.]

Each question set was administered during two normal class periods comprising 70 minutes. The students were allowed to refer to the texts as they answered the questions. None of the three short stories had been taught to the classes prior to administration of the inventories.

Scoring

A partial credit scoring system was used. Two points were awarded for a right answer, one point for a partially right answer, and zero for a wrong answer. Responses were marked as "right", "partly right" and "wrong". The criteria for each category of response were developed and a training workshop for the six markers, who were literature gradaute students, was conducted. After the first round of practice marking a standardisation session was held to ensure inter-marker consistency. The reliability correlations between the two markers for each of the three texts were: .91 for "The Necklace", .88 for "An Incident" and .93 for "The Goalkeeper's Revenge."

Data Analysis

The base data for the processing and analysis of the results are the scores of each person (in the form of a response string e.g. 2 2 2 1 1 0 0) and item total scores. To answer the first research question, i.e. how well did the students perform in the higher order comprehension questions as compared to the literal questions, the item total scores were examined. To answer the second research question, i.e. whether the item types on the Hillocks taxonomy were hierarchical and taxonomically related to each other, a more elaborate statistical treatment of the data was necessary. This required a measurement model that could compute a) estimates of item difficulties, b) yield person ability estimates in the same linear metric as the items and c) provide a means of testing the fit of the data to the model (Hillocks and Ludlow, 1984:16). The model chosen was the Rating Scale model, and the computer programme BIGSCALE (Wright, Linacre, and Schultz, 1989) was used to process the data.

Results

Table 2 presents the total item scores for the seven item types in the three texts. A comparison of the scores for the three items in the literal level and the four items in inferential level (see Table 3) shows a sharp drop indicating a general inability to make the leap from the lower to the higher order comprehension level. This is not unexpected, but what is

Table 2
Item Total Correct Scores

	Item Type	Total Score	Percentage
The Necklace n = 161	BSI	228	70.8
	KD	166	51.5
	SR	163	50.6
	SIR	145	45.0
	CIR	58	18.0
	AG	19	5.9
	SG	9	2.8
An Incident n = 334	BSI	615	92.1
	KD	609	76.2
	SR	395	59.1
	SIR	227	33.9
	CIR	164	24.5
	AG	104	15.6
	SG	79	11.8
The Goalkeeper's Revenge n = 176	BSI	351	99.7
	KD	286	81.2
	SR	288	81.8
	SIR	84	23.9
	CIR	73	20.7
	AG	58	16.5
	SG	1	0.3

Table 3
Comparison of Literal and Inferential Comprehension Level Average Percentage Scores

	Literal	Inferential
The Necklace	57.6	17.9
An Incident	75.8	21.4
The Goalkeeper's Revenge	87.6	17.8

surprising perhaps is the extremely low scores especially for the AG and SG items. The students did not fare too well either in the two items requiring making of inferences. The sharp decline from the literal and inferential scores is particularly noticeable in the case of the "Goalkeeper" text. The fact that the students were able to understand this text very well at the literal level (over 85% average) did not ensure their performance at the inferential level (about 18%). Thus the hypothesis that students at the lower secondary school level are generally unable to answer higher order comprehension questions in their literature learning is strongly supported by the research data.

As for the second research question, whether the item types in the Hillocks taxonomy are hierarchical and the relationship between the items is taxonomic, a brief examination of the Rating Scale analysis follows. Table 4 presents a summary of the Rasch Model statistics. In the table, scale value refers to the item difficulty estimate. A negative scale value indicates a relatively easy item while a positive scale value indicates a relatively hard item. The standard error is an estimate of the precision of the scale value. The fit T is an approximate t-statistic testing the reasonableness of the scale value estimate. Sample statistics are based on the person ability distribution. It must be noted that the scale values for the three question sets cannot be compared without further analysis.

A general look at the scale values shows that the item difficulties in the three question inventories do conform to the hypothesis, i.e. BSI is the easiest item and SG is the hardest item. The standard errors indicate a clear separation of item locations on the whole. The item fit statistics do not suggest any serious anomaly. An inspection of the residuals for the persons with a fit of $t > 2.0$ reveals that the number of poorly fitting persons is low = 7, 16 and 6 for the three texts respectively. The extent of the misfit is also fairly low, not exceeding > 3.0 in most cases with the exception of two persons for the "Necklace" text who have untypical response strings of: 2 0 2 0 2 2 and 2 1 1 0 2 2 1 given their ability levels of 1.51 and .88 respectively.

Table 4
Summary of Rasch Model Statistics

	Item Type	Scale value	Standard Error	Fit T	Sample Statistics
The Necklace	BSI	−2.25	.13	−1.3	n = 161
	KD	−1.22	.12	−3.8	Mean ability = −1.16
	SR	−1.18	.12	2.7	Standard deviation = 1.39
	SIR	−.90	.12	2.1	
	CIR	.68	.15	−.4	7 persons with t > 2.0
	AG	2.05	.23	.6	
	SG	2.83	.32	.3	0 persons with t < −2.0
An Incident	BSI	−2.64	.13	1.9	n = 334
	KD	−1.39	.09	1.0	Mean ability = −.24
	SR	−.59	.08	1.1	Standard deviation = 1.11
	SIR	.46	.08	−.1	
	CIR	.92	.09	−1.9	16 persons with t > 2.0
	AG	1.47	.10	−1.8	
	SG	1.77	.11	−.6	0 persons with t < −2.0
The Goalkeeper's Revenge	BSI	−6.35	.90	.4	n = 176
	KD	−1.78	.14	.2	Mean ability = .14
	SR	−1.82	.14	2.2	Standard deviation = 1.0
	SIR	1.21	.12	1.0	
	CIR	1.40	.13	−1.2	6 persons with t > 2.0
	AG	1.69	.14	−3.4	
	SG	5.64	.91	.3	0 persons with t < −2.0

Two other observations can be made. The first is the reversal of the order of the scale values for KD and SR in the "Goalkeeper" text. The SR item should be more difficult than the KD item according to the prediction. But the scale values show otherwise. This can be explained by the fact that the SR question, "Why was Sim asked to join the Clinic Street special school?" proved slightly easier than the KD question, "Who was Bob Thropper?" The answer for the KD is directly stated ("... the captain, Bob Thropper, threatened him") but the information is not highlighted. On the other hand, though the answer for the SR question requires more complex processing of the text, the reader can rely on extra-textual knowledge to supply a reasonable answer. The part of the text containing the answer reads:

> "It was near the end of the season, and Scuttle Street were at the top of the league and in the final for the Mayor's Shield, when a new and very thorough inspector visited the school. He found Sim's scholastic ability to be of such a low order that he directed him at once to Clinic Street special school."

Qualitative analysis shows that many of the partial credit responses seem to depend more on the students' prior knowledge involving a "special school" schema than a lose translation of textual information. Some of the responses are: "Because he failed his exams" and "Sim was kicked out because he did badly in his studies".

The other point is the rather high scale values at the two extreme ends for the "Goalkeeper" text. The BSI has a scale value of -6.35 and the SG has a scale value of 5.64, both far exceeding the +2 limit for acceptable item difficulty. An inspection of the item total score shows that only one person did not get the item correct for BSI and that conversely, only one person could answer the item correctly for SG! Thus on the whole, the research question about the hierarchical and taxonomic nature of the item types in the Hillocks taxonomy is satisfactorily answered. The results strongly show that the items in the taxonomy are hierarchical in nature and are taxonomically related to each other.

Discussion

The theoretical issue of the hierarchical nature of reading comprehension skills inventories is still largely unresolved. But this study has clearly demonstrated that one particular inventory, that is, Hillocks taxonomy in reading and interpreting fiction is in fact hierarchical in nature. The performance of the subjects in the sample points to the fact that students at the lower secondary school level need a great deal of help in answering questions involving inferential and structural generalizations. A check with teachers of literature reveals that while most of them are aware of the problem they are not very certain as to how to teach the inferential comprehension skills. Many also feel that the majority of their students are still struggling with basic reading comprehension problems because of a generally low language proficiency. This often made claim is however not supported by the results as most of the students were able to perform reasonably well at the literal level. This shows that they possess sufficient language ability to comprehend their literature texts at a factual level. The Hillocks taxonomy can serve as a useful guide to teachers in their classroom questioning and in setting test questions.

Qualitative Analysis

Qualitative analysis of the student responses to the questions provides some pointers as to how teachers can help their students to make the transition from the lower to the higher order comprehension skill level in literature learning. The KD question in the "Necklace" text gives one illustration. The question appears quite simple: "What did Mathilde's husband bring home one evening?" All the graduate students and literature teachers who were given the question sets to examine found that this question conforms to the Key Detail type, that is, a low order question. The poor performance (51.5%) of the students prompted a close examination of the question-answer relationship or QAR (Pearson and Johnson, 1978) which governs the actual difficulty or ease in deriving the correct answer. The part of the text that contains the answer reads:

> "But, one evening, her husband returned home with a triumphant air, holding a large envelope in his hand."

This is followed by the wording on the invitation card itself, distinguished by smaller print and set within quotation marks:

> "The Minister of Public Instruction and Mme Georges Rampenneau request the honour of M. and Mme Loisel's company at the palace of the Ministry on Monday evening, January 18th."

The words "an invitation to a ball" are not directly stated, and students are expected to make the following connection: the "large envelope" contains the invitation of the Minister of Public Instruction to Loisel and Mathilde to a formal occasion at the palace. The fact that about half the 161 students were unable to answer this question shows that they were unable to make the connection. First of all, the teacher can help by establishing the "invitation to a ball" schema. The idea of a ball (surely they would have encountered in their prior knowledge Cinderella going to a ball?) which is explicitly stated later in the story seems to present a cultural problem. The teacher can then draw the students' attention to the structural clue signalling an important detail, "But, one evening ...". Further textual signals like the indentation and smaller print should also be pointed out. Such skills are generally considered as part of reading comprehension, but they need to be highlighted in literature lessons and explicitly taught.

The Inferential Skills

Of the three texts, the fall in the students' performance from the literal to the inferential level skills is the sharpest in "The Goalkeeper's Revenge", from 87.6% to 17.8% (Table 3). The Simple Implied Relationship (SIR) question asks: "Why was Sim not allowed to play in the final for the Mayor's Shield?" The answer to the previous question as to why Sim was asked to join the Clinic Street special school actually provides a cue to the answer, and a few students did see the connection when they answered: "Because Sim was leaving to join the Special School". The correct answer is to be found in a line of dialogue in which Bob Thropper, the team captain, objected to the team manager's suggestion that Sim stays on until the end of the season:

> "What, sir!" interposed Bob Thropper,
> "A cracky school lad play for us? Ee, Sir,
> that would be out of order."

Almost all the students from the Normal Stream (both, Secondary One and Two) were unable to answer this question correctly. Their inability to see the simple implied relationship is probably compounded by language difficulty: "cracky school lad" and "out of order" could have presented some problem in meaning. Only a handful among the Secondary Two Express students were able to see the animosity which Bob Thropper nurses towards Sim and which is the cause of the goalkeeper's revenge referred to in the title.

Moving from the Simple Implied Relationship (SIR) to the Complex Implied Relationship (CIR) does not see a significant fall in performance, from 23.9% to 20.7% for "The Goalkeeper's Revenge". But the fall is more dramatic in the case of "The Necklace": from 45% to 18%. The SIR question asks why Mathilde felt relieved when Mme Forestier did not open the box upon its return. Most of the students sampled, including quite a few among the Normal Stream, were able to provide a reasonable inference to the effect that had Mme Forestier opened the box she would have noticed the switch and the whole truth would be out. The text provided only a hint, and stated indirectly and conditionally:

> "She (Mme Forestier) did not open the case, as her friend had so much feared. If she had detected the substitution, what would she have thought, what would she have said? ..."

The CIR question asks "Why did Mathilde tell Mme Forestier that she was the cause of her (Mathilde's) suffering?" Most of the answers sampled took the question as an excuse to narrate the whole chain of events: how Mathilde had to slog for ten years to repay the debts incurred in buying the diamond necklace in replacement of the lost one. Perhaps the students simply lacked the degree of maturity in understanding Mathilde's feelings at seeing a Mme Forestier who, unlike herself was "still young, still beautiful, still charming". "Mme Loisel felt moved", moved by the unfairness and cruelty of Fate that had made her life a misery all because of Mme Forestier's necklace. The relationship is certainly a complex one, and to understand it requires not only piecing together textual evidence from diverse parts of the text but also an ability to see things from Mathilde's point of view at that precise moment of 'confrontation' of the two women.

Making Generalizations

The last two questions in the Hillocks' taxonomy test the students' ability to grasp the author's generalizations and to see the structural pattern in the organisation of the story. In a way, the extremely poor overall performance is not surprising. A check with the literature teachers at the lower secondary level confirms that instruction at this level usually focuses on plot and characterisation rather than theme and structural organisation which are considered too complex and are normally delayed until the upper secondary years. Roughly 15% of the students were able to state the theme of "An Incident" and "The Goalkeeper's Revenge". The best answers in the case of the former came from the Express Stream students in a SAP school:

> "The author wants us to see that the rickshawman, though poor and uneducated, was able to show sympathy and care of the old woman. But the man in the rickshaw, though rich and highly educated was completely selfish and unable to show any sympathy."
>
> "The author uses the incident to show us that the lower class people like the rickshaw puller are more worthy of our respect than the upper classes".

The fact that the story is translated from Lu Hsun is significant here as the students in a SAP school are likely to have come across the works of this Chinese author in the original and are thus familiar with some of his ideas.

All the three stories make use of contrast to bring out the structural patterning of the events. While 11% of the students were able to note this contrasting pattern in "An Incident" only 2.8% were able to see it in

"The Necklace". One student from a Secondary Two Normal Stream answered that "the author used the contrast between the real diamond necklace and the imitation necklace to teach us to be careful not to be cheated by imitation goods." At the other end of the scale, a girl student from a mission school produced this response:

> "Mathilde had a simple but comfortable life, and a husband who loved her. But she was always yearning for a life of luxury. In the end she lost what she had and lived a life of poverty. She became an old woman with frousy hair and red hands, but Mme Forestier, who lent her the diamond necklace which caused her downfall, remained young and beautiful. Thus the author uses contrast to bring out the meaning of the story which is, be thankful for what you have and don't envy others for their luxury."

Guy de Maupassant, and most teachers for that matter, would probably not agree with the overtly didactic interpretation, but this student demonstrates the ability to make a reasonable structural generalization.

Finally, some comments on the most difficult question in the whole study, the Structural Generalization (SG) question for "The Goalkeeper's Revenge" for which only one student produced a correct answer, are certainly in order. The contrast in this story is played out in an ironic reversal of fortune, with the words of Bob Thropper, the captain of the football team and centre-forward, "Goalkeepers, I can buy them and sell them" repeated in the end of the story by Sim, who finally has his revenge when he buys the football team, "Centre-forwards, I can buy 'em an' sell 'em - or, I can at least sell them". To begin with the expression "buy them and sell them", as Bob Thropper explained at the beginning to an uncomprehending Sim, "Goalkeepers! they're ten a penny, especially daft 'uns probably was not understood by most of the students. The language difficulty could have contributed to the students' inability to grasp the central point in the story which is hinted at, not too subtly, by the repetition of the words "I can buy them and sell them" (with variation).

Implications for Further Research

This study has addressed the issue of literature learning at the lower secondary level, using only the short story. Similar studies extended to the upper secondary and junior college levels involving a wider range of texts including other genres of poetry, the novel and dramatic literature would contribute a fuller data base. Such research would be able to throw light not only on student learning but also on how teachers can improve their teaching of literature. The current trend in literature teaching is toward a more response-centred approach. Terms like "student in-

891

volvement", "personal engagement" and "emotional response" are fairly commonly used, often approvingly. It would be interesting and useful to see how this response dimension could be explored and possible item types added on to the Hillocks taxonomy. Questions on how response is to be assessed and how response items are to be ranked in a hierarchy involving other comprehension skill types, of course, pose a challenge to the would be researcher who undertakes such a task.

Acknowledgement

The writer wishes to thank the following people who made this study possible: Dr Ho Wah Kam and Mr Poon Tsui Yeong of NIE; the Principals, Heads of English Departments and the staff involved in the six sample schools for their assistance.

References

Anderson, R. C. et al (1983). Effects of the reader's schema at different points in time. *Journal of Education Psychology,* 75:271-9.

Brown, A. L. (1980). Metacognitive development and reading. In R. J. Spiro et al (eds.) Theoretical Issues in Reading Comprehension. Hillsdale, N.J.L. Erlbaum.

Davis, F. B. (1968). Research in comprehension in reading. *Reading Research Quarterly,* 3(4):499-544.

Davis, F. B. (1972). Psychometric research on comprehension in reading. *Reading Research Quarterly,* 7(4):628-78.

de Maupassant, G. (1980). The Necklace. In *Federal Short Stories*, Vol. 2. (ed. C. Lim). Federal Publications, Singapore.

Flavell, J. H. & Wellman, H. M. (1977). Metamemory. In R. V. Kail & J. W. Hagen (eds.). *Perspectives on the Development of Memory and Cognition. Hillsdale, N.J., Earlbaum.*

Hillocks, G. (1980). Toward a hierarchy of skills in the comprehension of literature. *English Journal,* 69(3):54-9.

Hillocks, G. & L. H. Ludlow (1984). A taxonomy of skills in reading and interpreting fiction. *American Educational Research Journal,* 21(1), 7-24.

Kintsch, W. & Greene, E. (1978). The role of culture-specific schemata in the comprehension and recall of stories. *Discourse processes,* 1:1-13.

Lu Hsun. (1972). The Incident. In *The Selected Stories of Lu Hsun,* translated by Yang Hsian-yi and Gladys Yang. Foreign Language Press, Beijing.

Naughton, B. (1970). The Goalkeeper's Revenge. In *The Goalkeeper's Revenge and other Stories.* Heinemann, London.

Pearson, P. D. & Johnson, D. D. (1978). *Teaching Reading Comprehension.* Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, N.Y.

Rosenshire, B. (1980). Skill Hierarchies in reading comprehension. In R. J. Spiro (eds.) *Theoretical Issues in Reading Comprehension.* Hillsdale, NJ: Earlbaum.

Spearritt, D. (1972). Identification of subskills of reading comprehension by maximum likelihood factor anlaysis. *Reading Quarterly,* 8:92–111.

Spiro, R. J. (1980). Constructive processes in prose recall. In R. J. Spiro et al (eds.) *Theoretical Issues in Reading Comprehension.* Hillsdale, N.J. Earlbaum.

Thorndike, R. L. (1973). Reading as reasoning. *Reading Research Quarterly,* 9(2):135–47.

Widdowson, H. G. (1985). The teaching, learning and study of literature. In: R. Quirk, H. G. Widdowson (eds.) *English in the World: Teaching the Language and Literatures.* London: Cambridge University Press.

Wright, B.D. Linacre, J.M.R. Schultz, M. (1989). A User's Guide to BIGSCALE, Rasch-Model Rating Scale Analysis Computer Program, Version 1.5, Mesa Press, Chicago.

Appendix

The Question Sets

The Necklace

1. Who did Mathilde marry?
2. What did Mathilde's husband bring home one evening?
3. Why did Loisel make Mathilde write the note to Mme Forestier?
4. Why was Mathilde relieved that Mme Forestier did not open the box containing the necklace when she returned it?
5. Why did Mathilde tell Mme Forestier that she was the cause of her (Mathilde's) suffering?
6. What idea does the author suggest about how changeful life can be sometimes?
7. Explain briefly how the author uses *contrast* to bring out the meaning of the story.

An Incident

1. When did the incident happen?

2. What prevented the old woman from being seriously hurt?
3. Why did the author resent the rickshaw man's eagerness to help the old woman?
4. Why did the policeman tell the author that the rickshaw man could not pull him any more?
5. Why did the author say that the rickshaw man "asked for trouble" by helping the old woman?
6. What general conclusion about human nature does the author want us to draw from the story?
7. How does the author make use of *contrast* to bring out the central meaning of the story?

The Goalkeeper's Revenge

1. What was Sim's main interest in life?
2. Who was Bob Thropper?
3. Who was Sim asked to join the Clinic Street special school?
4. Why was Sim not allowed to play in the final for the Mayor's Shield?
5. Why was Sim close to tears when he spoke to Bob Thropper for the last time?
6. What general idea does the author suggest about human nature in this story?
7. What is the special significance of these words "I can buy them and sell them" in the story?

Learner Involvement and Comprehensible Input[1]

Amy B M Tsui
University of Hong Kong
Hong Kong

Abstract

Studies on comprehensible input have largely focused on how input is made comprehensible to the non-native speaker (NNS) or the learner by examining native speaker (NS) speech or teacher talk in the classroom. Devices employed to modify the input and interaction have been identified. The quantity of modification devices used has been taken as an indicator of the amount of negotiation work that has gone on and the quantity of comprehensible input. Relatively little has been done on the part played by learners to ensure that the input that they obtain is comprehensible (see however Gaies 1983; Scarcella & Higa 1981; Varonis & Gass 1985). This paper points out that it is only when the modification devices involve learner participation that they can serve as indicators of the amount of comprehensible input provided and the amount of negotiation of meaning that has taken place. The discussion is illustrated by data from two reading comprehension lessons in secondary schools in Hong Kong.

Introduction

Krashen's input hypothesis (1980) asserts that acquisition will not take place unless the learner understands the language to which he/she is exposed. Studies have been done on how input is made comprehensible to the learner. They observed that in conversations between native speakers (NS) and non-native speakers (NNS), native speakers are found to make adjustments similar to those found in "motherese" or "caretaker speech" to help non-native speakers to understand what has been said to them. This kind of native speaker speech, which has been referred to as "foreigner talk", has been considered an excellent model for second language teaching (Hatch 1982:64). The argument is that the language is simplified to suit the current competence level of the learner and the purpose of the talk is not to teach the language but to communicate with the non-native speaker (Long 1983b).

Early studies on "foreigner talk" or "NS-NNS conversations" focused on modifications of the linguistic aspects of input, such as phonology, syntax and lexis (see for example Wagner-Gough & Hatch 1975; Gaies 1977; Henzl 1979). More recent studies, however, pointed out that it is not enough to examine only linguistic modifications of the input.

895

They argued that modifications of interactional structure are more important in providing comprehensible input (see for example Long 1983a). Studies of NS-NNS conversations have therefore shifted from an analysis of linguistic modifications of native speaker speech to interactional modifications (see Gaies 1982; Hatch 1978, 1983; Long 1981a, 1981b, 1983a, 1985; Scarcella & Higa 1981). Interactional modification devices have been identified (see for example Long 1983a, Scarcella & Higa 1981).

A similar shift of emphasis is found in the study of second language classroom discourse. Interactional modification devices used by teachers to help learners understand their speech have been identified and compared to those used by native speakers in NS-NNS conversations (see Long 1983b; Long & Sato 1983; Pica & Doughty 1985; Pica & Long 1986).

So far, these studies have concentrated on devices used by native speakers and teachers. It has been assumed that the number of modification devices used by the native speaker or the teacher is indicative of the amount of negotiation work between the native speaker and the non-native speaker, or between the teacher and the learner, which in turn is indicative of the amount of input that has been made comprehensible to the non-native speaker or the learner. Relatively little attention has been paid to the role of non-native speakers or learners in making the input comprehensible (see however Gaies 1983; Scarcella & Higa 1981; Varonis & Gass 1985).

This paper points out that negotiation is a process which involves at least two interlocutors. While the native speaker or the teacher has an important role to play in making the input comprehensible to the non-native speaker or the learner, the latter has an equally, if not more, important role to play to ensure that the input is comprehensible. Modification devices used by the native speaker or the teacher do not necessarily involve the non-native speaker or the learners and they do not necessarily lead to comprehension. Therefore it is dangerous to assess the amount of negotiation work, and hence the amount of comprehensible input, on the basis of the number of modification devices used by the native speaker or the teacher without taking into consideration the non-native speaker's or the learner's involvement in the negotiation.

Linguistic and Interactional Modifications

The term "input" has been used in different senses in the language acquisition literature. To avoid confusion, in the ensuing discussion, I shall give an operational definition of "input". "Input" is used in this paper as a general term to refer to any bits of language that learners are exposed to. It refers to both the linguistic and the functional aspects of the language. Hence, the term "comprehensible input" refers to language which learners understand (cf. Long 1983a).[2]

Modifications in the linguistic aspect of input refers to adjustments made in aspects like phonology, syntax, lexis, etc. of the language. For example, when speaking to learners or non-native speakers, teachers or native speakers tend to slow down their speech, to use exaggerated intonation, to stress key words, to use shorter utterances, and to use lexical items which occur more frequently (see Ferguson 1975; Long 1981a; for a summary of studies and findings, see Long 1981b). Modifications in interactional structure refer to adjustments made which affect the interactional structure of the conversation. For example,

(1) [Long 1983a:128]
NS: What time did you finish? (question)
NS: Ten. (answer)

(2) [Long 1983:128]
NS: When did you finish? (question)
NNS: Um? (clarification request)
NS: When did you finish? (repetition)
NNS: Ten clock (answer)
NS: Ten o'clock? (confirmation check)
NNS: Yeah. (confirmation)

In (1), the interactional structure between two native speakers is a question followed by an answer. In (2), because the non-native speaker did not catch the question the first time round, the native speaker repeated the question. The non-native speaker then provided an answer. Because the answer contained an error, the native speaker asked for confirmation from the non-native speaker that he understood the answer correctly. This in turn was confirmed by the non-native speaker to be correct. As a result of the negotiation of meaning, the interactional structure was modified from a "question - answer" sequence to a "question - clarification request - repetition - answer - confirmation check - confirmation" sequence.

Interactional Modifications in Teacher-Learner Conversations

Studies in the modifications of interactional structure in NS-NNS conversations have noted that there are a number of devices used by the native speaker to avoid communication breakdowns and to repair the conversation when communication breakdowns occur. For example, Long (1983a:132), in comparing conversations between 32 dyads, 16 NS-NS, 16 NS-NNS, in performing six assigned tasks, identified the following devices used by native speakers to modify the interactional structure of the NS-NNS conversation.

Table 1
Interactional Modification Devices proposed by Long (1983a)

Strategies (S) (for avoiding trouble)		Tactics (T) (for repairing trouble)	
S1	Relinquish topic control	T1	Accept unintentional topic switch
S2	Select salient topics	T2	Request clarification
S3	Treat topics briefly	T3	Confirm own comprehension
S4	Make new topics salient	T4	Tolerate ambiguity
S5	Check NNS's comprehension		

Strategies and Tactics (ST) (for avoiding and repairing trouble)			
ST1	Use slow pace	ST4	Decompose topic-comment construction
ST2	Stress key words		
ST3	Pause before key words	ST5	Repeat own utterances
		ST6	Repeat other's utterances

These modification devices are considered by Long (1983a) as effective means of providing comprehensible input to non-native speakers. His argument is that these devices sustain the conversation by helping non-native speakers to understand what has been said to them so that they can participate in the conversation.

Comparative studies have been done between teacher-learner conversations and NS-NNS conversations. The kinds and quantities of modification devices used by teachers are compared to those used by native speakers (see for example Long & Sato 1983; Long 1983b). The amount of negotiation work is determined by the quantity of modification devices used. Doughty & Pica (1984) defined *negotiation* as the percentage of "conversational adjustments" over the total number of T-units and fragments.[3] The adjustments include clarification requests, confirmation checks, self- and other-repetitions, both exact and semantic (see Long & Porter 1985:219).

The underlying assumption of such a definition seems to be that the larger the quantity of modification devices, the greater the amount of negotiation work, hence the greater the amount of comprehensible input. However, negotiation is an interactive process involving both the speaker and the hearer. It is impossible to determine the quality of the input and the quantity of negotiation work without looking at non-native speaker or learner feedback and how much they are involved in the interaction (see Varonis & Gass 1985). The teacher or the native speaker may have used a lot of modification devices and yet failed to involve the learner or the non-native speaker in the negotiation of meaning and to bring about comprehension. As Hawkins (1985) points out, it is dangerous to assume that conversational adjustments always lead to comprehension by the non-native speaker.

In a study comparing teacher talk in ESL lessons and non-ESL lessons, Chaudron (1983) observed that many modifications actually caused greater problems of comprehension. He examined a range of "simplification" discourse strategies such as vocabulary elaboration, questioning, topic development, explanation, etc. He discovered that sometimes elaboration and explanation led to ambiguity rather than clarification; simplifications made by using a large number of anaphoric pronouns like it, this, they, and so on, in fact put a greater demand on the learner's linguistic demand in order to retrieve the antecedents of the referents.

His observations are hardly surprising because what may seem simple to the teacher linguistically and cognitively may not be so for the learner. It is true that experienced teachers are more capable of assessing the competence level of the learners, hence more likely to provide comprehensible input. But even experienced teachers can make a wrong assessment, as in the case of the teachers in Chaudron's study (see also Scarcella & Higa 1981). As Chaudron points out, every teacher is under the immense pressure of conveying information to learners in an explicit and lucid language. This pressure to communicate often leads to ambiguous over-simplification on the one hand and confusing over-elaboration on the other. Hence, the learner has a very important role to play in helping teachers provide input which is comprehensible to him/her.

Therefore, studies of comprehensible input and negotiation work in the second language classroom should not just look at the modification devices used by the teacher, but also the learners' involvement and the devices they use to obtain comprehensible input.

In the following, I shall present an analysis of the interactional modifications found in two reading comprehension lessons in secondary two of a Chinese medium school and an English medium school in Hong

Kong. I shall demonstrate that a greater quantity of modification devices used do not necessarily entail a greater amount of negotiation work and comprehensible input.

Data

Two English reading comprehension lessons of thirty-five minute duration were audiotaped and transcribed. The data from the English medium school is referred to as Class A and the teacher as Teacher A. The one from the Chinese medium school is referred to as Class B and the teacher as Teacher B. Teacher A is British and Teacher B is Chinese. The students in Class A have a higher English proficiency than those in Class B.

Based on the modification devices proposed in Long (1983b), the following modification devices were identified:

1) Comprehension Check: to ensure that the hearer has understood.
   e.g. Right? Okay? Do you understand?
2) Clarification Request: to ask for clarification. This category includes request for repetition.
   e.g. Hm? What do you mean? You mean ....?
3) Confirmation Check: to ensure that the speaker has understood what the previous speaker has said. This is usually realized by repeating part or all of what the previous speaker has said with rising intonation.
4) Self Repetition: to repeat what one has said. This category is further divided into the following subcategories:
   (a) Exact
   (b) Semantic, which includes paraphrasing, lexical substitution.
   (c) Key word - these are instances in which only the key word is repeated.
   e.g. When did the boys put up the tent? *When?*
   (d) Making topic salient - these are instances in which the utterance is repeated by fronting the topic.
   e.g. Do you know what an emperor is? *What is an emperor?*
   (e) Expansion - this includes exemplification.
   e.g. Is it late in the afternoon? *Now I give you an example, if it is two o'clock, is it late in the afternoon?*
5) Other Repetition: to repeat what the previous speaker has said.
   (a) Exact - this includes both full and partial repetition of other's utterances.
   (b) Expansion
   (c) Repetition with correction

6) Decomposition – these are instances in which the initial utterance is decomposed into several parts in an attempt to get an answer.
e.g. [Class A:81–2]

T: Do you know the name of any building he has designed?
→ Does he design for Hong Kong? Yes?
S: The house where I live is designed by him.
T: Really? That's interesting.
→ And do you know the name of the house where you live?

The two arrowed questions are decompositions of the first question.

Results

Tables 2 and 3 below show the number of modification devices in T-units and fragments identified in the two lessons. Table 4 below shows the percentage of modification devices over the total number of T-units and fragments in both lessons.

Table 2
Number of Modification Devices used in Class A

Modification Device		T-unit	Fragment	Total
Comprehension			13	13
Clarification Request		17	7	24
Confirmation Check		7	8	15
Self Repetition	Exact	4	0	4
	Semantic	10	0	10
	Key Word	2	0	2
	Making Topic Salient	2	0	2
	Expansion	10	0	10
Other Repetition	Exact	5	8	14
	Expansion	9	4	13
	With Correction	0	5	5
Decomposition		5	0	0
Total		71	42	113

Table 3
Number of Modification Devices used in Class B

Modification Device		T-unit	Fragment	Total
Comprehension Check		0	2	2
Clarification Request		0	2	2
Confirmation Check		0	0	0
Self Repetition	Exact	39	0	39
	Semantic	4	0	4
	Key Word	0	11	11
	Making Topic Salient	1	0	1
	Expansion	13	0	13
Other Repetition	Exact	16	0	16
	Expansion	8	4	12
	With Correction	6	1	7
Decomposition		5	0	5
Total		92	20	112

Table 4
Percentages of Modification Devices over total numbers of T-units and fragments in Class A and Class B

Class	No. of Modification Devices	Total No. of T-units & Fragments	Percentage
A	113	616	18.3%
B	111	372	29.8%

Discussion

As we can see from Tables 1 and 2, the number of modification devices used in both classes are roughly the same. However, according to Doughty & Pica's (1984) definition of negotiation work, there would be more negotiation work in Class B than in Class A since there is a higher percentage of modification devices in the former. Hence, there would be more comprehensible input in the former than in the latter. Yet, a closer examination of the data shows that this is not the case.

First of all, there is a greater variety of modification devices used in Class A than in Class B. In Class A, the teacher used 13 comprehension checks, 24 clarification requests and 24 confirmation checks. By contrast, in class B, the teacher used only 2 comprehension checks, 2 clarification requests and no confirmation check at all. The greater number of clarification requests and confirmation checks is telling. As Long (1983b) pointed out, clarification requests and confirmation checks are used when the teacher wants help in understanding *what the student has said* and when the teacher wants to confirm that he has understood *what the student has said.* For example,

(3) [Class A:76–79]
T: Do you know the names of the buildings your father has designed?
S: No.
T: No. Would you know if you walked past?
S: in America.
→ T: in America, not in Hong Kong.
S: ((nods head))

(4) [Class A:31]
S: Mrs. Kent.
T. Yes.
S: Do we need to draw a picture?
→ T: Draw what picture?

As we can see from the above pieces of data, the confirmation check in (3) and the clarification request in (4) were used to check the teacher's comprehension of the student's response. Therefore, the greater number of confirmation checks and clarification requests used indicates more student participation in the negotiation work.

Secondly, the students in Class A were much more actively involved in the negotiation work than those in Class B. In the former, among the 24 clarification requests, 5 were from students. The following are examples of the student clarification requests in Class A.

(5) [Class A:19, 31–36]
The teacher is giving instructions on homework.
T: It's 12 questions about the picture and 12 answers. So what you have to do is look at the pictures, write a question about each picture and then answer the question that you have written and underline the verb in each sentence. There are 12 pictures. Number one has already been done for

you. You have to make 11 questions and 11 answers only. That is your homework.

→ S1: Do we need to draw a picture?
T: Draw what pictures
S1: The -
T: No, you don't have to draw the pictures, just write, just write the sentences. Alright, now, will you take out your green book four?
→ S2: Mrs. Kent, do we need to write number one on the book?
T: No, you don't have to write number one, otherwise it will be 12 pairs of sentences, wouldn't it? 11 pairs.
→ S3: Do we get the green book four?
T: Green book four yes.

Here, the teacher's lengthy instruction was obviously a bit overwhelming for the students. Both S1 and S2 asked for clarification. The teacher, eager to get on with the lesson, asked the students to take out the reading textbook after she had responded to S1's clarification request. This was interrupted by S2 who also needed clarification about the instruction. The interruption led to S3's clarification request regarding which textbook the teacher wanted them to take out. In taking the initiative to seek clarification from the teacher, the students ensured that the input provided was comprehensible.

Thirdly, not only were the students actively involved in trying to understand the teacher's input, they also let the teacher know their level of competence. For example,

(6) [Class A:88-91]

The teacher asked a student whether she knew any building that her father designed and she said no. After several exchanges, she suddenly remembered a building that her father designed,

S: I remember one now.
T: Which one?
→ S: I can't say in English.
T: Oh you can't say in English. ((laughs))
What is it in Chinese.
S: (in Chinese) Hung Hom Sports Stadium.
T: Oh, that's a very well-known building, isn't it? So next time you are passing by Hung Hom Sports Stadium, is that what it's called?

9 4

→ S: I don't know.
T: You don't know. Well, I think maybe that's what it's called.

The feedback provided by the student made it possible for the teacher to gauge the students' level of competence and to carry on a very interesting conversaton despite the student's limited English proficiency. Compare (5) and (6) with the following.

(7) [Class B:7]

In the previous exchange, a student answered the teacher by saying "The boys put up their tent in the middle of the field."

T: Who is sitting in the middle of the classroom?
Who is sitting in the middle of the classroom?
Who?
Who is sitting in the middle of the classroom?
Who?
(*name*)
Who?
→ S1: 0
T: Who is sitting in the middle of the classroom?
Who?
→ S1: 0
T: Never mind, sit down.
(name)
S2: Lau Siu Ling.
T: You can say Lau Siu Ling, or you can say nobody, if you like. There is nobody sitting in the middle of the classroom.

The teacher, failing to get an answer from S1 after seven self-repetitions, finally gave up and re-directed the question to another student, S2. What was happening was that the teacher was pointing to the middle of the classroom where nobody was sitting. Her question puzzled S1 who thought that he was supposed to name a fellow student. If S1 had given some sort of feedback by saying, for example, "I don't understand what you mean", or "But there is nobody sitting there", then the teacher would have known that her question was not understood, or her question puzzled the students, and she might have rephrased or explained her question. Then at least, some sort of negotiation might have gone on between them.

Fourthly, the majority of the modification devices used in Class B were self-repetitions, amounting to a total of 68. In Class A, only 28 self-repetitions were used. A more detailed analysis is informative. In Class B, 39 self-repetitions were exact repetitions whereas in Class A, only 4 were exact repetitions. In addition, 11 self-repetitions in Class B were key word repetitions whereas in Class A, there were only 2 key word repetitions. In Class B, there were only 4 self-repetitions which were semantic whereas in Class A, there were 10. While there were seldom more than two consecutive exact self-repetitions in Class A, there were often more than two consecutive repetitions either in the form of exact repetition or key word repetition. Consider two extracts of self-repetition from Class A.

(8) [Class A:41–44]
T: and where is Lalloon land supposed to be?
Where is Lalloon land supposed to be?
→ Do you think there is a real country called Lalloon land?
Ss: No.
T: No. But in the story, what does it say bout Lalloon land?
→ Have you been to Lalloon land?
Ss: (shakes head)

(9) [Class A:70–71]
T: But if somebody says can you tell me who designed that building, would you know?
→ Do you know who designed any building at all?
→ Do you know the name of any architect who designs buildings in Hong Kong at all?
S: (raises hand)
T: Yes?
S: My father is an architect.
T: Oh! Is that so! Do you know the name of any building which your father designed?
S: I don't know the name but I know which building.

In (8), after making an exact self-repetition and getting no response from the students, the teacher rephrased the question as a yes-no question which was easier to answer. The following wh-question was again rephrased as a yes-no question. In (9), the teacher simplified the structure of the question in the first repetition and expanded "who" into "the name of any architect" in the second repetition.

Compare (8) and (9) with the following:

(10) [Class B:1]
T: Please tell me, when did the boys put up the tent?

9 6

When did the boys put up the tent?
When?
Tell me, when did the boys put up the tent?
When?
S: (raises hand)
T: (name)
S: Late in the afternoon.

(11) [Class B:6]
T: Now answer me, and then where did the boys put up their tent? Where did the boys put up their tent?
Where?
Where did the boys put up their tent?
Where?
S: (raises hand)
T: (name)
S: The boys put up their tent in the middle of the field.

(10) and (11) are fairly typical of the questioning pattern in Class B. The questions were not rephrased in a way which would help students to understand or to give answers.

The above comparison of self-repetition shows that Teacher A is much more aware of the importance of adjusting her speech to suit the competence level of her students than Teacher B (see Tsui 1985).

To conclude, despite the fact that there is a higher percentage of negotiation work in Class B than in Class A, the students in Class A were much more actively involved in the negotiation of meaning. This is supported by the fact that they were more active in seeking clarification of the teacher's meaning and in helping the teacher gauge their level of competence. Although there is no hard evidence that more comprehensible input was provided in Class A than in Class B, the richer interaction between the teacher and the students in Class A certainly indicates that there was much more negotiation of meaning going on.

Learner Involvement and Modification Devices

What transpired in the above discusson of the data can be summarized as follows:

Firstly, the quantity of modification devices used by the teacher is not a reliable measure of the amount of negotiation work and comprehensible input provided in the classroom.

Secondly, certain modification devices are better indicators of learner involvement in negotiation work than others. For example, clarification requests and confirmation checks which can only be performed in reaction to learner response are better indicators than comprehension checks and self-repetitions which can be performed many times without getting any learner feedback.

It is very likely that in the list of modification devices proposed by Long (1983a), those which are used for avoiding trouble, referred to as *strategies*, require less learner involvement than those which are used for repairing trouble, referred to as *tactics*. This is supported by the observations made in the two reading comprehension lessons in this study. It is also supported by the study carried out by Pica & Doughty (1985:131) where a far greater proportion of self- and other-repetition was found in teacher-fronted activities than in group activities. They proposed that self- and other-repetitions were used not so much to negotiate meaning but to conform to classroom conventions and ensure completion of task.

In other words, instead of quantifying modification devices indiscriminately, distinctions should be made among them in terms of their indicative value of learner involvement.

Thirdly, when examining negotiation work that has gone on, present studies of interactional modifications do not distinguish between modification devices used by the teacher or by the native speaker and those used by the learner or the non-native speaker. Devices which are used by the latter are much more important as an indicator of their involvement in the negotiation than those used by the former. The amount of negotiation work which is arrived at by dividing the total number of modification devices by the total number of T-units and fragments will not give an accurate picture of how much negotiation has taken place.

Fourthly, the analysis of self-repetitions in the two lessons shows that certain subcategories may indicate a greater awareness on the teacher's part of the importance of adjusting his/her language to suit the competence level of the learners. A teacher who frequently uses exact and key word repetition, like Teacher B, is certainly is less aware of the need to adjust his/her language to make the input comprehensible than one who frequently uses semantic repetition, expansion, and making the topic salient. This should be taken into consideration when determining the amount of negotiation work.

Conclusion

Corder (1967), in explaining the concept of *input*, stated clearly the important role played by the learner in the language acquisition process. He wrote,

> The simple fact of presenting a linguistic form to a learner does not necessarily qualify it for the status of input, for the reason that input is "what goes in", not what is available for going in, and we may reasonably suppose that *it is the learner who controls this input*, or more properly his intake. (Emphasis mine) (1967:165)

Gaies (1983) also emphasized the important role of learner feedback in the language classroom. He asserted,

> What *cannot* be asssumed - and this point is made repeatedly whenever the limitations of "input" studies are cited - is that what learners actually take in, and the rate at which it is taken in, is determined exclusively by teacher input control. (1983:195)

As we have seen in the data from Class A, by being actively involved in classroom interaction, learners can regulate the nature of the input to which they are exposed. By responding to the teacher's questions and by asking for clarification, learners are in fact signalling to the teacher how much of what he/she has said has been understood and how much has not. These responses and clarification requests serve as an excellent basis for the teacher to adjust his/her speech, to regulate the pace of his/her delivery, and to gauge the proficiency level of the learners. The more informed the teacher is with regard to the learners' proficiency level, the better he/she is able to provide input which is comprehensible and yet challenge their existing level of competence. In other words, he/she is more able to provide optimal comprehensible input. Hence, learner involvement must be taken into consideration when analyzing classroom interaction and assessing negotiation work and comprehensible input.

Notes

[1] The author wishes to thank the teachers who allowed her to observe and record their lessons.

[2] Long used the term "input" to refer to linguistic forms of utterances and the term "interaction" to refer to the functions of utterances (see Long 1983a:127).

[3] T-unit is a main clause together with related subordinate clauses and non-clausal structures embedded in it. Fragments are non-clausal items such as single word or phrasal utterances used as initiations or responses as well as false starts and self repetitions (see Pica & Doughty 1985:119).

References

Anderson, R. 1982. *Pidginization, Creolization as Language Acquisition*. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Atlatis, J.E. 1980. *Current Issues in Bilingual Education*. Washington, D.C., Georgetown University Press.

Brown, H.D., Yorio, C.A. & Crymes, R.H. (eds.) 1977. *On TESOL '77*. Washington, D.C., TESOL.

Chaudron, C. 1983. 'Foreigner talk in the classroom - an aid to learning? In H. Seliger & M. Long (eds.) (1983) *Classroom Oriented Research in Language Learning*. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House, 127-145.

Clarke, M. & J. Handscombe (eds.) 1983. *On TESOL '82: Pacific Perspectives on Language Learning and Teaching*. Washington, D.C. TESOL.

Corder, S.P. 1967. 'The Significance of Learner's Errors.' *IRAL* 5(4): 161-70.

Day, R. 1986. *Talking to Learn,* Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Doughty, C. & T. Pica. 1984. 'Information gap tasks: do they facilitate second language acquisition?' Paper presented at the 18th Annual TESOL Conference, Houston, March 1984.

Ferguson, C. 1975. 'Towards a characterization of English foreigner talk.' *Anthropological Linguistics,* 17, 1-14.

Gaies, S. 1977. 'The nature of linguistic input in formal second language learning: linguistic and communicative strategies in ESL teachers' classroom language.' In H.D. Brown, C.A. Yorio, & R.H. Crymes (eds.) 204-13.

________ 1980. 'T-unit analysis in second language research: application, problems and limitation.' *TESOL Quarterly* 14:53-60.

________ 1982. 'Native speaker-non-native speaker interaction among academic peers.' In *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* 5/1, 74-81.

________ 1983. 'Learner feedback: an exploratory study of its role in the second language classroom'. In H. Seliger & M. Long (eds.), 190-216.

Gass, S.M. & C. Madden (eds.) 1985. *Input in Second Language Acquisition,* Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Hatch, E. 1978. 'Discourse analysis and second language acquisition.' In E. Hatch (ed.) 401-35.

________ 1978 (ed.) *Second Language Acquisition: a book of readings*. Rowley Mass: Newbury House.

________ 1982. 'Simplified input and second language acquisition.' In R. Anderson (ed.)

_______ 1983. *Psycholinguistics,* Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Hawkins, B. 1985. 'Is an "appropriate response" always so appropriate?' In S.M. Gass & C. Madden (eds.)

Henzl, V. 1979. 'Foreigner talk in the classroom.' In *IRAL,* Vol. XVII/2, 1979, 159-67.

Krashen, S. 1980. 'The input hypothesis.' In J.E. Alatis (ed.)

Long, M. 1981a. 'Questions in foreigner talk discourse.' *Language Learning,* 31/1, 135-58.

_______ 1981b. 'Input, interaction, and second language acquisition.' Paper presented at the New York Academy of Sciences Conference on Native Language and Foreign Language Acquisition. New York, January 15-16, 1981.

_______ 1983a. 'Native speaker/non-native speaker conversation and the negotiation of comprehensible input.' In *Applied Linguistics,* Vol. 4, No. 2, 1983, 126-41.

_______ 1983b. 'Native speaker/non-native speaker conversation in the second language classroom.' In M. Clarke and J. Handscombe (eds.) 207-28.

_______ 1985. 'Input and Second Language Acquisition Theory.' In S.M. Gass & C. Madden (eds.) 377-93.

_______ & P. Porter 1985. 'Group Work, Interlanguage Talk, and Second Language Acquisition.' *TESOL Quarterly,* Vol. 19, No. 2, June 1985.

_______ & C. Sato 1983. 'Classroom foreigner talk discourse: forms and functions of teachers' questions.' In H. Seliger & M. Long (eds.) 268-85.

Pica, T. & C. Doughty 1985. 'Input and intraction in the communicative language classroom: a comparison of teacher-fronted and group activities.' In S.M. Gass & C. Madden (eds.) 115-32.

Pica, T. & M. Long 1986. 'The linguistic and conversational performance of experienced and inexperienced teachers.' In R. Day (ed.) 85-98.

Scarcella, R. & C. Higa 1981. 'Input, negotiation, and age difference in second language acquisition.' *Language Learning.* 31/2. 409-37.

Seliger, H. & M. Long (eds.) 1983. *Classroom Oriented Research in Second Language Acquisition,* Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Tsui, B.M.A. 1985. 'Analyzing input and interaction in second language classrooms.' *RELC Journal,* Vol. 16, No. 1, 8-32.

Varonis, E.M. & S. Gass 1985. 'Non-native/non-native conversations: a model for negotiation of meaning.' *Applied Linguistics,* Vol. 6, No. 1, 71-90.

Wagner-Gough, J. and E. Hatch 1975. 'The importance of input data in second language acquisition studies.' *Language Learning 25,* 297-308.

911

Perspectives on Cultural and Individual Determinants of Teaching Style*

Judith Kennedy
Warwick University
United Kingdom

Abstract

Douglas Barnes and Denis Schemilt (1974) have distinguished between 'Transmission and Interpretation' Teachers. It may be that this distinction (assuming that we accept it) has its origins in an individual's sense of autonomy or 'locus of control' (Rotter 1965) which may, in turn, be culturally determined. The concept of locus of control refers to the extent to which an individual sees his behaviour as being initiated by factors within himself (an internal locus of control), or how far he sees it as determined by external forces (an external locus of control).

In order to investigate any possible relationship between a teacher's or individual's position on the Transmission-Interpretation dimension, his locus of control and culture, a pilot study was conducted by means of a questionnaire with two groups of undergraduate (B.Ed.) students - one group from Malaysia and one from the UK.

Implications of the results for teacher education and the introduction of new methodologies are discussed.

Introduction

ELT has moved strongly towards an interactionist/communicative model of teaching; such a move has been inspired both by a particular view of language not just as a linguistic system but as a means of communicating and by psychological theories of language acquisition and learning. Many if not most of the suggested reforms have emanated from North America or Western Europe and are partly a reflection of the changing social structure and concomitant views on human learning of those societies. The failure sometimes of these reforms to take root elsewhere is frequently blamed on the teachers. In particular, it is posited that the underlying reason for the failure of curricular innovation lies in the area of teachers' attitudes - their attitudes to the learning process, what constitutes knowledge, the relationship between teacher and learner. It is suggested that these attitudes may demonstrate themselves

---

*This is a revised version of a paper presented at the SELMOUS conference 1989.

912

in particular styles of teaching - and demonstrably different ways of communicating in the classroom. These styles of teaching may vary both within and between cultures but the central thesis remains that certain teacher styles act against the successful implementation of curricular reform - in particular against a methodology that is individualistic and learner centered.

Context of the research

I should perhaps explain that this issue of cultural differences in teacher attitudes and what might underlie them arose out of experiences as a tutor on an undergraduate teacher training course at Warwick University. On the four year B.Ed. (TESOL) course there is a fairly large group of Malaysian undergraduates (27 in total) who are integrated for 50 per cent of their teaching time with British undergraduates, for Education studies and Literature though not for TESOL methodology or Linguistics. They experience teaching practice with British students in British schools, at both primary and secondary levels but they also have extensive teaching practice in their own country during the course since they will eventually become teachers of English in secondary schools in Malaysia. My impression of the students was of a lively, confident and extroverted group of students, who seemed open to new ideas and willing to try them. Given that they were not native speakers they coped well on the teaching experiences in the UK and accepted, though not entirely without comment, the activity and group centered approach of many primary classrooms. I then had the opportunity to observe these students in Malaysian schools - I had anticipated that once on home territory as it were they would display a greater confidence and ease in the classroom. However, they seemed to be nervous about initiating new practices, rather anxious and passive. This change prompted me to wonder whether as a group there were attitudinal differences that were in some way culture related.

Differences in attitudes and teacher style do not arise out of a vacuum and may be shaped by the degree to which an individual sees himself as in control of his own life with the ability to make decisions that can be effective. Cultures exert different demands on individuals - a society's expectation of its citizens in terms of behaviour, both social and moral, can vary widely. Reforms which emphasize individuality, autonomy, creativity and free expression may act against these expectations. We might expect that societies which themselves are authoritarian and autocratic in nature with perhaps a well established social hierarchy and strong traditions, whether based on religion or not, may cause individuals to act rather differently from societies which are less collective.

913

Interpretation and Transmission teachers

The most natural place to look for help in trying to examine this is the transmission/interpretation dichotomy of Barnes and Schemilt (1974).

This seminal work on teacher attitudes and styles suggested that teachers' beliefs about the nature of knowledge will have a direct effect upon the kinds of processes that are entered into in the classroom - particularly the roles of teachers and pupils and how they interact and communicate with each other,

Thus, "it is possible to show that the way in which teachers think about what constitutes knowledge is often linked to what they think learning and teaching are - that is a view of knowledge is likely to carry with it a view of classroom communication and the roles of teacher and pupil in formulating knowledge" (Barnes 1976:139).

Barnes' original study was an inquiry into secondary school teachers' attitudes to written work. From an analysis of their answers to a questionnaire on the purposes and procedures teachers adopted in setting and marking written work, Barnes and Schemilt were able to categorise their replies along a single dimension which at one end represented teachers with what they termed an 'interpretation' attitude and, at the other end, those with a 'transmission' attitude

The transmission teacher sees his task as transmitting knowledge to his pupils - they are the passive recipients of a product - whereas interpretation teachers see learners as active participants in the shaping of knowledge to fit their own conceptual scheme. The interpretation teacher is in a sense more concerned with process, the transmission teacher with product.

Barnes' dichotomy though neat and precise is in reality a continuum which he saw as reflected in classroom practice. Those with a transmission attitude will be more didactic and concerned with correctness and evaluation of pupils. The teachers will call the tune and set the pace. Those with an interpretation attitude will see pupils as cooperating partners in the learning process; they will not be so concerned with assessing a learner's response as with encouraging him to make one, whether right or wrong.

Barnes did not hedge on his commitment to an interpretationist view as being the better one - but of course he started from the view that education is concerned with the development of self, the encouraging of self-expression, creativity, and the view that education is more an instrument of change than transmitter of accepted knowledge, wisdom and culture. His advocacy for certain patterns of communication in the classroom thus depends to a certain extent on our sharing this view of education. It may be that other cultures and governments see education more as an instrument for preserving and maintaining the status quo.

In these circumstances transmission teachers may be more in harmony and arguably more effective. However, the new ESL/EFL methodologies can be fairly regarded as ones in which teachers exercise less direct control – the classroom is more learner centered, with the teacher often referred to as 'manager' or even 'facilitator', a role more in tune with an interpretative attitude.

The initial attitudinal study

In order to find out which attitudes – transmission or interpretation – the Malaysian undergraduates had, and whether they were different from those of a group of British teacher trainees on the same course, an amended version of a questionnaire devised by D Young (1981) was used with both groups. This questionnaire was also administered to a separate group of Malaysian teacher trainees in Malaysia. The questionnaire consisted of 40 items, some relating specifically to EFL whilst others were more general. Young's scoring system was followed which meant that the higher the score the more interpretative the attitude. He suggested that a score of greater than 174 would indicate an extreme interpretation score, less than 133 would indicate an extreme transmission score. A sample of the questions can be seen in Appendix 1. The results obtained are shown in Appendix 3, Table 1.

Rather to my surprise the UK-based Malaysian teacher trainees had a higher mean score than the British students. That is to say they appeared to have a more interpretative attitude – this was at odds with what I had suspected from seeing them actually at work in Malaysia.

Rather less surprisingly their counterparts in Malaysia scored lower with a mean of 138 which, as can be seen from the table (App. 3), is lower than the mean scores for other groups except Young and Lees' (1984) group of Chinese teachers of English. There would thus seem to be a difference in attitudes not only between cultures but also within the same cultural group depending on their location and their activity.

It is as if the Malaysian students had taken on the attitudes of the host culture to an extreme degree. I now turn to the source of this distinction and its possible origins in the psychological construct known as

Table 1

Group	Mean Score	Range	SD
Young (1981) n = 24	153.38	119–196	20.41
Falvey (1983) Native speaking H/Kong n = 35	148	87–191	16
Young and Lee (1984) Chinese teachers n = 532	117	—	17
Kennedy (1989) Malaysian TT Malaysia n = 20	138	92–158	12.4
Kennedy (1989) Malaysian TT in UK	162	113–196	14.4
Kennedy (1989) British TT in UK	151	96–180	15.2

locus of control. In particular, are there cultural differences in locus of control which could perhaps explain the attitudinal differences discussed above?

Locus of Control

The concept of locus of control originated in Rotter's social learning theory (1954). At a rather simplistic level this views personality not as something genetically determined but as learned behaviour. The behaviour is thus modifiable and open to change - though in some respects it is also stable. Social learning theory consists of four basic variable constructs and it is perhaps important to look at these in order to see how the concept of Locus of Control arose and in what way it relates to other features of behaviour.

The first of these variables is what Rotter called "behaviour potential". This refers to the likelihood of any given behaviour occurring in a particular situation for any given individual - behaviour meaning any action that involves a response to a stimulus. Closely related to this is the construct of "expectancy". This is an important feature of Rotter's theory because he is saying that behaviour depends on an individual's expectancy that he will be able to achieve a particular goal. It is not enough to know, for example, that someone wants to pass an exam to assume that therefore he will work. If his past experiences lead him to believe that however hard he studies he won't pass - his expectancy for success is low - then he may not work. Another student, however, may have had different experiences. Both students are equally enthusiastic in their desire to reach their goals but different expectancies lead to different behaviours.

The third major variable is that of reinforcement value - that is, people differ in how valuable they perceive certain reinforcements to be. Nowhere is this more apparent than in jobs - where reinforcements such as money, prestige, status and friendships can have very different values for different people.

The final variable in Rotters' theory is what he terms 'situation' - this is the psychological situations to which an individual responds. Every person derives different meanings from any particular situation - but Rotter attempts to actually identify what it is in a situation that stimulates various interpretations.

We can see therefore that reward or reinforcement is an essential element of Rotter's theory in determining behaviour; however, what is important is not so much the reinforcement itself but the expectancy that the behaviour will lead to the reinforcement. People who believe they can control their own destinies may behave differently from those who expect that the reward depends not on their own behaviour but on chance, good fortune or the action of other more powerful people. This generalised expectancy is what is referred to as "internal versus external control of reinforcement' - often more generally referred to as Locus of Control. A person with an internal locus of control feels that his actions control to a large extent what happens to him whilst the person with an external locus of control feels he has little control over what happens to him or those around him. We can see that such differences between people if they exist may well affect their behaviour in terms of taking action to improve or change things in whatever area.

The construct of locus of control has now been extensively researched over the past twenty years - there have been literally hundreds of studies based on the original 23 item questionnaire developed by Rotter in 1966. This was a forced choice scale (the IE scale) and is the one I have chosen to use. A score reflects the degree to which individuals are externally or internally controlled, though it is important to remember that the measure, like that of Barnes, is not an 'all or nothing' characteristic. It is a continuum and all we can really say is that people have a tendency in one direction or another.

In the space available it is not possible to review all the research carried out on Locus of Control so I should like to mention briefly only those studies which I think may support the idea that teachers' and students' attitudes to learning and the teaching/learning process, and their ability to initiate new practices, may be a reflection of their locus of control.

Past research on Locus of Control

Gore and Rotter (1963) set out to test the hypothesis that if people believed their behaviour determined what happened to them, they would be more likely to take part in actions that led to social changes. Black students on a Southern USA college campus were investigated to see if those who took part in civil rights' campaigns were more internally controlled. Gore and Rotter found a significant difference, supported by a later study by Strickland (1965), with activities scoring as more internal on the IE scale. Phares (1965) found that internals were also more effective in changing other people's social attitudes. Other studies (Sherman, Pelletier and Ryckman 1973) claim that externals tend not to make efforts to reach rational judgements about issues – they have a much more closed mind. Related loosely to this is the finding that internals can work under a low degree of outside discipline whilst externals perform better under strong discipline. One interesting finding is that people react differently to outside pressure – externals being more affected by the status of a person rather than by whether they are in agreement with his principles. Other researchers have concentrated on the psychological correlates of locus of control with Phares (1968) claiming, for example, that internals are more perceptually acute, better at problem solving, decision making etc. Whilst relatively little work has focused specifically on those involved in education at whatever level, Webber (1979) did look at teachers as a group and found that high teacher morale and commitment was positively related to internal locus of control.

The research on the social/psychological correlates of locus of control suggest that it may provide a useful insight into innovation, with those scoring on internality more ready to innovate – or more interpretative in their attitudes. More significantly, these differences in locus of control may be not just individual but cultural.

Much cross cultural work on locus of control has been carried out and variations have been found to occur in mean locus of control scores.

918

That is to say, different cultures show a wide range on the continuum but the ranges are sufficiently different to indicate that one cultural group may be more internal than another. Norwicki and Duke (1983) conclude that "While locus of control seems to be a relevant variable in all of the cultures studied, variations occur in mean locus of control scores" (p. 21). They quote research by, for example, Hung in the Far East who found that locus of control scores were more external among his Chinese sample, and similarly they report that Morris in Ghana found Ghanaians scored more externally; both being measured against comparable American samples. Why there should be these differences between cultures and between individuals in those cultures is as yet not certain but most research into the antecedents of locus of control assume that people learn through experience with their parents, family and certain stress events, though it is important to remember that locus of control does not appear to be immutable.

The Locus of Control Study

The next step was to give the locus of control test to the three same groups as were tested on the Barnes measure. Rotter's test consists of 29 fixed choice items of which 6 are filler items and the remaining 23 items are scored for externality. Thus a high score indicates a tendency to externality. A sample of questions can be found in Appendix 2. The questionnaire was administered to the three groups previously described – that is 26 Malaysian undergraduate teacher trainees studying at Warwick University, 20 young teacher trainees studying in Malaysia and 30 British undergraduate teacher trainees from Warwick.

The mean scores, and range of scores can be seen in Appendix 3, Table 2, together with comparative scores obtained by Young (1981) with a group of Australian high school teachers, and Weber (1979) in a study of 854 student teachers. In order to compare different groups it is useful to think in terms of a cut off point so that extreme scores can be identified, and here I have followed the example of Weber (1979), also used by Young (1981), adopting cut off points of 8 and 16 – responses under 8 would be considered as "internals" with those scoring over 16 as "externals".

The results must of course be viewed with caution since the numbers involved are small but to use a phrase of Ted Wraggs (1985), this is a "quick and dirty" piece of research and may only indicate a general direction to explore further.

First of all, the group of British teacher trainees seem to be behaving rather differently from other groups (notably Weber's) because as a

Table 2
Teachers' Locus of Control Scores

Weber (1979) suggested cut off points are:
High 16+
Medial 9–15
Low 8 and below

A high score indicates a person with an external locus of control

High, Medial and Low Sub Groups on External Locus of Control

	(E)				(I)	
	High		Medium		Low	
Group	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Weber (1979)	38	28.8	59	44.7	35	26.5
Young (1981)	7	29.1	14	58.4	3	12.5
Kennedy (1989) Malaysian TT in UK	5	19	13	50	8	31
Kennedy (1989) Malaysian TT in Malaysia	10	50	9	45	1	5
Kennedy (1989) British TT in UK	11	32.4	20	58.8	3	8.8

Ranges on Locus of Control Scores

Malaysian TT in the UK	Mean = 10.92
N = 26	Range = 3–18
Malaysian TT in Malaysia	Mean = 15.05
N = 20	Range = 8–20
British TT in the UK	Mean = 13.64
N = 34	Range = 5–22

group they are more external with a mean of 13.64 – but more importantly with only 8.8% falling into the internal category compared with 26.6% and 12.5% in the other "Western" groups. Perhaps this reflects a general disillusionment among our future teachers and feelings of powerlessness. In contrast the Malaysian teacher trainees studying in the UK emerged as a more internal group than the British. Their mean was 10.92 with a range 3–18. This difference was considerably more marked when we compare them with their compatriots studying in Malaysia who had a mean of 15.05 and a range of 8–20. On this limited evidence Malaysian teacher trainees in Malaysia can be viewed as biased towards an external locus of control whereas Malaysian teacher trainees in the UK are biased towards an internal locus of control.

If we now look at these results together with those obtained from administering the Barnes questionnaire, we can see that Malaysian teacher trainees in Britain not only appear as more interpretative in their attitudes to teaching but also show a fairly strong bias towards an internal locus of control, whilst Malaysians trainees in Malaysia show a tendency to a more transmission attitude to teaching together with a more external locus of control.

Although it would be premature to posit a causative relation between locus of control and attitudes to teaching, the results indicate that they may be related in some way. Moreover the two groups of Malaysians have produced different results. Both facts we shall discuss below.

Discussion

I would like to look at the results in the light of two other pieces of research (Falvey 1983; and Young and Lee 1984). In her study Falvey attempted to show that differences in attitude along the Barnes continuum had a real effect in the kinds of communication and interaction between teacher and pupil in the language classroom. She found that her 'transmission' teacher for example spent only 22 per cent of the time on student - student interaction, compared with 69 percent for the interpretation teacher. The transmission teacher spent more time in interaction with one student (60%). Perhaps more importantly the type of questions asked were different with the interpretation teacher asking more genuine questions. Falvey thus claims to show that there is indeed a relationship between attitudes and behaviour in the classroom. The implication is that changes in attitude underlie changes in classroom behaviour.

Thus Young and Lee (1985), working with Chinese teachers in Hong Kong on a curriculum innovation programme, felt that to initiate more communicative teacher behaviour in the classroom they would need first to change teacher attitudes and part of the retraining programme attempted to do this. However, they found this was not easy claiming in conclusion "that this attitudinal norm, being a product of stable values within a particular society is resistant to change by means of treatments such as teacher retraining programme" (p. 191). They were not unduly disheartened however by this, putting forward the thesis that either more efficient techniques for attitude change could be developed or alternatively that curriculum innovation should take much more account of the culture and the attitudes of the people affected by it.

Given that our UK-based Malaysian teacher-trainees appeared to be more interpretation-based than their colleagues studying in Malaysia, have we succeeded where Young and others found resistance? I think not and should like to explain why.

Our Malaysian students had been in the UK for almost three years. They are familiar with the culture and relatively at ease within it. Their high internal locus of control scores may be explained by the fact that whilst easily operating within the U.K. culture they are yet outside it. To this extent they may feel released from the controls of family, friends, government, and the pressures of their own social norms within Malaysia. It would seem that attitudes to the learning process may reflect in some sense a particular individual's view of himself in relation to society and how far he feels himself to be an autonomous individual - but neither of these characteristics seem to be fixed. Once back operating within their own society the students' locus of control scores may change as may their attitudes towards the teaching and learning process. However, even if their attitudes on the Barnes scale remained interpretative I do not think that this would necessarily reflect itself in their teaching methodologies. Many students can see that a model of teaching suitable for British classrooms reflecting the position of children and adults in this society may be appropriate but that such a model would not work within their own society.

The link between attitudes and behaviour is by no means a simple one - though some research in the West might seem to support Falvey's findings that teachers' educational attitudes and their actual teaching methods are related. The study by Neville Bennett (1976) claimed that he found a strong relationship between teacher aims and opinions and the way in which teachers actually taught in the classroom, though the author admitted that these attitudes were mediated by a wealth of other factors. However there is equally an accumulating wealth of evidence to suggest that changing teachers' attitudes will not necessarily lead to a change in behaviour, particularly if that behaviour reflects the norms and expectations of another group.

This lack of congruence between attitudes and behaviour is precisely summed up by N. Fishbein (1966)

> "there is still little if any, consistent evidence supporting the hypothesis that knowledge of an individual's attitude towards some

> object will allow one to predict the way he will behave with respect to the object."

In fact the conclusion seems more to be that behaviour shapes attitudes rather than vice versa. Attitudes are not, of course, a simple construct and some of the discrepancies in research may be because different definitions of attitude are being used. We need to remember that beliefs are the key in a sense to attitude formation and beliefs themselves are shaped by, amongst other things, behavioural experiences. Perhaps the neatest way of sorting out this conundrum is to accept Fishbein's conclusion that there are four things we should be concerned with:- beliefs, attitudes, behavioural intentions and behaviour. The interrelationships between them are not simple and unidirectional - for example any person's intention to behave in a particular way is affected not only by what he believes will be the consequence of that behaviour but also by his normative beliefs (both individual and social) and his motivation to comply with those norms. Favourable attitudes may influence the degree to which he behaves according to the norm, but they are not in themselves primary determinants of behaviour. However, in both teacher training and teacher development we are concerned with either producing desired behaviours in our students or in changing established behaviours. It is obvious that to change attitudes may not be the answer - social learning theory claims to have a partial answer. It emphasizes that it is what a person "learns" which controls his behaviour.

> "Changing the expected consequences for engaging in the crucial behaviour, or by changing the association with a crucial stimulus we can change any specific behaviour."
>
> Zimbardo and Ebbesen 1970

These consequences reflect the particular norms of the society at all levels and recently it has been suggested that the discrepancy between attitudes and behaviour can be explained by social constraints. So in reality teachers' decisions about using innovations are often determined by rather more practical criteria often unrelated to the aims of the innovation.

Thus teachers may have positive attitudes towards a curriculum innovation, or a positive attitude to a particular style of teaching but not actually use it themselves for a variety of reasons e.g. lack of resources, expectations of pupils, attitudes of colleagues and parents, pressure of public examinations, criteria for promotion. Paul Morris (1988) discusses this issue in relation to the implementing of a new Economics programme in Hong Kong schools. He found that the Economics teachers were sympathetic towards the new child centered and process oriented approach, but that they were much less sympathetic to its operational realities. There exist very powerful social'constraints and situational norms influencing behaviour. The existence of such constraints and norms in Malaysia would explain the high external scores that the Malaysian-based teachers achieved as well as their tendency to transmission. There may thus be a lack of congruence between what we encourage teacher trainees to do in classrooms and what the collective consciousness of a society expects.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the dichotomy transmission/interpretation has become so identified with bad versus good. There is a tendency to translate a "transmission" attitude into direct teacher control and dominance. However, this need not necessarily be the case. Teachers who see themselves as final arbiters in the teaching process, who feel that they have the knowledge which they are to "pass on" to pupils may adopt pupil-centered approaches as an effective way of doing this. Didactic teaching itself covers a wide range of practices carried out with varying degrees of skill. Ironically, whilst ELT has moved strongly towards the interactionist communicative model of teaching, a model that stresses process rather than product, in other curricular areas in both the UK and the USA, there has been a gradual move towards more formal ways of structuring the teaching process. Rosenshine (1979) calls this "direct instruction" "... academically focused, teacher directed classrooms, using sequenced and structured materials. ...Goals are clear to the students and the time allocated for instruction is sufficient (p. 38)". Under this model teaching is achievement-oriented and teachers are businesslike. The classrooms are well managed with "interaction characterized as structured but not authoritarian. Learning takes place in a convivial academic atmosphere." There is little here of the more humanistic concerns of some ELT practitioners. We see today in the new curricular reforms in the UK a shift towards a more teacher-centered pedagogy. Such changes in curricula are not necessarily happening because they are more effective but because they reflect a current cultural climate. We should perhaps bear in mind the stringent comment of Ted Wragg (1985) writing about the four year Teacher Education Project (1976–80) that "no single method of teaching enjoys universal endorsement" (p. 99). But any method must be in harmony with the society – not only in terms of teacher styles but also learner styles. As trainers we need to sense what it is our trainees believe in, what their goals are. And whether teachers fall into the "transmission" or "interpretation" camp, there are of course many improvements in instructional methods that can be carried out.

This initial study of the relationship between society, locus of control, teacher attitudes and classroom behaviour indicates that the whole-sale promotion of particular methodologies may be inappropriate and ineffective. R. E. Floden (1985) writing about the role of rhetoric in changing teachers' beliefs says "it is a principle of rhetoric that to persuade you must begin at a place where you and your audience agree" (p. 27). It may be that to find this place, we will need to take much more account of the culture of our audience and move with them rather than along our own predetermined path.

Bibliography

Barnes, Douglas and Denis Schemilt (1974). "Transmission and Interpretation", *Educational Review,* 26(3):213-28.

Bennett, N (1976). *Teaching styles and pupil progress,* London: Open Books.

Falvey, Margaret A (1983). "Teacher attitude and teacher behaviour". *MS Dissertation,* University of Birmingham.

Fishbein, Martin (1966). "A Behaviour Theory Approach to the relations between beliefs about an object and the attitude toward the object" in *Readings in Attitude Theory and Measurement Ed.* M. Fishbein (1967) John Wiley & Sons.

Floden, R.E. (1985). The Role of Rhetoric in Changing teachers' beliefs, *Teaching and Teacher Education.* Vol. 1, No. 1, pages 19-32.

Gore, P.S. and Rotter, J.B. (1963), "A personality correlate of social action", *Journal of Personality,* 31:58-64.

Morris, Paul (1988). "Teachers' attitudes towards a curriculum innovation - an East Asian study". *Research in Education* 40, pages 75-86.

Norwicki, Stephen and Marshall P. Duke (1983). "The Norwicki Strickland Life Span Locus of Control", in Research with Locus of Control, (Vol. 2) Academic Press.

Phares, E.J. (1968). "Differential utilization of information as a function of internal external control", *Journal of Personality* 36:649-62.

Rotter, J.B. (1954). *Social learning and clinical psychology,* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall.

Rotter, J.B. (1966). "Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement", *Psychological Monographs* 80(1, No. 609).

Rosenshine, B.V. (1979). "Content, time and direct instruction" in PL Peterson & HJ Walberg (Eds) "*Research on teaching: Concepts, findings & implications*" Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Sherman, M.F. R.J. Pelletier & R.M. Ryckman (1973). "Replication of the relationship between dogmatism and locus of control, *Psychological reports,* 33:749-50.

Strickland, B.R. (1965). "The prediction of social action from dimension of internal-external control" *Journal of Social Psychology,* 66:353-8.

Weber, B.R. (1979). "A study of the relationship between personal control and the morale & commitment of student teachers in their final year of training" *Unpublished doctoral thesis,* University of Queensland.

Wragg, E.G. (1985). "Training Skilful Teachers", in *Teaching and Teacher Education,* Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 199-208.

Young, D.C. (1981). "Teacher-initiated pupil responses to literature", unpublished *Ph.D. Thesis* University of Birmingham.

Young, Richard and Sue Lee (1984). "EFL Curriculum innovation" in *On TESOL '84,* pages 183-94.

Zimbardo, Philip & Ebbesen, E. (1970). "Influencing attitudes and changing behaviour" Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

Appendix 1

Samples of questions from Transmission/Interpretation questionnaire based Barnes and Schemilt (1974)

This questionnaire consists of a number of statements about various aspects of teaching and learning. You are asked to indicate the extent of your agreement or disagreement with each statement by entering the appropriate numeral in the space provided on the attached answer sheet.

+3 very strongly agree
+2 strongly agree
+1 tend to agree
0 neither agree or disagree
−1 tend to disagree
−2 strongly disagree
−3 very strongly disagree

I. Learning involves pupils in relating new ideas to their own experience. Consequently the teacher must be prepared to tolerate and even encourage the discussion of personal experiences that may not at first seem strictly relevant to the lesson.

T. The main reason for setting writing tasks is to teach pupils how to write neatly and acceptably, using the normal conventions of standard English.

I. Exploratory talk, in which pupils express tentative ideas and personal feelings, often tends to be hesitant, inexplicit and ungrammatical. It is, however, a very important part of learning, and should be encouraged in all teaching.

I. Small group work allows pupils to explore problems for themselves and thus have some measure of control over their own learning. It is therefore a particularly valuable means of organising classroom experience.

T. Pupils should be given a grade or mark for their written work. In this way they can see what their work is worth, and whether or not they are improving.

T. If pupils are to benefit from their lessons the teacher must keep firm control, ensure that pupils pay attention, and keep informal and anecdotal talk to a minimum, as this is likely to be irrelevant.

T. Knowledge about linguistic devices and grammatical terms is essential to any classroom work with language.

I. The direct teaching of vocabulary through class word lists and practice exercises is a comparatively ineffectual method. It is much better to help pupils expand their vocabularies through speaking, listening and reading, and through an examination of words in context.

F. An important part of the English teacher's task is to help pupils find out about other English speaking nations and cultures.

I. Students should frequently be given the opportunity to participate in activities which involve spoken interaction, without having to pay too much attention to the grammatical accuracy of their utterances.

I = interpretation item
T = transmission item
F = filler

Appendix 2

Sample of questions from
Rotter's 'Locus of Control' questionnaire (1966)

The aim of this questionnaire is to find out the way in which certain important events in our society affect different people. Each item consists of a pair of alternatives lettered a or b. Please select the one statement of each pair (*and only one*) which you more strongly *believe* to be the case as far as you're concerned. Be sure to select the one you actually *believe* to be more true rather than the one you think you should choose or the one would like to be true. This is a measure of personal belief; obviously there are no right or wrong answers.

Indicate your choice by putting a cross through the appropriate letter (a or b).

1 a Many of the unhappy things in people's lives are partly due to bad luck. (E)
  b People's misfortunes result from the mistakes they make.

2 a One of the major reasons why we have wars is because people don't take enough interest in politics.
  b There will always be wars, no matter how hard people try to prevent them. (E)

3 a The idea that teachers are unfair to students is nonsense.
  b Most students don't realise the extent to which their marks are influenced by accidental happenings. (E)

4 a In the case of the well prepared student there is rarely if ever such a thing as an unfair test.
  b Many times exam questions tend to be so unrelated to course work that studying is really useless. (E)

5 a Becoming a success is a matter of hard work, luck has little or nothing to do with it.
  b Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time. (E)

6 a The average citizen can have an influence in government decisions.
  b This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the little guy can do about it. (E)

7 a As far as world affairs are concerned, most of us are the victims of forces we can neither understand, nor control. (E)
b By taking an active part in political and social affairs the people can control world events.

8 a It is hard to know whether or not a person really likes you. (E)
b How many friends you have depends upon how nice a person you are.

9 a With enough effort we can wipe out political corruption.
b It is difficult for people to have much control over the things politicians do in office. (E)

10 a A good leader expects people to decide for themselves what they should do. (Filler)
b A good leader makes it clear to everybody what their jobs are.

Items marked (E) are scored as External. A high mark therefore indicates a tendency towards an External Locus of Control.

Formal and Content Schemata Activation in L2 Viewing Comprehension

Ian Tudor
Richard Tuffs
Institut de Phonétique
Université Libre de Bruxelles
Belgium

Abstract

The article describes an experiment designed to enhance the viewing comprehension of a group of advanced level ESL learners by means of the prior activation of text-relevant schemata. The subject population, Belgian university students of business administration, were divided into three groups, two receiving an experimental treatment geared to the activation of either formal or content schemata, and a control group which received no pre-viewing treatment. The target video sequence was an off-air recording on an economic topic. The formal treatment involved the presentation of the problem-solution model (Hoey, 1979) and a learner-based practice activity in the use of this model on a topic other than that of the target sequence. The content treatment involved provision of information on culturally-specific referential elements occurring in the target sequence and a learner-based activity on the general topic of the sequence, privatisation. Experimental effect was monitored by means of summary writing and a set of comprehension questions, the latter being given directly after viewing and again a week later to monitor for recall. Both pre-viewing groups showed significant levels of comprehension facilitation on all monitoring measures. Levels of improvement attained by the formal schemata group were higher than those of the content schemata group, although the difference was less marked on the recall than on the immediate measures.

Schema theory (Rumelhart, 1980) posits that the manner in which language users process textual material is dependent not only on the information present in the target material but also on the relevant mental structures or schemata which they bring with them to the processing of this material. Adams and Collins (1979:3), writing within the context of first language (L1) reading comprehension, describe the finalities of schema theory in the following terms:

> "The goal of schema theory is to specify the interface between the reader and the text - to specify how the reader's knowledge interacts with and shapes the information on the page and to specify how that knowledge must be organised to support the interaction."

This approach to the study of language comprehension has, over the last decade, provided a powerful stimulus to the analysis of the process of comprehension in second language (L2) learners, in terms of both reading (Barnitz 1986; Carrell, 1983; Carrell and Eisterhold, 1983) and listening (Kasper, 1984; Markham and Latham, 1987) comprehension. Very little work, however, has been conducted in the area of viewing comprehension, namely the comprehension of film or video material involving the combination of visual and verbal input. Given the increasing role played by video materials, both in the L2 classroom and in the wider domain of education and training (instructional video cassettes, interactive video, satellite broadcasting), not to mention the potentially significant role of recreational films and television as a means of cultural assimilation and a source of "comprehensible input" (Krashen, 1982) for learners of English as a Second Language (ESL) in North Ameica and the United Kingdom, this is clearly an omission.

In the light of these considerations, at least two main lines of research emerge. The first, and in logical terms the more basic, relates to the process of viewing comprehension in an L2. Under this heading research is clearly called for to determine the extent to which viewing comprehension may be seen as a skill in its own right, separate from listening comprehenion - in other words, the way in which the visual element in television or film material interacts with information provided by the verbal element (cf. Boeckmann, Nessmann and Petermandl, 1988 and Pezdeck, 1986 for instances of L1 studies in this area). In addition, it is also of interest to examine the cultural aspect of viewing comprehension, in terms of the role of familiarity with culture specific knowledge or beliefs (cf. Tuffs and Tudor 1990) or with specific genres such as news, game shows and soap operas and discourse formats such as those present in current affairs broadcasts and documentaries. In other words, there is ample scope for the replication, within the domain of viewing comprehension, of studies such as those of Carrell (1984a; 1985), Johnson (1981) and Steffensen (1986) conducted in the field of L2 reading comprehension. The second line of research, and that in which the present article is situated, relates to the possibility of enhancing L2 learners' viewing comprehension by means of appropriate priming techniques, this having strong links with the growing body of research into pre-reading and reader priming in L2 reading instruction.

A number of studies have indicated that L2 learners' prior knowledge of the content (Alderson and Urquhart, 1985; Aron, 1986; Johnson, 1981, op. cit.; Markham and Latham, 1987, op. cit.; Nunan, 1985; Steffensen, 1986, op. cit.) or rhetorical structure (Carrell, 1984a, op. cit., 1984b) of textual material in the L2 can have a significant effect on their ability to comprehend and assimilate this material. These findings have, not surprisingly, generated research into strategies for building or activating learners' text-relevant background knowledge as a preparation for text processing. For instance, the explicit pre-teaching of cultural background knowledge (Floyd and Carrell, 1987; Johnson, 1982) or of elements of the rhetorical organisation of texts (Carrell, 1985) has been shown to enhance the text comprehension of L2 learners. In a similar vein, studies into the effect of pre-reading activities on text comprehension (Hudson, 1982; Taglieber, Johnson and Yarbrough, 1988; Tudor, 1990) have illustrated that such activities, if geared appropriately to both learner and text characteristics, may play a valuable role in enhancing L2 learners' comprehension of written material. The present study describes an attempt to apply a similar approach to the enhancement of L2 viewing comprehension. Two forms of pre-viewing were experimented with (c.f. Carrell, 1987), one geared to the activation of formal schemata relevant to the rhetorical structure of the target video sequence, and the other geared to the activation of content shemata relevant to the conceptual content of the sequence.

Method

Subjects

The subjects (age: 21-23; N = 108) were ESL learners following English courses as part of a five year degree programme in business administration at the Université Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium. They were in the fourth (N = 55) and fifth (N = 53) years of their programme, and had followed English courses for three and four years respectively at the Université Libre (no English courses being given during their first year of study), in addition to an average of four years of English at secondary level. The English courses were an integral part of the subjects' study programme and levels of motivation and attainment were high. Both groups of subjects may safely be considered as advanced learners. Testing was conducted with three class groups in each year, these groups being constituted to be homogeneous in terms of linguistic proficiency on the basis of subjects' end-of-course examination results from their previous year of study.

Video sequence

The video sequence on which the experimentation was based was an off-air recording (length 8 minutes and 2 seconds; number of words 1,217) from a British weekly television programme concentrating on economic and business matters and aimed at an intelligent and well-informed audience. The target sequence deals with possible plans of the British government to set up a network of privately financed roads alongside the existing national network, which in Britain is government controlled. The sequence outline in Figure 1 provides a breakdown of the main stages in the development of the topic. It should be noted, however, that the main topic development divisions highlighted in Figure 1 were not explicitly signalled in the video sequence itself other than by television production techniques such as scene change, topic shift or intonation, subjects having to abstract these thematic divisions from the visual and

Figuare 1. Topic development and presentational formals of video sequence.

Topic development	Speaker and format	Visual accompaniment
Topic statement: Is the creation of a private road network a good idea? Is it feasible?	Commentator: voice over	Scene of traffic congestion
1. SITUATION		
Worsening traffic situation in the U.K. is source of economic problems	Commentator voice over/ conversation between participants in vignette	Vignelle: delivery truck arrives late; goods unloaded
2. PROBLEM		
Late and slow deliveries cost the economy five billion pounds a year	Commentator: voice over	Scene of traffic jams
Situation worsening with increase in the number of cars	Businessman: interview	Businessman in his office
3. SOLUTION		
Create a private road network to supplement the existing national network	Minister of Transport speaking at a Conservative Party conference	Minister making his speech/audience
Private funding already employed in a few projects	Commentator: voice over	Scene of Minister at the inauguration of a new motorway bridge
Private sector has been successful in other parts of the economy: why not in privatisation of roads	Junior Transport Minister: interview	Minister in studio
4. EVALUATION		
Construction companies not enthusiastic about government's plans	Commentator: on screen	Commentator in front of road being constructed
Uncertainty about political will to overcome the practical difficulties	Construction company representative A: on screen	Representative interviewed on motorway being constructed

Problem 1 Size of the road building programme		
Expanding private investment could reduce state investments, resulting in no overall gain in projects	Commentator: voice over	Scene of road surveyors at work
As last point	Construction company representative A: on screen	Background of motorway construction scene
Problem 2 Competitive tendering		
In a tender system a firm proposing a project could lose the contract to a competitor	Commentator: voice over	Scene of engineer preparing plans for a motorway tunnel
This could result in heavy losses for the firm making the original proposal	Construction company representative B: on screen	Background of bridge construction work
Problem 3 Planning permission		
Local opposition can seriously delay road construction	Commentator: voice over/ vignette of conversation beween local protesters	Scenes of countryside and historic house
Delays in obtaining planning permission could deter private investors	Commentator: voice over	Scenes of countryside
Difficulty of giving powers of compulsory acquisition to private firms	Construction company representative C: on screen	Representative in his office
Problem 4 Return on investment		
How to provide a pay-back to private investors on their investment	Commentator: on screen	Background scene at an historic toll bridge, motorists paying tolls to an official
Political problems of charging tolls on road	Construction company representative B: on screen	Background of bridge construction work
Charging only for new roads will discourage motorists from using them if existing roads remain free	Commentator reading the text of a statement from the Minister of Transport	Picture of the Minister of Transport plus the text written on screen
Is the government willing to put a charge on existing roads?	Commentator: voice over	Scene of toll booths outside a motorway tunnel
The government does not intend to charge for use of existing roads: new, privately funded roads will provide greater choice for the motorist	Junior Transport Minister: interview	Minister in studio

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

verbal input themselves. A variety of presentation formats were used in the video sequence, the most frequent being: commentary by the reporter on screen; voice over commentary by the reporter accompanying a topic-relevant scene; interviews with key participants (e.g. representatives of the government and of construction firms). The sequence thus represented a dense and relatively complex body of both verbal and visual information involving frequent changes of scene, speaker and perspective on the target topic.

Video material from the same source and of a similar level of complexity was frequently used in the classroom with the subjects concerned. Furthermore, the experimental video sequence had been used as an end-of-course viewing comprehension examination with a population of 48 final year students at the end of the first semester of the academic year 1988-89 (the experimentation was conducted in the second semester of the same year), mean scores obtained on a summary writing task (cf. Elicitation procedures, below) being 10.6 out of 21 (s.d. = 2.7). The sequence was thus judged to be of a challenging but acceptable level of difficulty in both linguistic and conceptual terms for the present experimentation.

Experimental Treatment

Rationale

The aim of the present experimentation, as mentioned previously, was to study the effects of two types of schemata activation, one formally-oriented and the other content-oriented, on the viewing comprehension of a population of ESL learners. The rationale underlying both approaches is the same, namely that activating learners' existing knowledge by providing them with a number of key concepts pertinent to the target text will aid the learners to process the text more meaningfully, and thereby facilitate assimilation and recall of the target material. The difference, of course, lies in the nature of the schemata activated and the way in which these relate to the processing of the target text. *Formal schemata* are knowledge structures relating to the way in which textual information is organised and presented, and help language users to predict the development of a text, locate topic-relevant information and to interact with a text as a piece of structured discourse. *Content schemata* relate to the subject matter or topic of a text, and help language users to disambiguate and to perceive links between textual information and what they already know about the topic in question. Formally-oriented schemata activation, then, conscientises learners to the structural and organisational properties of the target text, while content-oriented schemata activation focuses their attention on the subject matter or topic of the text. In the present study, the formal pre-viewing treatment was built around Hoey's (1979) problem-solution model, the content treatment providing background information of a referential nature and then focusing on the key concept of the sequence, privatisation.

Formal treatment

Hoey's problem-solution model offers an analytical framework able to accommodate the presentation and discussion of a variety of problem situations, either productively (as in the preparation of a written report) or receptively (as in the present context). This model was chosen for use in the current experimentation in view of its relevance to the topic development of the target video sequence (cf. Figure 1), which moves from the identification of a problem (road congestion), through the proposed solution (privatisation of a part of the road network) to an evaluation of the difficulties arising from this proposed solution. The model thus provides a global analytical framework within which the details of the target sequence may be meaningfully accommodated and interpreted. Naturally, the problem-solution model represents just one formal framework, chosen for its relevance to the target sequence, and other sequences, with a different conceptual organisation, would call for differently oriented formal priming activities.

The experimental treatment lasted 20 minutes and was subdivided into three stages. In the introductory stage (ca. 2 minutes) the experimenter (Tuffs) informed subjects they were going to watch a video about the future of the road network in the United Kingdom and that, prior to viewing the video, they would receive some preparatory materials introducing them to a model for analysing problem situations of the type encountered in the video. In the second stage (ca. 5 minutes) subjects received the first problem-solution handout (cf. Appendix) outlining the problem-solution model. The experimenter talked through this sheet clarifying the goals and operation of the model. In the third stage (ca. 13 minutes) subjects received the second handout, the problem-solution task sheet, and worked on the task in groups of four or five. The results of the group work were briefly pooled and discussed. Subsequently the video was viewed. Both examples used in the problem-solution materials were selected to be familiar to the subjects.

Content treatment

The content-oriented treatment had two goals. The first was to fill in the gaps in the subjects' knowledge of culture-specific entities referred to in the target sequence, and the second was to activate their existing

936

knowledge relevant to the general topic of the sequence. The source programme from which the target sequence was drawn was aimed primarily at an educated British audience, and thus incorporated assumptions of shared background knowledge relating to entities and events referred to in the sequence, a number of which were unlikely to be familiar to the subjects. Part of the experimental treatment was thus devoted to filling in some of these referential gaps in the subjects' general background knowledge of the target situation. While gaps existed on this culture-specific level of reference, the subjects could, given the business orientation of their studies, be safely assumed to have a fair level of knowledge of privatisation in general and also of those privatisations undertaken by the British government in the last few years. On this wider conceptual level, then, the content treatment sought to activate subjects' existing knowledge of privatisation so that they could approach the target sequence within the appropriate ideational framework. The content treatment thus operated in terms of both information provision and knowledge activation - in other words, both input and activation.

The administration of the content treatment paralleled that of the formal treatment. In the introductory stage (ca. 2 minutes) the experimenter (Tudor) informed subjects that they were going to watch a video about the future of the road network in the U.K. and that, prior to viewing the video, they would be given some background information about the target situation and asked to think about the topic of the video, privatisation. In the second stage (ca. 5 minutes) subjects were given the first content handout (cf. Appendix) listing key people, institutions and places featured in the video. The experimenter talked through this sheet and drew a map on the blackboard illustrating the location of certain places and projects mentioned in the handout. In the third stage (ca. 13 minutes), subjects were given the content task sheet and worked on this in groups. The results of the group work were, as in the formal treatment, pooled and briefly discussed.

The two treatments thus had a parallel structure in terms of input and activities performed. Stage 1 involved an introduction to the topic of the video and an overview of the type of preparation subjects were to receive. Stage 2 involved the provision of background information, either on the goals and operation of the problem-solution model (in the formal mode), or on elements of culture-specific knowledge (in the content mode). Stage 3 involved a learner-centered task-based activity, subjects attempting to apply the problem-solution model to a familiar situation, or reflecting on the advantages and disadvantages of privatisation. Both experimental treatments lasted 20 minutes. As preparation for a video sequence of 8 minutes shown only once, this treatment-text ratio might appear somewhat top-heavy, but it was felt to be justified in view of the specific nature of viewing comprehension. Video material calls for the rapid processing of significant amounts of both verbal and visual information (cf. Figure 1), and the meaningful processing of such input seems likely to call for the possession of relatively stronger interpretative schemata than is the case in written material, where the reader can easily skim forwards or re-read to build up or confirm predictions. While this hypothesis clearly merits further investigation, it seemed sufficiently plausible to justify the treatment-text ratio adopted.

Administration

The testing was conducted simultaneously with three class groups of fourth year subjects and then, a month later, with three class groups of fifth year subjects. In each case, one group received the formal treatment prior to viewing the video and undertaking the tests (cf. below), another group receiving the content treatment, and a third control group viewing the video and completing the tests without any preparatory treatment. The class groups at each level were homogeneous in terms of linguistic and academic attainment, and were allocated randomly to a given experimental condition. The formal treatment was administered at both levels by Tuffs and the content treatment by Tudor, both working from prepared notes. All testing was conducted during subjects' normal class hours. Due to random absences, subject numbers in the content condition were slightly higher on both testing sessions (4th and 5th years) than in the two other conditions (Formal N = 33; Content N = 41; Control N = 34). Subject numbers on the recall test (cf. below) were slightly lower on all conditions, again due to random absences (Formal N = 29; Content N = 37; Control N = 30).

Elicitation procedures and statistical analysis

Two elicitation procedures were employed, a summary and a set of open-ended comprehension questions. Prior to viewing subjects were informed that they would be required to write a summary in English of the video sequence which they would see only once and then answer a set of comprehension questions. Subjects were allowed to make notes while the video was being shown and use these notes to help them write their summary, fifty minutes being allowed for summary writing. At the end of this time subjects' notes and the completed summaries were collected in and the comprehension questions distributed, fifteen minutes being allotted for this task. Summaries were evaluated on the basis of idea units: the experimenters had analysed the video sequence into 21 idea units, and subjects received a point for each of these idea units judged present in their summary (the maximum possible score on the summary thus being 21). The comprehension questions (14 in number) contained both factually- and inferentially-oriented items, each item being scored either correct or incorrect. One week after the initial experimentation subjects were given the same set of comprehension questions again in order to monitor their level of recall.

The three sets of data (summary and both immediate and recall comprehension questions) were each analysed by means of a univariate analysis of variance to determine treatment effect, and subsequently a comparison for differences in mean scores was carried out on the same data.

Results and Discussion

The results presented in Figures 2 and 3 and in Tables 1 and 2 show that both formal and content treatments produced significant levels of comprehension facilitation, this being evidenced on all three elicitation procedures employed. In general terms, then, the results would seem to indicate that pre-viewing instruction has a potential for facilitating the viewing comprehension of L2 learners. With respect to the relative effectiveness of the two pre-viewing treatments, the formal treatment emerges as having exerted the more powerful effect on subjects' comprehension, this difference being the most marked on the immediate measures of comprehension (summary and comprehension questions). Here, levels of significance for the formal group attain .001, whereas for the content group significance is reached at only .05 (cf. Table 2). While the same trend persists on the recall, the relative difference between the effect of the two treatments is less marked, the results of the content group here reaching significance at .01 against, again, .001 for the formal group.

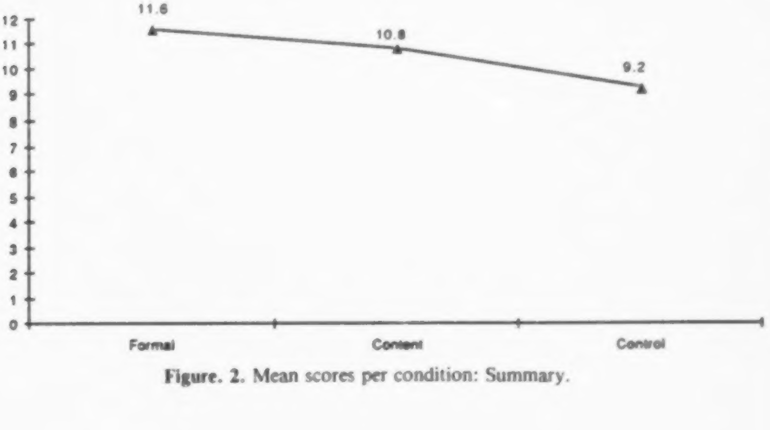


Figure. 2. Mean scores per condition: Summary.

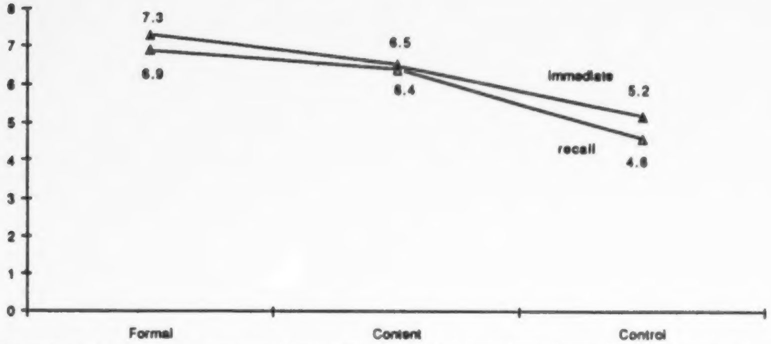


Figure. 3. Mean scores per condition: Comprehension questions (immediate and recall).

Table 1
ANOVA per elicitation procedure

Elicitation procedure	Source	df	SS	MS	F
Summary	between groups	2	95.65	47.82	6.63*
	within groups	105	757.20	7.21	
Comprehension questions (immediate)	between groups	2	77.86	38.93	7.53*
	within groups	105	543.05	5.17	
Comprehension questions (recall)	between groups	2	90.02	45.01	9.06*
	within groups	95	461.98	4.97	

*$p < 0.01$

Table 2
Comparisons for differences among means per elicitation procedure

Elicitation procedure	Treatments	t
Summary	Control vs Formal	3.57***
	Control vs Content	2.48*
	Format vs Content	1.27
Comprehension questions (immediate)	Control vs Formal	3.82***
	Control vs Content	2.54*
	Formal vs Content	1.48
Comprehension questions (recall)	Control vs Formal	4.02***
	Control vs Content	3.30**
	Formal vs Content	0.95

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$
***$p < .001$

These observations would seem to indicate that, although both previewing treatments provided subjects with substantial assistance in their processing and comprehension of the target video sequence, the formal treatment offered subjects a more powerful aid to or framework for comprehension than the content treatment. The difference in the relative effectiveness of the two treatments seems, however, to be more marked in the short-term, which may indicate that treatment type may not be a major determinant of the longer-term retention of message content providing the treatment is sufficiently learner-sensitive and focuses subjects' attention on crucial aspects of the target sequence in a meaningful manner.

The results taken as a whole indicate that the activation of text-relevant schemata (either formal or content) prior to the viewing of a video sequence can produce significant gains in both comprehension and recall of message content. They thus provide support, within the relatively under-explored area of viewing comprehension, for the results of other schema-based studies of L2 comprehension, and in particular studies involving the explicit building of learners' background knowledge and the use of pre-reading techniques, such as those of Floyd and Carrell (1987) and Hudson (1982) referred to earlier. Naturally, it would be unwise to draw sweeping generalizations from the present study given that a relatively specific learner population was involved and that only one video sequence was used. Nor should it be overlooked that the experimental subjects were advanced level ESL learners for whom the target sequence, while not without difficulty in purely linguistic terms, was at least reasonably accessible. There is thus no guarantee that lower-level learners, for whom the processing of the target sequence would represent a substantially greater linguistic challenge, would have been able to avail themselves of the facilitative potential of the experimental treatments either to the same extent or in the same manner as the present subject population.

Both experimental treatments were informed by extensive contact, if not with the individual experimental subjects at least with numerous other members of the same learner population - an element which would seem crucial for the effective development and use of any priming techniques. The problem-solution model had been used pedagogically with several class groups to guide both productive (report writing in the main) and receptive (study of both written and video texts) language practice activities. The authors were thus able to feel reasonably confident that the experimental population would be able to respond to and make use of this type of formal schema. The same may not be true of other learner populations with different learning styles or study habits (cf. Snow and

Lohman, 1984). Similarly, the content treatment was developed on the basis of the experimenters' familiarity with the learner population's background knowledge of political and economic events in the U.K. and also their general level of knowledge of economic policy. It is worth pointing out that there is a high degree of cultural proximity between Belgium (the subjects' home culture) and the U.K. (the source culture of the target video sequence): the two countries share relatively similar political systems and face the same sort of economic and social problems. There is also a generally positive attitude among Belgians to British culture. The authors were thus able to assume the presence of a relatively well-developed set of general content schemata among subjects and develop the experimental treatment accordingly. In the case of subjects from a more distant culture, with a less developed knowledge of recent political and socio-economic events in the U.K., the content treatment might have needed to assume a markedly different form.

In a similar vein, British television is easily accessible in Belgium and was watched regularly by a sizeable proportion of the subject population. This means that the experimental population was, by and large, familiar not only with the general format of the television report but (albeit, implicitly) with the specific techniques employed, such as the juxtaposition of a verbal message with supporting/reinforcing visuals (e.g. outlining of the problem of traffic congestion against a visual background of traffic jams; mention of the difficulties of obtaining planning permission for the construction of new roads against a background of "unspoilt" countryside -cf. Figure 1). In other words, the subjects were familiar with the discourse and presentational conventions of the target medium, even if gaps did exist in their familiarity with a number of culturally specific referential elements (cf. content treatment, above) and there were evident difficulties in terms of language comprehension. A similar level of medium familiarity might not exist with learners from a culture in which television may play a less important social and communicative role, or where the relevant medium conventions are different. To what extent such mismatches might affect L2 learners' ability to process and comprehend television or video material, or how far they would affect the potential effectiveness of pre-viewing activities is unclear, and would therefore seem an area that merits further research.

These considerations relating to the study style, content preparedness and medium familiarity of the subjects do not undermine the results of the present experimentation as they stand. At the same time, such considerations should be borne in mind in assessing the possible generalisability of the present results to other learner populations. While further research in this area clearly needs to pay careful attention to text-specific factors such as format, structuring, presentational conventions and assumptions of shared background knowledge, it equally well needs to view these factors in the light of considerations of the preferred learning style, content preparedness, cultural proximity and medium familiarity of the target learner population.

Conclusions

The results of the present study indicate that the prior activation of text-relevant schemata can serve to meaningfully enhance the comprehension and retention of the message content of authentic video materials by L2 learners. In this way the results fit in well with and lend support to the schema-theoretic approach to the study of L2 comprehension, illustrating the applicability of this approach to a medium which has so far been relatively little explored - most schema-theory based research to date focusing on the written medium. On the level of classroom practice, the results clearly provide support to the use of previewing activities, indicating that if such activities are appropriately structured and sufficiently learner-sensitive they can play a significant role in aiding learners to gain access to authentic video materials.

Naturally, given the limited nature of the experimentation, the results of the present study need to be viewed with a degree of caution until further research has been conducted into the domain of viewing comprehension in an L2. Such research could, on the one hand, focus on whether pre-viewing can exert a similarly facilitative effect on a wider range of video materials including culturally-oriented genres such as situation comedies and soap operas (genres which offer the possibility of focused study of the concerns, attitudes, and value systems of the target community). Also and potentially more importantly, research could address the question of whether repeated exposure to previewing treatments (possibly along the lines of those used in the present experimentation) could have a carry-over effect to learners' private viewing, in other words whether they could serve to help L2 learners to develop an independent viewing strategy.

References

Adams, M.J. and Collins, A. 1979. *A schema-theoretic view of reading.* New Directions in Discourse Processing Vol. II. ed. R.O. Freedle Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation. 1-22.

Alderson, J.C. and Urquhart, A. 1985. *This test is unfair: I'm not an economist.* Second Language Performance Testing eds. P. Hautmann, R. Leblanc, and M. Bingham Weche. Ottowa, Ontario: University of Ontario Press. 25-43.

Aron, H. 1986. *The influence of background knowledge on memory for reading passages by native and non-native readers.* TESOL Quarterly 20:1. 136–40.

Barnitz, J.C. 19086. *Toward understanding the effects of cross-cultural schemata and discourse structure on second language reading comprehension. Journal of Reading Behavior 18:2.* 95–116.

Boeckmann, K., Nessmann, K. and Petermandl M. 1988. *Effects of formal features in educational video programmes on recall.* Journal of Educational Television 14:2. 107–22.

Carrell, P.L. 1983. *Some issues in understanding the role of schemata, or background knowledge, in second language comprehension.* Reading in a Foreign Language 1:2. 81–92.

Carrell, P. 1984a. *Evidence of a formal schema in second language comprehension.* Language Learning 34:2. 87–112.

Carrell, P.L. 1984b. *The effects of rhetorical organisation on ESL readers.* TESOL Quarterly 18:3. 441–89.

Carrell, P.L. 1985. *Facilitating ESL reading by teaching text structure.* TESOL Quarterly 19:4. 727–52.

Carrell, P.L. 1987. *Content and formal schemata in ESL reading.* TESOL Quarterly 21:3. 467–81.

Carrell, P.L. and Eisterhold, J.C. 1983. *Schema theory and ESL reading pedagogy.* TESOL Quarterly 17:4. 553–73.

Floyd, P. and Carrell, P.L. 1987. *Effects on ESL reading of teaching cultural content schemata.* Language Learning 37:1. 89–108.

Hoey, M. 1979. *Signalling in Discourse.* Discourse Analysis Monographs No. 6: English Language Research, University of Birmingham, United Kingdom.

Hudson, T. 1982. The effects of induced schemata on the "short circuit" in L2 reading: non-decoding factors in L2 reading performance. Language Learning 32:1.. 1–31.

Johnson, P. 1981. *Effects on reading comprehension of language complexity and cultural background of a text.* TESOL Quarterly 15:2. 169–81.

Johnson, P. 1982. *Effects on reading comprehension of building background knowledge.* TESOL Quarterly 16:4. 503–16.

Kasper, G. 1984. *Pragmatic comprehension in learner-native speaker discourse.* Language Learning 34:1. 1–20.

Krashen, S.D. 1982. *Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Markham, P. and Latham, M. 1987. *The influence of religion-specific background knowledge on the listening comprehension of adult second-language students.* Language Learning 37:2. 157–70.

Nunan, D. 1985. *Content familiarity and the perception of textual relationships in second language reading.* RELC Journal 16:1. 42–51.

Pezdek, K. 1986. *Comprehension: it's even more complex than we thought.* Knowledge and Language. eds. I. Kurcz, G.W. Shugar and J.H. Danks. Amsterdam: North-Holland. 215–36.

Rumelhart, D.E. 1980. *Schemata: the building blocks of cognition.* Theoretical Issues in Reading Comprehension. eds. R.J. Spiro, B.C. Bruce, and W.E. Brewer Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 35–58.

Snow, R.S. and Lohman, D.F. 1984. *Toward a theory of cognitive aptitude for learning from instruction.* Journal of Educational Psychology 76:3. 347–76.

Steffensen, M. 1986. *Register, cohesion and cross-cultural reading comprehension,* Applied Linguistics 7:1. 71–85.

Taglieber, L.K., Johnson, L.L., and Yarbrough, D.B. 1988. *Effects of pre-reading activities on EFL reading by Brazilian college students.* TESOL Quarterly 22:3. 455–72.

Tudor, I. 1990. *Pre-reading format and learner proficiency level in L2 reading comprehension.* Journal of Research in Reading 13:2. 43–106.

Tuffs, R.J. and Tudor, I. 1990. *What the eye doesn't see: cross-cultural problems in the comprehension of video material.* RELC Journal.

Appendix

THE PROBLEM-SOLUTION MODEL

The problem-solution model is a useful model which is designed to structure reports.

The model has four parts:

1. SITUATION	at the beginning of the report the writer/speaker outlines the situation
2. PROBLEM	then the writer/speaker outlines the problem or what is wrong with this situation
3. SOLUTION	the writer/speaker proposes a solution to the problem
4. EVALUATION	this solution is evaluated to see if it works

We can look at this model again with a concrete example.

Example

One of the main goals of the English courses at the Institut de Phonetique is to help students to be able to speak English fluently. However, with classes of up to 24 students it is not easy to develop spoken fluency.

SITUATION	students need to speak more
PROBLEM	large classes mean that students do not speak enough
SOLUTION	use group work in the class so that more students have the opportunity of speaking
EVALUATION	students may speak in French, the teacher will not be able to correct all the students

The above example illustrates that the problem-solution model is not just a four-step model leading to a perfect solution. In fact, in any situation people may disagree as to what the problem or problems are. The solution may lead to a situation that also has a problem as in the above example, and so the model could be recycled.

This flexibility makes the model a very useful tool when we want to write or unde stand a wide range of business reports.

TASK

Try and apply the problem-solution model to a situation which is familiar to you – the linguistic problem in Belgium.

Working in groups, make an analysis of the situation and offer ONE solution which should then be evaluated. What problems might your solution lead to?

SITUATION

PROBLEM

SOLUTION

EVALUATION

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The following people, institutions and places appear or are mentioned in the video which you are going to watch.

1. Government representatives

Paul Channon, Secretary of State of Transport

The member of the government who is responsible for transport planning in Britain.

Michael Portillo, Minister of State for Transport

A junior government minister who is on the staff of Mr Channon.

2. Institutions

Department of Transport

the government ministry reponsible for all matters, relating to transport in the United Kingdom.

Whitehall

A street in London where many government ministries are located. The term "Whitehall" is often used to refer to the British government.

The Treasury

The government ministry which deals with the country's finances.

White Paper

An official report which gives the policy of the government on a particular issue.

Construction companies

Tarmac
Mowlem

947

3. Places

Thames Estuary

The river Thames flows through London and then widens into an estuary which meets the North Sea east of London.

Dartford Tunnel

A road tunnel underneath the Thames at Dartford, east of London, which is now part of the M 25.

M 25

A motorway (autoroute) which encircles the outskifts of London.

M 40

A partly constructed and planned motorway linking London, Oxford, and Birmingham. The motorway has encountered fairly strong local opposition.

Swinford Toll Bridge

An old bridge where users have had to pay to cross for 200 years.

TASK

1. One of the best known aspects of Mrs Thatcher's government is the extensive privatisation of previously state-owned companies and parts of the economy. Make a list of the 'privatisations' carried out by the Thatcher government.

2. Make a list of what you consider to be the advantages and the disadvantages of privatisation.

Scanning in Different Scripts: Does Jawi interfere with Bahasa Malaysia and English?

Mick Randall
The West Sussex Institute of Higher Education
United Kingdom

Abstract

This article reports on two experiments which investigate the array-scanning characteristics of Malaysian subjects when exposed to arrays of Roman and Arabic letters. It examines the search patterns to see if there is any interference between the Roman alphabet and Arabic scripts used to read Bahasa Malaysia. The experiments show that Malaysian subjects produced unique search patterns with both Roman and Arabic letters. These patterns are then related to search patterns found with native English speakers and native Arabic speakers. The article then discusses how these patterns may be related to the underlying linguistic structure of words in Bahasa Malaysia, English and Arabic.

The last thirty years of Applied Linguistics and Second Language research have seen a re-awakening of an interest in reading research alongside a movement away from the segmental, basic building blocks of language towards a wider view of language and discourse structure. Whilst such an approach was a healthy departure from the strictures of structuralist linguists, there are still important issues to be investigated in the area of the smallest building blocks of language. One such issue in the area of reading concerns, not the interpretation of discourse structure, but the mechanism by which individual words are recognised.

For those concerned with teaching languages within the school setting, and particularly those concerned with teaching children who are learning to read in such radically different scripts as the Roman alphabet and Arabic, such questions of how words are recognised must be of critical importance.

Word recognition research in cognitive psychology has long been an important contributor to our understanding of the workings of the brain. A number of powerful techniques and procedures have been developed by psychologists to probe the way that words are perceived. However, until very recently, the mechanisms of word recognition have been studied almost totally with native English speakers. The questions of how words are recognised by speakers of other languages is only just beginning to be considered.

One of the techniques which has been used by psychologists to investigate perception of linguistic material is the array. An array consists of a string of letters (in the examples used in this paper, five letters) and psychologists have investigated the speed with which subjects are able to see letters within the array. When such experiments are run with native English speakers, an interesting and very stable phenomenon occurs. If subjects are asked to scan arrays of shapes, they see the centre of the array most quickly and the ends less quickly and produce a U-shaped search pattern. If, however, they are presented with letters, they still see the centre of the array quickly, but they also see the two ends of the array relatively quickly and scan through the array from left to right, producing an upwardly-sloping M-Shaped pattern (see Figure 1a). This pattern has been observed by a number of experimenters (Hammond and Green, 1982; Mason, 1982) and the difference between shape and letter search patterns appears very early on in reading (Green, Hammond and Supramanian, 1983).

One plausible explanation of the M-shaped search patterns for English native speakers is that these patterns are related to the way that words are recognised in English. The left to right slope clearly reflects the reading direction of English, and the enhanced recognition of the ends of the arrays (the 'end effects') can also be related to word recognition strategies. It has long been recognised that initial and final letters play an important part in word recognition in English (Bruner & O'Dowd, 1958; Horrowitz, White and Attwood 1968) and it would seem to be highly plausible to relate the end effects to such word recognition strategies.

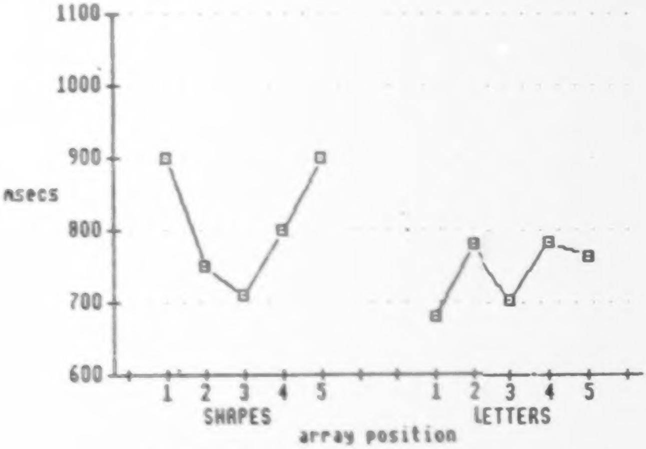


Figure 1a. Typical English Search Patterns.

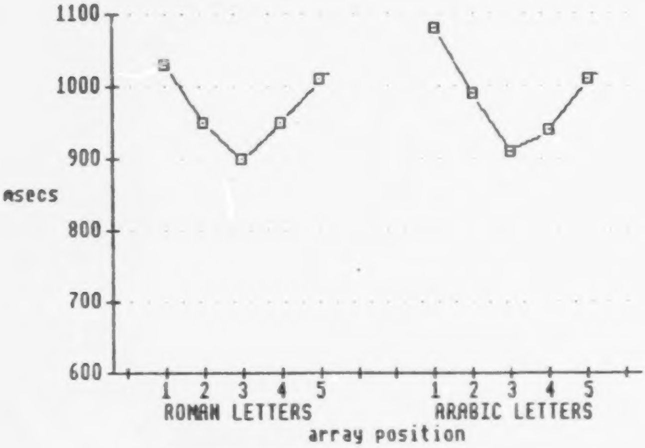


Figure 1b. Typical Arab Search Patterns.

As mentioned above, the major problem with much research in cognitive psychology, especially where pattern and word recognition is concerned, is that research is restricted largely to English native speakers and to the recognition of English with all its attendant problems of irregular orthography. What happens when speakers of other languages scan arrays? What happens when readers using totally different scriptal systems scan arrays?

Recent research with Arabic native speakers (Green & Meara, 1987; Randall & Meara, 1989; Randall, 1989 and Randall, forthcoming) has shown that Arabic native speakers produce U-shaped search strategies for arrays of Arabic letters, Roman alphabet characters and numerals (see Figure 1b). Two interesting points which have emerged from this research are:

a. there is little evidence of a strong right-to-left search strategy with Arabs and
b. increased familiarity with the Roman alphabet (including highly bi-scriptal and bi-lingual subjects) does not appear to alter the basic search patterns.

If we relate these scanning strategies to word recognition strategies in Arabic this would tend to indicate three things. Firstly, that to Arabic speakers the centre of the word is more important than the ends of the word. Secondly, that there would appear to be less necessity in Arabic for scanning through words on a right-to-left basis, suggesting that words could be recognised as "wholes". Finally, that L1 search patterns are very stable and are transferred to L2 reading, even with highly bi-scriptal readers (bilingual Algerian and Tunisian students produced similar U-shaped search patterns with both Roman alphabet and Arabic stimuli, Randall, 1989).

Thus, we have a situation in which Arabic scriptal readers appear to approach scanning tasks in a highly stable manner in which they see the centre of arrays much more quickly than the ends of arrays, producing U-shaped search strategies and with little evidence of a right-to-left scanning movement. These strategies are found both with Arabic characters and Roman alphabet characters and do not change even with highly bi-scriptal subjects.

These subjects all had Arabic as their first language and had all been introduced to the Arabic script prior to learning the Roman alphabet.

One of the interesting features of both the Roman alphabet and the Arabic script is that both have been used by a wide variety of languages as a scriptal system. In Malaysia, the Arabic script was used for four centuries as the main written system and has only recently been replaced by the Roman alphabet as the major system of writing. In Malaysia, then, there are two writing systems in use. The dominant system uses the Roman alphabet, and is the one which is now taught in schools as the first writing system for Bahasa Malaysia. For the purposes of this paper, we shall call 'BM' the system of writing Bahasa Malaysia in the Roman alphabet. The other writing system, taught in schools as the second system, is called 'Jawi' and is written in the Arabic script.

Thus, in the Malaysian context, there is the opportunity to look at the acquisition of the two writing systems in the reverse order. Most students first learn to read Bahasa Malaysia written in the Roman alphabet and then later learn to read Jawi, using the Arabic script. If Malaysian students who had acquired the two scripts in this manner were asked to scan arrays of letters in the two alphabets, which scanning patterns would be observed? Would the patterns produced by the arrays of the two alphabet systems be the same, reinforcing the evidence from the Arabic studies cited above that first language/scriptal scanning strategies are the most dominant and are transferred to second language scanning strategies? Alternatively, would there be evidence of different scanning directions in the different scanning tasks? In short, would there be evidence of interference between the two scriptal systems on the scanning tasks?

Also, if there is evidence of a transfer of scanning strategies from one script to another due to language transfer from BM to Jawi as is suggested from the Arabic data, which scanning strategy would be observed? Would there be evidence of left-to-right scanning strategies in the scanning data for the Arabic script as has been found with English native speakers? Would there be evidence of the 'end-effects' in either the scanning of Roman alphabet stimuli or the Arabic stimuli as has been noted so consistantly with English native speakers? Such data would help us to understand whether the scanning patterns seen with English native speakers are due to recognition of Roman alphabet characters *per se* or whether they are related to the particular language system using that script.

In order to investigate these questions a number of Malaysian students were asked to scan arrays of Roman alphabet and Arabic characters.

The Malaysian subjects

The 21 subjects (18 female and 3 male) participating in the experiments were all attending a two-year university matriculation course at the West Sussex Institute of Higher Education, the successful completion of which would lead to their enrolment on a four-year B.Ed. course at the Institute. The subjects' ages ranged from 17 to 19. They had all completed O'level courses in Malaysia and had been specially selected for overseas training as English language teachers. At the time of participating in the experiments with arrays of Roman alphabet characters, all had been living and studying in England for at least 9 months. All 21 subjects were Muslim, and all were familiar with the Arabic script, having had some tuition both in Jawi and Qoranic studies, although they all usually read Bahasa Malaysia in the Roman alphabet.

They were all relatively fluent readers of English. In the year the data was collected, 20 of the subjects passed the Cambridge First Certificate Examination in English and one the Cambridge Proficiency Examination.

On a questionnaire to establish their familiarity with the Arabic script all subjects reported having studied the Arabic script at school. Most subjects reported having studied Jawi at school for 3 periods a week for six years. Nine subjects reported having had more tuition than this, with the highest being one subject who reported that he had studied the Arabic script for seven periods a week for ten years. Most also reported that they had had formal tuition in the Qoran.

There was much greater variation in the response to the question concerning the amount of time they had spent studying the Qoran in Arabic. Three subjects reported no formal tuition in the Qoran, although one of these subjects reported having studied the Qoran at home. The greatest amount of tuition was one subject who reported 6 hours of study of the Qoran per week for 11 years. The group average was in the region of 6 years of tuition of 4 sessions per week.

The subjects were also asked to report their ability to read both Jawi and the Qoran in Arabic script on a three-point scale: easily/slowly/not at all. For Jawi, 10 subjects reported that they could read Jawi easily and 11 reported that they could read it slowly, whilst 17 reported that they could read the Qoran easily and only 4 reported that they could read it slowly. Thus, it is clear that the group were certainly very familiar with the Arabic script.

Procedure

The experiments were run using a BBC microcomputer to present visual stimuli via a visual display unit (VDU) and to record responses. Reaction times (RT's) for correct "yes" responses were collected, stored and output to a printer at the end of the experiment along with the total number of correct responses and the total number of errors for each individual.

The experiment was controlled by a programme developed by Dr Paul Meara of the Department of Applied Linguistics, Birkbeck College and modified by the author. The programme displayed a single target character in the centre of the VDU for a period of 1 second. This target was then removed, and after a delay of 1 second, the programme displayed a five-character array centred on the fixation point for the target character. The array was removed by the response from the subject. Incorrect responses were indicated to the subject by a 'bleep' from the computer. After an inter-trial delay of 2 seconds the procedure was repeated.

The subjects were all given instructions in English in which they were told that they would be given a target letter followed by a set of five letters and that their task was to say as quickly as possible whether the target letter appeared in the set of five letters or not. They were to respond by pressing one key for "yes" and another key for "no". The experimental trials were divided into four blocks of 100 trials. Before beginning the experimental trials, each subject had 20 practice trials.

Materials

The upper-case Roman alphabet letters were those generated by the BBC micro computer and the Arabic letters used as stimuli can be seen in Figure 2.

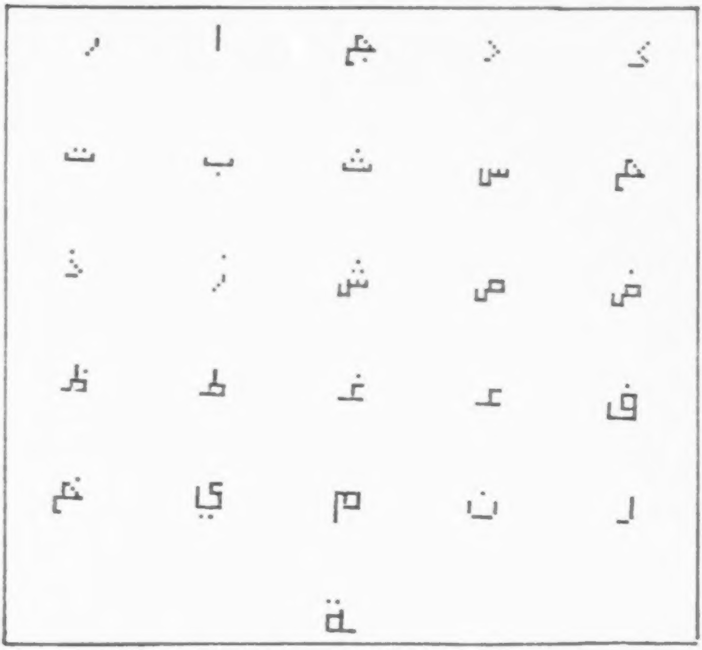


Figure 2. The Arabic Character Set.

Design

The target letter was present in the array on a randomly selected half of the trials, and absent on the other half. When the symbol did appear in the array, it was located equally often at each of the five target positions.

Analysis

The basic design provides a set of five RTs for each subject for each type of letter, corresponding to the five possible target positions. These five data points fall into four simple patterns. They can either represent a straight line (a linear pattern); they can form a U-shaped curve (a quadratic pattern); they can form an S-shaped or Z-shaped curve (a cubic pattern) or they can form an M-shaped or W-shaped curve (a quartic pattern). These patterns can also combine to form other patterns. For example, the normal pattern for English native speakers scanning English upper case letters is an upward-sloping M-shape (see Diagram 1). This is a combination of a linear pattern with a quartic pattern. Analysis of variance and a technique called orthogonal decomposition enables one to establish which patterns are present in a particular set of data.

Results

Error rates both for Arabic characters and Roman letters were generally low. The average error rate for the Roman alphabet characters was 5.81% of the possible correct responses (s.d. = 6.18), and for the Arabic characters was 7.24% of the possible correct responses (s.d. = 4.25). There was no indication of a pay-off between speed and accuracy as with both letter types the correlation coefficient was almost zero (−0.0946 (n.s.) for Roman letters and 0.0325 (n.s.) for Arabic characters). It is interesting to note, however, that the Roman alphabet data included two subjects who produced error rates of 27.5% and 17.5% which were unusually high compared to the rest of the subjects. The subject who produced the highest error rate of 27.5%, produced a very low error rate of 2.5% on the Arabic data and was one of the subjects who reported the highest amount of Arabic tuition on the questionnaire. He was also a student who was identified as one of the weakest students at English in the group by tutors teaching them. His high error rate might thus be related to the degree of reading fluency that this particular subject had in the Roman alphabet.

The mean group response times for the two letter conditions for each array position are summarised in Figure 3 and Table 1.

Table 1
Mean Group Response Times and Standard Deviations for Roman and Arabic letters

		Array position			
		1	2	3	4
a) Roman letters					
RT	780	812	802	795	819
s.d.	205	210	199	194	203
b) Arabic letters					
RT	975	940	937	972	978
s.d.	212	205	206	223	213

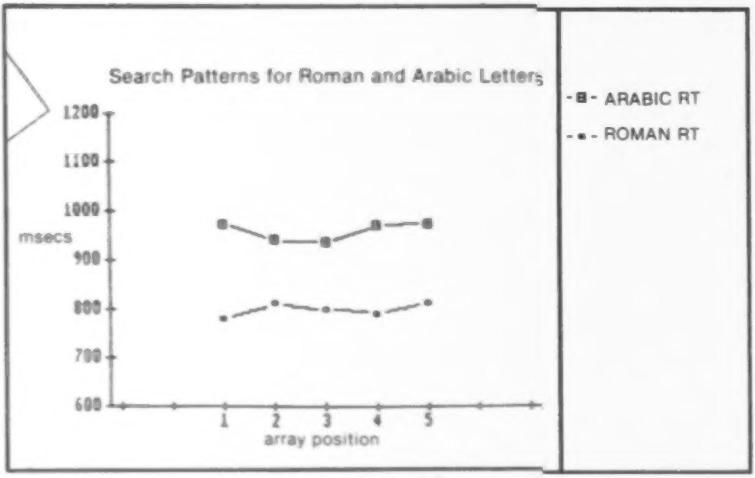


Figure 3. Malaysian Subjects.

These results were submitted to an overall analysis of variance in which the main effects were letter type and letter position within the array. The results of this analysis show a clear and massively reliable difference between the mean response times for each letter type [F(20,1) = 27.63, p < 0.0001]. Mean response times for the Roman alphabet condition were 159 msecs faster than the Arabic letter condition. The analysis did not indicate, however, any significant effect of letter position within the data [F(80,4) = 1.27, p > 0.1] or any interaction between the letter position effect and the letter type [F(80,4) = 1.83, p > 0.1]. These analyses indicate that response times for the group for Roman alphabet characters were significantly faster than their response times for Arabic characters, but that there was no significant difference in the response times for different positions of the letters within the array and the change of stimulus type from Roman to Arabic letters did not produce any significant difference in search pattern.

This pattern of results was confirmed by further analyses of variance in which the data from the two letter conditions were submitted for separate analyses of variance in which the main effect was letter position. On neither analysis was the letter position effect significant. This lack of letter position effect can be clearly seen in Figure 3 in the relative 'flatness' of the two search patterns.

Discussion of the Results

The most striking thing about these results is the quite different search patterns produced by these subjects from those produced by English native speakers or by Arabic native speakers. The subjects did not produce search patterns which resembled either the M-shaped patterns found with English native speakers scanning arrays of Roman alphabet letters or the U-shaped patterns observed with Arabic native speakers scanning arrays of Arabic letters. They might have been expected to produce similar M-shaped search patterns to English native speakers given the fact that these subjects had learnt BM first and given their relative fluency in reading in English. Yet there were clearly no end-effects observable in the data and subjects were producing a horizontal search pattern. Such a pattern would suggest that subjects were paying equal attention to each letter position in the array.

There was also no indication of either a left-to-right or a right-to-left scanning procedure with either of the two types of letters. Whilst previous work with Arabic native speakers had not shown particularly strong right-to-left scanning patterns, the work with English native speakers had clearly shown that left-to-right scanning processes are a strong element of scanning strategies with Roman alphabet letters. It is clear that, although these subjects had learnt to read their native language with a Roman alphabet script, this had not produced a strong left-to-right scanning strategy.

Implications of the Results

One possible explanation of these results is that the two scriptal systems were, in fact, interfering. The scanning habits of BM which would tend to favour a right-to-left scanning strategy would be cancelled out by a right-to-left scanning strategy developed from reading Jawi. Similarly, the centre-out scanning strategy which has been seen with Arabic native speakers and Arabic characters could be overlaid by the 'end-effects' noted with English native speakers and Roman alphabet characters to produce the essentially flat curves found.

Whilst such an interpretation cannot be entirely ruled out, there was no evidence in the data of subjects producing different search patterns. The subjects contained a range of reading abilities in Jawi, and one would have expected to see this range of abilities in Jawi reflected in different search patterns with the Roman alphabet and with Jawi if the two systems were interfering. Yet there was no indication when the data from individual subjects was inspected of such differences between subjects being systematically related to their reading ability in Jawi.

Moreover, there is a growing body of evidence for the persistence of first language reading habits. The persistence of first language scanning strategies with Arab subjects has already been mentioned, and work with Chinese speakers (Green and Meara, 1987; Green, Meara and Court, 1989) has also shown that readers appear to transfer scanning strategies from their first script into the second script. In another area of word recognition and reading, Koda (1988) has also found that first language reading strategies are transferred to second language reading. Thus, it would seem that the scanning patterns associated with the first language are generally transferred to second language reading, even with subjects who are very fluent users of the second language, and the data collected from the Malaysian subjects would also be consistent with such an explanation.

If we can accept that the search patterns we have observed can be related to first language word recognition strategies, then there are two findings in the data which need careful consideration. The first concerns the lack of evidence of a linear left-to-right or right-to-left scanning process in either task. The second concerns the 'shape' of the search patterns observed and particularly the apparent absence of wither 'end-effects' or centre-out (U-shaped) scanning processes. If these are related to first language word recognition strategies, then the data from these subjects raises some interesting questions about the nature of word recognition in Bahasa Malaysia.

It was most surprising not to find a linear scanning process being used by the subjects. In the studies with Arab readers, the relative weakness of a linear scanning process can easily be explained by the relative 'shortness' of words in Arabic. Arabic, as a consonantal language based on a triliteral root system contains very few words of more than seven letters. Indeed, it is difficult to find written words of seven letters in length and to do so one has to look for words which contain a number of morphological transformations. Given the robust psychological principle of "seven plus or minus one" as the amount of information perceivable at one time, it would be quite possible for an Arab reader to take in an Arabic word at a 'glance' and not need to scan through the word. However, this is not so of Bahasa Malaysia. Although words of more than 11 or 12 letters are relatively uncommon, average word length in a passage of formal Bahasa Malaysia would seem to be in the region of six to seven letters, with words of nine or ten letters being really quite frequent. One would thus expect readers of Bahasa Malaysia to need to scan through a word in the same linear fashion as is found with English native speakers.

However, simple word length in terms of number of letters masks an important fundamental difference between Bahasa Malaysia and English concerning the orthographic and syllabic structure. Bahasa Malaysia is orthographically highly regular and has a very regular syllable structure unlike English. A syllabic analysis of the same written text in Bahasa Malaysia reveals a different picture. Somewhere between 60 and 70 percent of the words in this text are two or three syllables long, confirming the description of Malay as *"basically bisyllabic .... (and) .... morphological complexity is .... average to low"* (Clark, 1987:907). In such a language it is possible to read in syllables rather than in individual letters, a situation which does not pertain to English with its highly irregular orthography and complex syllable structure. Thus, it can be argued that Malaysian readers perceive the syllable as the basic unit of the word, not the letter and process words as a sequence of syllables. Such a process would be reinforced by the syllabic method of teaching reading which is used in Malaysian schools, a method which would seem to be highly appropriate to Bahasa Malaysia. Malaysian readers would thus have no necessity to scan through a word on a letter-by-letter basis and thus would not produce the linear scanning patterns seen with English native speakers.

Although not so immediately apparent, perhaps what is even more surprising in the data is the lack of 'shape' to the scanning pattern observed, and an explanation of such a phenomenon is much more problematical. Whilst the 'end-effects' seen with native English speakers is beginning to appear as a phenomenon which is peculiar to English, the heightened attention to stimuli in the centre of an array is a feature of nearly all array-scanning experiments. As discussed above, it is found with native English speakers scanning shape arrays; it is found with native English speakers scanning letter and digit arrays (Green and Supramanian, 1983); it is found with Arab subjects scanning Roman alphabet arrays and Arabic arrays, with Arab subjects and digit arrays (Randall, forthcoming) and with Chinese speakers scanning Chinese characters (Green and Meara, 1987). In fact, the persistence of this feature led many psychologists to look for the explanation of array perception in terms of the mechanisms of foveal perception rather than cognitive processes (Lefton, 1974). The lack of such a phenomenon with the Malaysian subjects must reinforce the growing thesis that the explanation of such perceptual phenomena must, at least with linguistic material, be sought within the cognitive rather than the physiological domain.

We have argued above that the particular scanning patterns seen with English native speakers may be related to processes of word recognition in English, in particular the scanning direction of reading and the salience of initial and final letter sequences. Whilst the left-to-right scanning direction would seem to be self-evident from the process of reading, the salience of initial and final letter sequences needs further discussion.

Given the lack of regularity in English orthography a number of authors have suggested that it is necessary for English readers to have at least two lexical access systems. One is a direct, whole-word recognition process and the other is a phonological decomposition process. (For a review of the evidence for phonological decomposition and whole-word recognition, see McCusker, Hillinger and Bias, 1981). If English readers were to rely entirely on the second method of lexical access there would be a large number of 'false' readings of words in English. Further evidence of the existence of a dual system is provided by the existence of two types of dyslexia in English, phonological and surface dyslexia (Coltheart, 1985). It can be argued that the use of the initial and final letters for lexical access is closely related to the direct, whole-word lexical access route.

The use by different languages of these two access routes has also been investigated by Koda (1988), who divides languages into those which use only a phonological process such as Spanish and Arabic and those which use both systems such as Japanese and English. In her investigation there was a clear difference between the two groups in their sensitivity to phonological as against orthographical features of words.

Although the equation of a consonantal language like Arabic with a regular alphabetic language such as Spanish is questionable, Arabic is certainly orthographically very consistent when compared to English. In this respect, Bahasa Malaysia is much more akin to Spanish and Arabic with an extremely regular letter to sound correspondence. In Bahasa Malaysia, as in Spanish, there would be no necessity for the reader to develop a 'whole word' approach to reading. Phonological decomposition would not lead to the level of false readings of words as it would in English, and thus there is not the necessity for the use of a dual access word recognition system in Bahasa Malaysia. If the 'end-effects' noted with English native speakers and arrays of letters can be related to the salience of initial and final letters in English words and the direct, whole-word lexical access route as argued above, then there would be no reason for readers of Bahasa Malaysia to pay particular attention to initial and final letter sequences in lexical access. Thus, the absence of such 'end-effects' in this data would be related to the orthographical regularity of Bahasa Malaysia.

The absence of increased attention to the centre of the array in the Malaysian data can also be explained if a cognitive rather than a physiological approach is used to explain the data. In Arabic, with its regular but highly complex morphological structure and its reliance on the triliteral root form of the verb as the basis for the lexicon, it is highly likely that the reader will pay attention to the middle of a word which will contain the triliteral root. Thus, one can explain the attention paid to the centre of an array by Arabic subjects as a result of the search for the root of the word. Similarly English, although not as morphologically regular as Arabic, has a considerable number of inflectional and derivational affixes (Nagy and Andersdon, 1984) and one possible access route for English words would be via the root of the word. This would explain the attention paid to the centre of an array by English native speakers.

In Bahasa Malaysia, with its relatively low level of morphological complexity combined with a word structure consisting of a small number of regular syllables, there may be little advantage in lexical access time by decomposing words into the base form. Thus, a reader of Bahasa Malaysia would not need to pay extra attention to the centres of words in order to recognise them and consequently there would be no extra attention paid to the centres of arrays in our experiments.

Whilst these explanations of the reasons for the array-scanning behaviour and lexical access in Bahasa Malaysia need further investigation, they do raise some interesting questions concerning the nature of lexical access in Bahasa Malaysia. The evidence from these experiments would suggest that it is not the different scriptal system of Jawi which is the important factor but the structure of Bahasa Malaysia itself. Scanning in both Roman alphabet and Arabic letters produced identical patterns which are perhaps related to the structure of words in Bahasa Malaysia rather than to the scriptal systems. This pattern is radically different from the patterns produced by English native speakers and Arabic native speakers. It would thus appear that the process of word recognition in Bahasa Malaysia, whether in the Roman alphabet Malaysia or Jawi, is perhaps interfering with word recognition in English.

References

Clark, C. (1987). Austronesian Languages, in Comrie, B. (Ed.); *The Worlds Major Languages*. London & Sydney: Croom Helm.

Coltheart, M. (1985). Cognitive neuropsychology and the study of reading. In Posner (ed.) *Attention and Performance XI*. Hillsdale, N. J.: Lawrence Earlbaum Assoc.

Green, D.W., Hammond, E.J. and Supramanian, S. (1983). Letters and shapes: developmental changes in search strategies. *British Journal of Psychology*. Vol. 74, 11-6.

Green, D. and Meara, M. (1987). The effects of script on visual search, *Second Language Research,* Vol. 3, 2, 101–17.

Green, D., Meara, P. and Court, S. (1989). Are numbers logographs? *Journal of Research in Reading,* Vol. 12.1, 49–58.

Hammond, E.J. and Green, D.W. (1982). Detecting targets in letter and and non-letter arrays. *Canadian Journal of Psychology,* Vol. 7, 314–57.

Koda, K. (1988). Cognitive process in second language reading: transfer of L1 reading skills and strategies. *Second Language Research.* Vol. 4, 2:133–56.

Lefton, L.A. (1974). Probing information from briefly presented arrays. *Journal of Experimental Psychology,* Vol. 103, 958–70.

Mason, M. (1982). Recognition time for letters and nonletters: effects of serial position, array size, and processing order. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Human Perception and Performance.* Vol. 8 No. 5, 724–38.

Nagy, W.E. and Anderson, R.C. (1984). How many words are there in printed school English? *Reading Research Quarterly,* XIX/3, 304–30.

Randall, A.M. (1989). Recognising Words in English and Arabic. PhD Thesis, University of London.

Randall, M. (forthcoming). Recognising numbers in different scripts. *Second Language Research,* 1991.

Randall, M. and Meara, P., (1988). How Arabs Read Roman Letters, *Reading in a Foreign Language,* Vol. 4 No. 2, 133–45.

Current Research in Southeast Asia

Yolanda Beh
RELC

Information on language-related research pertaining to Southeast Asia is always useful, hence the continuous attempts to obtain reports for inclusion in this section of the journal. The task of collection will not be so difficult if researchers would respond to the appeal for reports by sending write-ups on their work using the same headings that appear below (Title, Description, Principal researcher, Other researcher/s, Sponsoring or financing body, if applicable) or by requesting a form for completion. The contact address is the following:

Librarian and Head of Information Centre
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore.

The opportunity is now taken to express grateful thanks to all researchers for their past and current contributions.

MALAYSIA

Title:	**Teaching-Learning Bahasa Malaysia in the KBSM Bahasa Malaysia Form I and II Classes**
Description:	The study investigates the implementation of the New Bahasa Malaysia syllabus in Form I and II classes. It aims at evaluating the effectiveness of the implementation from the viewpoint of the teachers' preparedness and their confidence and competence in teaching Bahasa Malaysia according to the new syllabus. It intends to identify areas of weaknesses and also problems faced by teachers in the process of implementing the new syllabus.
Principal researcher:	Safiah Osman Abdul Aziz Abdul Talib Lecturers Faculty of Education University of Malaya
Other researcher:	Koh Boh Boon Associate Professor Faculty of Education

University of Malaya
Lembah Pantai
59100 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia

Title: **An Applied Linguistic Analysis of the English Language Programme for Non-TESL Trainees in Malaysian Teacher Training Colleges**

Description: This study aims to evaluate the major features of the current English Language Programme being implemented in teacher training colleges for the non-TESL trainees. It will show to what extent the programme is succeeding in meeting the needs of these trainees.

The objectives of this study are (i) to identify some of the relevant socio-politico factors that led to the formulation of this programme, (ii) to identify the rationale underlying the salient features of the English Language Programme, namely, the placement test, the syllabus guide, evaluation procedures and the certification at the end of the course, (iii) to evaluate the actual implementation of the programme in the classroom by the teacher trainers, (iv) to verify the effectiveness of the programme as perceived by the trainers, trainees, and trained teachers, and (v) to suggest alternatives to the weaknesses identified by the study.

Data collection is mainly through questionnaires, interviews and primary document searches.

Thesis (M.A. (Appl. Ling.)) - National University of Singapore.

Principal researcher: Nadarajah Vedanayagam
Lecturer (Teacher Training)
Maktab Perguruan Tg Ampuan Afzan
Semambu
25350 Kuantan, Pahang DM
Malaysia

SINGAPORE

Title: **Interlanguage Variability in Verb Tense and Aspect**

Description: This study looks at variability in language use in a sample of 17 Singaporean Chinese university students learning English as a second language. The aim is to study the variable use of tense and aspect across tasks. These tasks were devised based on the concept of attention to language form. Four tasks were used: group discussion, interview, essay and language test. On the continuum of attention given to form, the group discussion represents the task requiring the least attention to form and the language test, the most. The accuracy rates were taken for all the four tasks and there was no clear pattern of correspondence between the accuracy rates and the attention factor. To explain the variability, a pragmatic approach which seems to better explain the accuracy results was adopted.

Thesis (Ph.D.) - University of Aston.

Principal researcher: Koo Swit Ling
Lecturer
School of Mechanical & Production Engineering
Nanyang Technological University
Nanyang Avenue
Singapore 2263

Title: **Theories of Reading and Writing and Their Implications for Higher Language Education**

Description: The aim of this thesis is to critically examine different theories of reading and writing, bringing together insights from disparate traditions, in order to assess their relationship and possible contribution to tertiary level language education and higher education in general. The different conceptualisations of writing are explored in the context of three related issues: the role of education (education for social/academic conformity vs education for the fulfilment of the individual); the function of language (language as a medium of meaning-exchange vs language as an instrument of meaning-generation); and, pedagogical applications (the conceptualisations of the psychological/cognitive processes involved in writing vs the instructional procedures for the promotion of these processes). It is hoped that what will emerge from the study is a confirmation of the common-sense/intuitive view that reading and writing are inextricably fused and that successful pedagogy attempts to integrate them rather than treat them as independent skills.

Thesis (Ph.D.) - University of Birmingham.

Principal researcher: Sunita Anne Abraham
Senior Tutor
Department of English Language & Literature
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 0511

Sponsoring or financing body: National University of Singapore and British Council

THAILAND

Title: **Cross-cultural Strategies and the Use of English in Written Business Discourse**

Description: The research project will examine written communications between native English-speaking businessmen and non-native English-speaking businessmen, particularly Thai, with an attempt to explore patterns of discourse - the way information and arguments are structured to find out strategies or moves they use to accomplish their goals in business dealings. Furthermore it will investigate the differences in their selection of strategies and their choices of moves and expressions. An explanatory approach will be adopted to find out whether cultural factors can account for such differences, if any, and whether such differences will bring about misunderstanding, communication breakdown or failures.

The methods of data collection consist of (i) the analysis of samples of written business communications, namely, letters and faxes in Thai and English collected from a number of firms in Australia and in Thailand whose business involves merchandising, (ii) a questionnaire administered to staff of the same types of firms in Thailand and Australia, and (iii) interviews conducted with the respondents of the questionnaire. The findings will shed some light on the nature of written business discourse and the role culture plays in business dealings and its implications for course design.

Thesis (Ph.D.) - The Flinders University of South Australia.

Principal researcher: Kulaporn Hiranburana
Assistant Professor
Chulalongkorn University Language Institute
Prem Purachatra Building
Phayathai Road
Bangkok 10330
Thailand

Sponsoring or financing body: Australian International Development Assistance Bureau

968

BOOK REVIEW

Barbara Kroll (ed.) 1990 *Second Language Writing: Research Insights for the Classroom.* **The Cambridge Applied Linguistics Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.**

Antonia Chandrasegaran
National University of Singapore
Singapore

Research reports on ESL writing and articles on the theoretical perspectives of teaching/learning ESL writing have hitherto appeared mainly in journals like *TESOL Quarterly* and in collected studies not exclusively devoted to second language writing (e.g. Jones and Tetroe's study in Matsuhashi (1987). With the publication of *Second Language Writing* we have for the first time articles on theoretical approaches to writing as well as reports of the most recent research into second language composing collected in one book.

The book is divided into two sections. The first presents the current state of thinking on theoretical issues related to writing and the teaching of writing to ESL students. The second consists of reports of empirical studies on various aspects of second language writing: teacher feedback, the use of the first language in second language composing, the use of background reading in student writing, etc.

Section I promises to "address many of the paramount concerns of the second language writing teacher and researcher" (p. xx). The articles in the section do provide an overview of key issues in second language writing instruction, viz. theoretical approaches to the teaching/learning of second language writing (Chapters 1 and 2), research on second language composing processes (Chapter 3), teacher response to student writing (Chapter 4), the testing of writing (Chapter 5), and the relationship between reading and writing skills (Chapter 6). How adequately are these topics dealt with? This review attempts an evaluation with three groups of readers in mind: classroom teachers, course designers, and researchers.

Beyond describing current theoretical approaches to writing, the first two chapters provide little in the way of an in-depth examination of models of composing current in writing research. No attempt is made to evaluate models in the literature, like Flower and Hayes' process model (Flower and Hayes, 1981a; Hayes and Flower, 1980), to determine what features they contain that reflect second language writing and how they fail to represent adequately the ESL student's composing processes. Nor are any concrete suggestions made for developing new models that researchers can adopt as a framework for investigating second language writing.

The first chapter by Silva, which describes approaches to second language writing in recent and current use, is disappointingly sketchy. Silva is of the opinon that current approaches are not grounded in "adequate theory and credible research" (p. 20). He appears to have dismissed as not 'credible' the studies of process-oriented researchers such as Flower and Hayes (1981b; Hayes and Flower, 1980), and Matsuhashi (1981; 1982; 1987). Although these researchers investigated first language college student writers, their findings and the theory derived from those findings are not entirely inapplicable to ESL students in comparable academic settings, especially if we define second langauge writing as Silva does, as "purposeful and contextualized communicative interaction, which involves both the construction and transmission of knowledge" (p. 18).

Silva says nothing specific about the direction ESL composition theory development should take beyond a generally worded suggestion that ESL theories should be evaluated "within a coherent model of the interrelationship of ESL writing theory, research, and practice" (p. 19). He declares that it is not prudent to adopt L1 theory but does not scrutinize L1 models to demonstrate how they fail to be adequate for L2 writing.

In the second chapter Ann Johns describes how three approaches to composition theory (process approaches, interactive approaches, and the social constructionist view) envision the writer, the audience, reality, and language. One of Johns' objectives is to provoke thinking in theory development in ESL writing. Whether this objective is achieved is questionable because her article, like Silva's, provides no concrete lead for developing a model of ESL composing. Chapter 2's description of the three theoretical approaches is only sufficient to fulfil Johns' second objective which is to help teachers recognize their theoretical position.

Readers looking for a considered evaluation of how insights from L1 writing theory and research can contribute to theory building in ESL writing will not find their expectations met in the first two chapters. However, research students and research-minded teachers in search of an overview of process-oriented studies of L2 composing will find their need amply met in Chapter 3 by Krapels. The author of Chapter 3, Krapels, also provides a comprehensive list of suggestions for further research and advises that future investigators of ESL writing should fully describe subject and task variables and replicate the best research designs so that comparability across studies is possible. Her observation that lack of comparability impedes the development of knowledge and theory in the field is valid.

Of the remaining chapters in Section I Chapter 4 reviews issues relating to teacher feedback on student writing, Chapter 5 is concerned with testing writing, and Chapter 6 looks at the relationship between reading and writing. Chapter 4 will be discussed later in this paper with Chapters 10 and 11 which also deal with teacher feedback. Chapter 5 by Hamp-Lyons is a thought-provoking examination of the construct validity of writing tests in terms of task (topic), writer, scoring procedure, and reader. It should interest teachers and administrators involved in settting direct writing tests.

In Chapter 6 Eisterhold discusses research findings and theoretical considerations on the reading-writing relationship and reviews the research relating to the question of whether there is transfer of literacy skills from L1 to L2. She concludes that literacy skills do transfer across languages and modalities but the transfer is not automatic, a conclusion that should alert teachers to the possibility of exploiting the reading-writing relationship and make them think about the need to teach it explicitly.

Section II of the book contains reports of empirical research which, Kroll promises, will provide insights to guide teachers in making teaching and curriculum decisions. Teachers will find Chapters 8 (on teaching a revision strategy), 10 and 11 (both on teacher response to student writing) and 13 (on how students use background text in academic writing) useful and stimulating.

Chapter 8 by Connor and Farmer describes a method of teaching students a revision strategy for improving global and local coherence in their writing. The strategy is topical structure analysis, a method of studying the semantic relationships between sentence topics and the discourse topic by tracing these relationships across sequences of sentences to gauge the development of coherent meaning. Although the authors present no statistical evidence of the effectiveness of the method, beyond reporting anecdotal evidence of success, writing teachers who bemoan the impoverished development and gaps in coherence in student writing may be inspired by Chapter 8 to give topical structure analysis a try.

Chapters 10 and 11, together with Chapter 4 in Section I, will set readers thinking about the nature and purpose of the feedback teachers give on students' compositions. In Chapter 4 Leki presents an overview of the issues involved in teacher response to student writing. Leki's review of both L1 and L2 research on feedback leads her to conclude that there is "depressingly little evidence to indicate that careful annotation of papers actually helps student writers improve" (p. 60). Neither can Leki find conclusive research to explain why this is so. A possible reason is suggested in Chapter 11 by Fathman and Whalley who found that even when no feedback was given (one of the treatments in their study), students significantly improved the content of their essays. Clearly, as Fathman and Whalley conclude, it is the act of rewriting that brings about improvement.

It follows then that teacher response given while the essay is in the process of being written is more likely to lead to improved quality than feedback given after the essay is completed. In fact, Leki's review of the research (in Chapter 4) reveals that intervening as students write does result in improvement in student writing. Teachers committed to a process approach to composition will be encouraged by this.

Should teachers pay more attention to form (grammar) or to content when giving feedback? This question is addressed in Fathman and Whalley's study (Chapter 11). One finding they report is that of the subjects given grammar feedback only, all improved their grammar scores; but not all those given content feedback only improved their scores for content. This finding does not unequivocally imply that grammar feedback is more effective than content feedback. As the researchers themselves acknowledge, the content feedback was in the form of cryptic comments ("add details", "develop paragraphs") which gave students no specific direction on how to improve content (e.g. add what details). Rather, the finding should be read as an indication of the need for further research on how content feedback should be communicated so that improvement in content and development takes place.

Do teachers and their students share a common perception about the purpose and role of feedback? Chapter 10, by Cohen and Cavalcanti, alerts teachers to the possibility of a mismatch between teachers' intentions in feedback and students' expectations and perceptions of the role of feedback. Cohen and Cavalcanti found instances of such a mismatch in their study. They also found that teachers' claimed agendas for providing feedback (what they claim to focus on in marking) did not always coincide with their actual feedback.

Chapters 4, 10 and 11 will certainly provide insights to teachers who are questioning their methods of responding to student writing and are seeking new ways of helping their students to improve as writers and revisers.

Teachers and course administrators involved in training ESL students for the demands of academic writing should read Chapter 13. It reports a study by Campbell that shows how native and non-native speaker university students use information from a background reading text in their own academic writing. One of Campbell's findings is that the incorporation of information from the reading text into the nonnative speaker subjects' own writing is not as smooth as that in the compositions of native speaker students. In the ESL students' compositions quotations, copying, and paraphrase of source information "produced momentarily elaborative discourse within the context of their otherwise simpler language" (p. 224), resulting in a style and tone that were not consistently academic.

This finding and others Campbell reports may be familiar to college teachers who grade ESL students' essays. Nevertheless, studies like Campbell's are necessary because they constitute documented evidence of teachers' hitherto unverified impressions about student writing and thereby clarify for us what skills students need to be taught to produce better academic essays, so that adjustments to pedagogy can be made.

While the value of chapters 8, 10, 11 and 13 lies in the insights they offer to practising teachers interested in improving their methods, the value of Chapter 9, by Kroll, lies in its debunking of two assumptions common among student writers, teachers and curriculum designers. The first assumption is that if students are allowed more time instead of writing under pressure of time as in timed examinations, better essays will be produced. In answer to the question that serves as the title of the chapter, "What does time buy?", Kroll's study reveals that time does not bring a significant reduction of syntactic error or improvement in rhetorical competence, i.e. organization, coherence and discourse fluency.

The second assumption Kroll's study disproves is that bad essays are the result of bad grammar. Kroll found that performance at the syntactic level (i.e. the ability to write grammatically well-formed sentences) is not connected to performance at the rhetorical level (i.e. the ability to construct an organized and coherent discourse). The lack of relationship between syntactic accuracy and rhetorical competency should introduce more than an element of doubt into the minds of teachers who believe in the efficacy of correcting grammar as the means to improving writing skillls.

The remaining two chapters in Section II have little concrete to offer to teachers but may be informative for researchers with an interest in the topics investigated: the use of L1 in L2 writing (Chapter 7), and the effect of topic types on surface features in student compositions (Chapter 12).

In Chapter 7 Friedlander reports that students produced more detailed plans and wrote better essays when they generated plans in the language in which they acquired the topic knowledge, and he concludes that there are positive effects of using L1 during planning and writing if L1 is the topic language. It is difficult to see how Friedlander's conclusion applies in the very common situation where ESL tertiary students have to write essays in English to indicate their mastery of topic knowledge that had been acquired through the medium of English.

Chapter 12, by Reid, reports a quantitative analysis of the syntax and lexicon in essays written in response to different types of topic tasks. It being a quantitative study, Reid's results consist of number of words, percent of short sentences, and such counts of surface features. The practical value of these word/sentence counts to the teacher who wants to know how topic type affects performance of rhetorical functions is doubtful. Reid tells us, for instance, that subjects wrote longer essays when the topic required description and interpretation of a chart or graph than when the topic required comparison/contrast and taking a position. However, in the absence of data about the communicative functions the subjects were unable to perform for each topic task, this finding does not help teachers to decide how they can help students improve their composing processes for different topic types. In fairness to Reid, she does express an awareness that quantitative analysis "provides only partial knowledge of the intricacies of rhetoric" (p. 195).

Kroll says in her introduction that what teachers of second language writing need "is both a firm grounding in the theoretical issues of first and second language writing and an understanding of a broad range of pedagogical issues that shape classroom writing instruction" (p. 2). *Second Language Writing* does deal with some important theoretical and pedagogical issues related to second language writing. Teachers will find in this book insights and ideas that will stimulate them to rethink their theoretical position and methodology, while research students and research-minded teachers will find in it many suggestions for further research on second language writing.

References

Flower, L. and Hayes, J.R. 1981a. A Cognitive Process Theory of Writing. College Composition and Communication, 32:365–87.

Flower, L. and Hayes, J.R. 1981b. The Pregnant Pause; An Inquiry into the Nature of Planning. Research in the Teaching of English. 15: 229–44.

Hayes, J.R. and Flower, L. 1980. Identifying the Organization of Writing Processes. In L.W. Gregg and E.R. Steinberg (eds.) Cognitive Processes in Writing. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Jones S. and Tetroe, J. 1987. Composing in a Second Language. In A. Matsuhashi (ed.) Writing in Real Time. Norwood, N.J.:Ablex.

Matsuhashi, A. 1981. Pausing and Planning: The Tempo of Written Discourse Production. Research in the Teaching of English. 15:113-34.

Matsuhashi, A. 1982. Explorations in the Real-Time Production of Written Discourse. In M. Nystrand (ed.) What Writers Know. New York: Academic Press.

Matsuhashi, A. 1987. Revising the Plan and Altering the Text. In A. Matsuhashi (ed.) Writing in Real Time. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

1. Abbs, Brian, Freebairn, Ingrid. 1991. Blueprint two. Student's book. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
2. ______. 1991. Blueprint two. Workbook. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
3. Allwright, Dick and Bailey, Kathleen M. 1991. Focus on the language classroom. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
4. Andrews, R. G. H. 1990. Written English for business: second level. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
5. Bagley, Desmond. 1991. The freedom trap. London: HarperCollins.
6. Bater, Bernard and Lees, Gerald. 1990. Written English for business: third level. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
7. Brumfit, Christopher; Moon, Jayne and Tongue, Ray (eds.). 1991. Teaching English to children: from practice to principle. London: CollinsELT.
8. Carter, Ronald and Long, Michael N. 1991. Teaching literature. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
9. Collins COBUILD English guides 1: prepositions. 1991. London: HarperCollins.
10. Collins COBUILD English guides 2: word formation. 1991. London: HarperCollins.
11. Collins COBUILD student's grammar. Classroom edition. 1991. London: HarperCollins.
12. Corbett, Jim. 1990. English for international banking and finance. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
13. Forrester, Anthony and Savage, Alison. 1991. Take 2. Student's book. London: CollinsELT.
14. Fried-Booth, Diana L. 1991. Focus on PET. London: CollinsELT.
15. ______. 1991. Focus on PET: preliminary English test. London: Collins ELT.
16. Hall, Nick and Shepheard, John. 1991. The anti-grammar grammar book: discovering activities for grammar teaching. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
17. Hess, Natalie. 1991. Headstarts: one hundred original pre-text activities. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
18. Hollett, Vicki. 1991. Business objectives. Student's book. - Teacher's book. - Cassette tape. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
19. Holme, Randal. 1991. Talking texts: innovative recipes for intensive reading. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
20. Hopkins, Andy, Potter, *Joc*. 1991. The sourcebook: an alternative English course. Pre-intermediate. Workbook. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
21. James, K.; Jordan, R.R. and Matthews, A.J. 1991. Listening comprehension & note-taking. Revised and enlarged edition. London: CollinsELT.
22. Kenworthy, Joanne. 1991. Language in action: an introduction to modern linguistics. London: Longman.
23. McCarthy, Michael. 1991. Discourse analysis for language teachers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
24. McRae, John. 1991. Literature with a small 'l'. London: Macmillan.
25. O'Dell, Felicity. 1991. Pitman examinations: English for speakers of other languages: practice tests. Basic level. - Elementary level. Harlow, Essex: Longman.

26. Potter, Mike. 1991. International issues. Teacher's book. Basingstoke, Hamps.: Macmillan.
27. Powell, Debra and McHugh, Madeline, 1991. Compact II: early intermediate. Student's and practice book. - Teacher's book. - Cassette tape. London: Collins.
28. ______. 1991. Compact: intermediate. Student's and practice book. - Teacher's book with placement test. London: CollinsELT.
29. Shaw, Katy. 1991. Collins COBUILD English grammar exercises. London: CollinsELT.
30. Shepherd, John, Cox, Frances with Roberts, Paul. 1991. The sourcebook: an alternative English course. Pre-intermediate. Student's book. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
31. Stanton, Alan. 1990. Written English for business: first level. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
32. Swindells, Adrienne. 1991. Nelson Mandela. London: HarperCollins.
33. Vale, David. 1990. Early bird 1. Student's book. - Teacher's book. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
34. ______. 1991. Early bird 2. Student's book. - Teacher's book. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
35. Webster, Diana, Worrall, Anne. 1991. English together. Pupils' book 1. - Action book 1. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
36. Woolrich, Cornell. 1991. Rear window. London: HarperCollins.
37. Young, Richard. 1991. Variation in interlanguage morphology. New York: Peter Lang.

RELC

ANNOUNCEMENT

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

Language Teacher Education in a Fast-Changing World

Singapore, 20-23 April 1992

For more information, please contact:

CHAIRMAN,
SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE,
SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
30 ORANGE GROVE ROAD
SINGAPORE 1025
TEL. (65) 7379044
FAX. (65) 7342753

PROSPECT

THE JOURNAL OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Prospect is the national professional journal of the Australian Adult Migrant (Immigrant) Educational Program (AMEP). This Commonwealth-funded program offers English as a Second Language and Orientation tuition to approximately 100,000 adult immigrants to Australia from all over the world each year.

Jill Burton, Editor

Reference Panel includes
Professor J. Anderson
Flinders University of S.A.
Professor H. Holec
Universite de Nancy 11
Dr. D. Ingram
Brisbane College of Advanced Education
Mr. H. Nicholas
La Trobe University
Dr. M. Pieneman
University of Sydney
Professor J. Richards
University of Hawaii

It publishes articles, notes, reports and reviews on applied linguistic and teaching concerns related to the adult E.S.L. field. Prospect is published three times a year by the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research. Information about subscription rates and advertisements can be obtained from:

GERD S. STABLER
SALES AND MARKETING MANAGER
NCELTR ◆ SCHOOL of ENGLISH and LINGUISTIS ◆ MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY ◆
SYDNEY ◆ NEW SOUTH WALES 2109 ◆ AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE (02) 805 7673 TELEX MACUNI AA122377 FACSIMILE (02) 805 7849

CROSS CURRENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

***Cross Currents* is a semi-annual publication of the Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) which provides a forum for the interdisciplinary exchange of ideas within the areas of cross-cultural communication and language skill acquisition and instruction. At *Cross Currents*, we are particularly committed to issues concerning both the theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, English language teaching as it applies to Japan, and English as an International Language.**

Recent contributors to *Cross Currents* include:

Robert O'Neill
Braj Kachru
Alan Maley
Walter Hirtle
Richard Via
Larry Smith
Paul LaForge

SUBSCRIPTIONS	**Single issue**	**1 year**	**2 years**
Inside Japan*	¥1,300	¥2,600	¥5,150
Outside Japan — Individual Subscription	$8.00	$15.00	$25.00
Outside Japan — Institutional Rate		$19.50	$35.00

* *Special rates available for JALT members. (See postal form in the Language Teacher.)*

• ***Japan Subscriptions***:
School Book Service
FI Building 4F
1-26-5 Takadanobaba
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
03-200-4531
(By postal transfer to Tokyo postal account No. 9-86192, or cash delivery - Genkin Kakitome.)

- Current Issues are also available in major Japanese bookstores through YOHAN in Japan.

- Back Issues are available from Cross Currents.

• ***Outside Japan***:
Cross Currents
Language Institute
of Japan
4-14-1 Shiroyama
Odawara, Kanagawa 250
Japan
(Make checks payable to *Cross Currents* (LIOJ) drawn on a U.S. bank.)

ARE THESE ON YOUR READING LIST?

ISSN 0289-7938
全国語学教育学会
VOL. XII, NO. 12
NOVEMBER 1988

THE Language Teacher

THE JAPAN
ASSOCIATION OF
LANGUAGE TEACHERS
JALT
¥350

JALT JOURNAL

Publications of

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

The Language Teacher
A monthly magazine with features, reviews, meeting announcements, employment opportunities, etc.

JALT Journal
A semi-annual journal featuring articles relevant to language teaching/learning in Japan and Asia

Annual Membership Fees (including subscriptions to both publications)
Domestic: Regular, ¥6,000; Joint, ¥10,000; Student, ¥4,000; Associate, ¥50,000
Overseas: sea mail, US$30; air mail, US$40
Send remittance by bankers draft in yen drawn on a Japanese bank, or dollars drawn on an American bank.
The postal giro account may also be used by international subscribers.
Postal furikae (giro) account: Kyoto 15892, "JALT"

JALT International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning
An annual event featuring over 300 lectures/workshops/demonstrations.
Over 2,000 participants yearly.

November 3–5, 1989 — Okayama
November 23–25, 1990 — Tokyo area
November 2–4, 1991 — To be announced

Send requests for further information and remittances to:
JALT, Lions Mansion Kawaramachi #111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-agaru
Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan. Tel.: (075) 361-5428; Fax: (075) 361-5429

Subscription form

RELC JOURNAL

A Journal of Language Teaching and Research
in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and a subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is eighteen Singapore dollars (S$18.00) for subscription within SEAMEO countries and US$18.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and sent it to

The Publications Officer
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
RELC Building
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at S$7.00*/US$7.00 + per copy.

For the complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications Officer.

I enclose S$18.00*/US$18.00 + . Please send me the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for..

Name:..

Address:..

....

....

* within SEAMEO countries
+ other countries

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Clarification:

The present members of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) are: Negara Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

GUIDELINES

A PERIODICAL FOR CLASSROOM LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Every issue of *Guidelines* is a unique collection of practical ideas that have direct usefulness for the classroom teacher. Articles are written in a simple, readable style.

• Vocabulary Teaching	June 1980	• Drama Activities	Dec. 1983
• Audio-Visual Aids	Dec. 1980	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No. 1)	June 1984
• Language Games	June 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No 2)	Dec. 1984
• Writing Activities	Dec. 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 1)	June 1985
• Study Skills	June 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 2)	Dec. 1985
• Group Activities	Dec. 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 8 No. 1)	June 1986
• Classrooms Tests	June 1983	• Classroom Interaction	Dec. 1986

From the June 1984 issues onwards each issue covers a variety of topics in its selection of articles.

Guidelines is published twice a year, in June and December.
Individual copies can be ordered for S$7.00/US$6.00. Reserve future copies with the detachable money-saving coupon below. The annual subscription is S$14.00 (within SEAMEO countries) and US$14.00 for other countries.

Please begin my subscription for Guidelines with the issue for

(month) ____________________ 19 ____________________.

Enclosed is S$/US$ .... (Bank draft/Money order)

Name .... (Block letters)

Address (in full) ....

....

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copy must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, e.g., the suffix-*s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text.

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221–222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14–16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, 221–254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

VOLUME 23 NUMBER 1 JUNE 1992

Articles

Ho Mian Lian	**The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis and Singaporean English**	1
Yvette Field and Yip Lee Mee Oi	**A Comparison of Internal Conjunctive Cohesion in the English Essay Writing of Cantonese Speakers and Native Speakers of English**	15 ✓
Karuna Kumar	**Does Class Size Really Make A Difference? — Exploring Classroom Interaction in Large and Small Classes**	29 ✓
Oladejo J. A.	**Studies in Language Learning in Large Classes: A Critical Appraisal**	48 ✓
Fang Xuelan and Graeme Kennedy	**Expressing Causation in Written English**	62 ✓
Jack C Richards, Peter Tung and Peggy Ng	**The Culture of the English Language Teacher: A Hong Kong Example**	81 ✓
Ken Sheppard	**Two Feedback Types: Do They Make A Difference?**	103 ~~104~~ ✓
Yolanda Beh	**Current Research in Southeast Asia**	111 ✓

Book Reviews

Donna M. T. Cr. Farina	**The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions and Models of Non-native Englishes**	118
Susan Kaldor	**Discourse Analysis for Language Teacher**	124
Publications Received		127

995

PUBLISHED BY THE SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, SINGAPORE

Editorial Committee

Makhan L Tickoo *Editor*
Audrey Ambrose-Yeoh *Review Editor*
Andrea H Peñaflorida
Yolanda Beh
Melchor Tatlonghari
John Honeyfield
Joseph Foley
V K Bhatia

NOTES FOR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Asia.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$18.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$18.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal*, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of the respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Regional Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization.

(Notes for Subscribers continued on inside back cover)

RELC

© REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1991
ISSN 0033-6882

986

EXCHANGE

RELC JOURNAL

Volume 23

Number 1

June 1992

RELC P400-92

987

The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis and Singaporean English

Ho Mian Lian
School of Accountancy and Business
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Abstract

In his rather controversial book "Roots of Language" 1981, Bickerton claims that 'many of the prerequisites for human language were laid down in the course of mammalian evolution, and that the most critical of those prerequisites ... was the capacity to construct quite elaborate mental representations of the external world....' (Bickerton 1981:294-295). The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH) concerns 'a biological' or 'a species-specific program for language, genetically coded and expressed in ways still largely mysterious, in the structures and modes of operation of the human brain' (Bickerton 1984:173). Among the important distinctions of the LBH are those between state and process, punctual and non-punctual, specific and non-specific and causative and non-causative. Such distinctions are clearly evident when a pidgin becomes a creole. The innate punctual/non-punctual distinction is manifested in Bickerton's investigation of past tense marking in 2 decreolizing situations - Guyana and Hawaii. Verbs which were used non-punctually received a lower marking for past tense than verbs that were used punctually.

What are the factors which influence variation in past tense marking of Chinese Singaporeans? The substratum language may have a strong influence since in Chinese there is no morphological change to the past form of the verb. Or it could be that the innate Language Bioprogram has an influence as well. Naturally, other factors such as teaching and general language learning strategies cannot be ignored.

This paper is based on an empirical investigation of recordings of spontaneous speech of a hundred ethnically Chinese Singaporeans who have had English-medium education and discusses variation in past tense marking in Singaporean English as well as pedagogical implications of the LBH for second language acquisition.

Introduction

In his rather controversial book "Roots of Language" 1981, Bickerton claims that 'many of the prerequisites for human language were laid down in the course of mammalian evolution, and that the most critical of those prerequisites ... was the capacity to construct quite elaborate mental representations of the external world....' (Bickerton 1981:294–295). The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis (LBH) concerns 'a biological' or 'a species-specific program for language, genetically coded and expressed in ways still largely mysterious, in the structures and modes of operation of the human brain' (Bickerton 1984a:173). Among the important distinctions of the LBH are those between state and process, punctual and non-punctual, specific and non-specific and causative and non-causative. Such distinctions are clearly evident when a pidgin becomes a creole. The innate punctual-non-punctual distinction is manifested in Bickerton's investigation of past tense marking in 2 decreolizing situations – Guyana and Hawaii. Verbs which were used non-punctually received a lower marking for past tense than verbs that were used punctually.

What are the factors which influence past tense marking of Chinese Singaporeans? The substratum language may have a strong influence since in Chinese there is no morphological change to the past form of the verb. Or it could be that the innate Language Bioprogram has an influence as well. Naturally, other factors such as teaching and general language learning strategies cannot be ignored.

Methodology

This paper is based on recordings of spontaneous speech of a hundred Singaporeans who have had English-medium education. The informants, all fluent speakers of Singaporean English (SgE), were grouped according to educational attainment. The five educational groups are: Tertiary, A level (the examination taken at the end of 6 years of secondary education), O level (the examination taken at the end of 4 years of secondary education), Secondary one to three, and Primary level.

The whole corpus of verbs which would prescriptively be marked for past tense comprises 8,725 verbs. These verbs were classified under the 5 educational levels mentioned above, 4 phonetic types and 3 semantic categories.

The 4 broad phonetic types are:

(1) VC verbs — verbs whose stems undergo a vowel change (and in some cases other changes as well) in order to form the past form e.g. *fall-fell, eat-ate, go-went*

(2) Id verbs — verbs whose stems end in an alveolar stop and require the allomorph /Id/ for their past form e.g. *wanted, started, treated.*

(3) Vd verbs — verbs which in their past tense form end in a *vowel + d* e.g. *followed, paid, carried.* Included in this category are verbs like *have* and *make* because their past tense ends in a *vowel + d.*

(4) CC verbs — verbs whose past form ends in a consonant cluster e.g. *picked, robbed, punched.*

The 3 semantic categories comprise verbs which are used in a punctual, non-punctual and stative way. The following examples from my corpus illustrate these categories:

Punctual example

S18.6 I *left* for Hong Kong (a single event)

Non-punctual examples

T6.15 Because he always comes in half-drunk anyway and always complaining (a doctor talking about a patient who is now dead.) (an iteractive event)

P10.3 So I *sell* (flowers) for two three hours. (a durative event)

Stative example

S11.13 Because it happen dat the principal know my mother you know. So I went to school ah.

Correlation between educational levels and past tense marking

An examination of past tense marking according to educational levels and semantic types (see Figure 1) and phonetic types (see Figure 2), shows that the acquisition of past tense marking is not a haphazard one. That there is a positive correlation between education and past tense marking is shown by the degree of past tense marking, which increases steadily from primary to tertiary level. The different rates of acquisition by informants with different levels of education according to phonetic and semantic types is in itself an interesting phenomenon, an area which requires further in-depth investigation, as it has important pedagogical significance.

The Varbrul analysis versus the present analysis

The data for past tense marking were subjected to Varbrul analysis (Cedergren and Sankoff, 1974). However, there was a rather poor match between the predicted and observed frequencies.

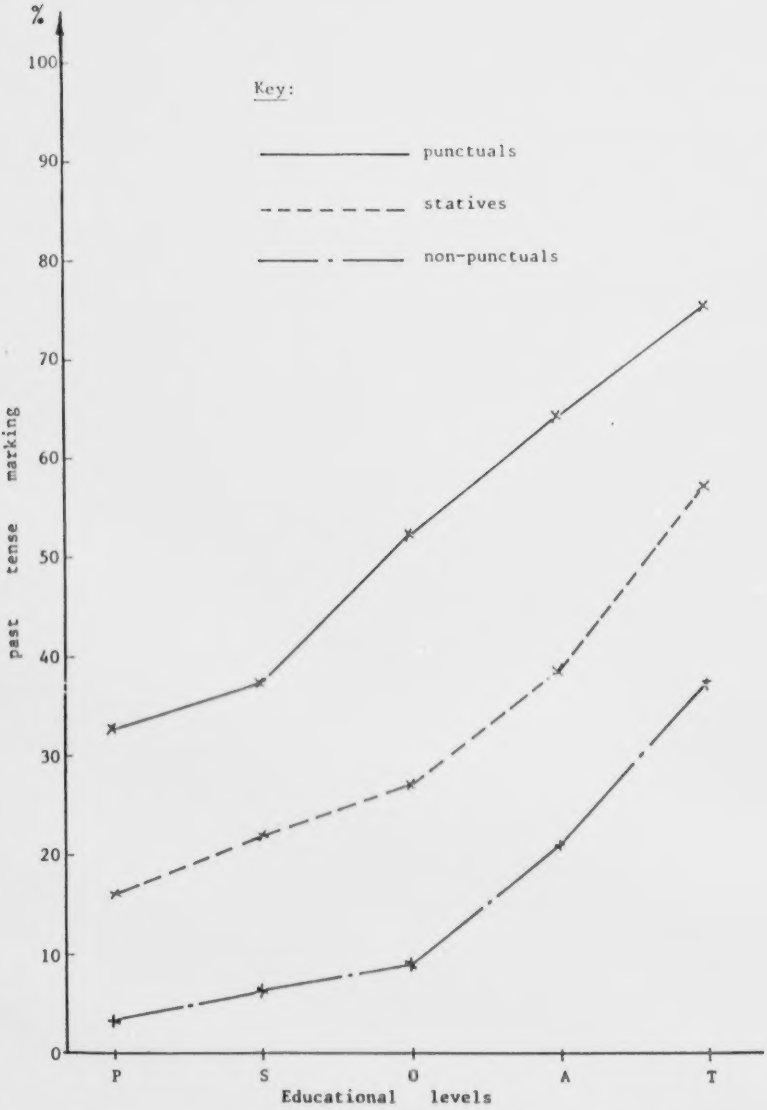


Figure 1. Percentage past tense marking against educational levels for various semantic types.

991

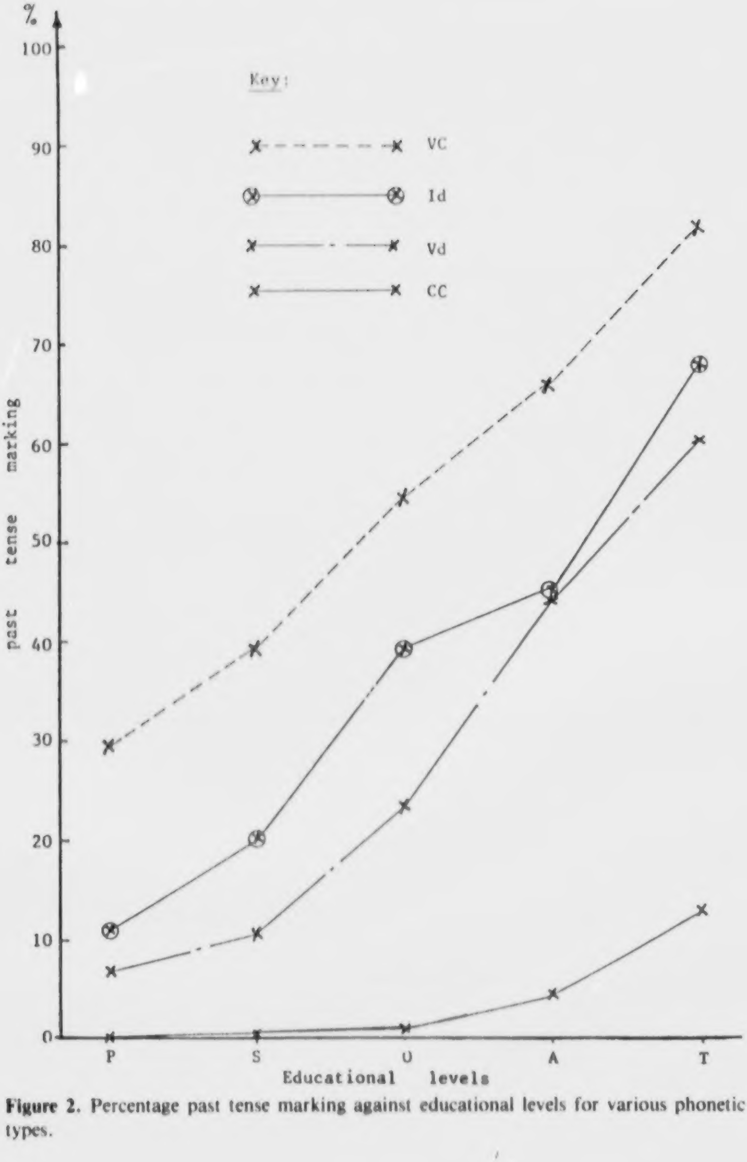


Figure 2. Percentage past tense marking against educational levels for various phonetic types.

992

As shown in Figures 1 and 2, the rates of acquisition for the different phonetic and semantic types vary considerably. For example, there is a fairly constant steep rise according to educational level for the VC verbs but a very slight rise for the CC verbs, especially between the P and O levels. Again, there is a steep rise after the S level for verbs used punctually but with the two curves for stative verbs and verbs used non-punctually the change to a steeper rise is at the O level.

Therefore the Varbrul analysis was abandoned and an analysis of individual verbs according to semantic and phonetic types was undertaken in an attempt to determine whether there are different underlying phonological and semantic rules for speakers with different educational attainments.

Past tense marking in relation to semantic and phonetic types

There is no doubt that semantic factors do have an influence on past tense marking of verbs in SgE. The whole corpus of 8,725 verbs which should, prescriptively, be marked for past tense was divided into two categories: punctual and non-punctual and as Figure 3 shows, punctual verbs are better marked for past tense than non-punctual verbs: 56.2% as compared to 23.3% respectively.

A further breakdown of the broad non-punctual category of verbs into stative and non-punctual verbs shows that statives are better marked than non-punctuals (i.e. iteratives and habituals). Figure 4 gives a breakdown of the three semantic categories. The percentage marking of verbs in the corpus for past tense is in the following descending order: punctuals 56.2%, statives 36.9% and non-punctuals 14.7%.

Obviously, phonetic factors play a part too. An examination of Figure 5 shows that the verbs, when divided into the 4 phonetic categories, display the following descending order in the degree of past tense marking:

VC type	57.3%
Id type	40.6%
Vd type	36.2%
CC type	3.9%

The CC verbs received very low marking for past tense. Out of a total of 2,262 CC verbs in the corpus, only 87 tokens (3.9%) were marked for past. The marked tokens were mainly by informants who had received tertiary education.

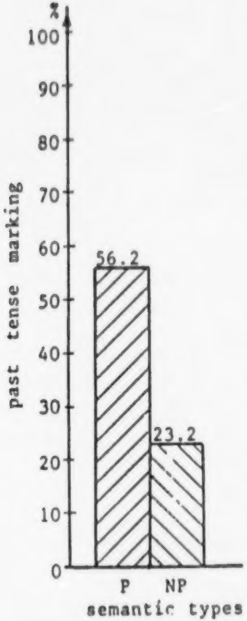


Figure 3.
Past tense marking
2 semantic types:
punctuals & non-punctuals.

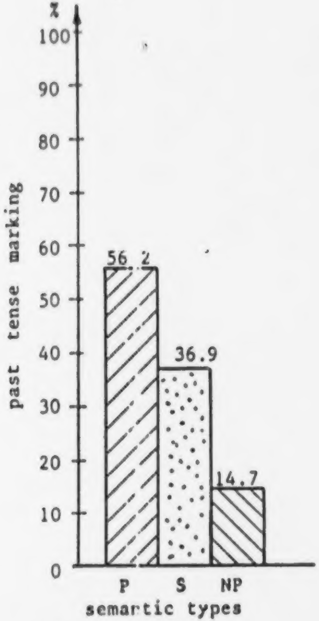


Figure 4.
Past tense marking
3 semantic types:
punctuals, non-punctuals,
and statives.

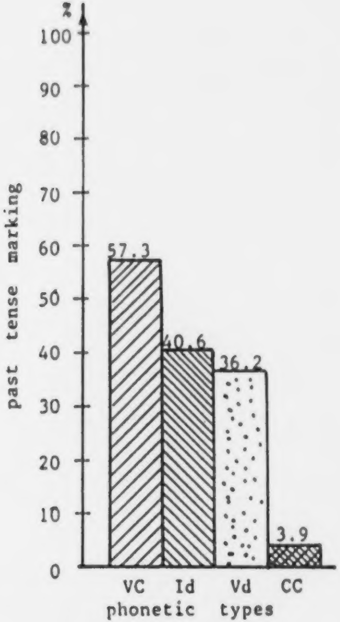


Figure 5.
Past tense marking
4 phonetic types:
VC, Id, Vd and CC.

Discussion of past tense marking of punctual and non-punctual verbs

A comparison of my findings for past tense marking with Bickerton's results is given in Table 1. Bickerton's survey is based on 1,000 verbs each in a decreolizing situation in Guyana and Hawaii.

Table 1
Past Tense Marking in GC, HCE and SGE

	Punctual	Non-punctual
GC	38%	12%
HCE	53%	7%
SGE	56%	23%

Sources: Bickerton 1981, Ho 1986.

What can be clearly seen here is that past tense marking is higher for verbs used punctually than non-punctually - for GC 3.2 times higher, for HCE 7.6 times, and for SgE 2.4 times higher.

Percentage scores of individual VC verbs, each with more than 100 tokens, are given below:

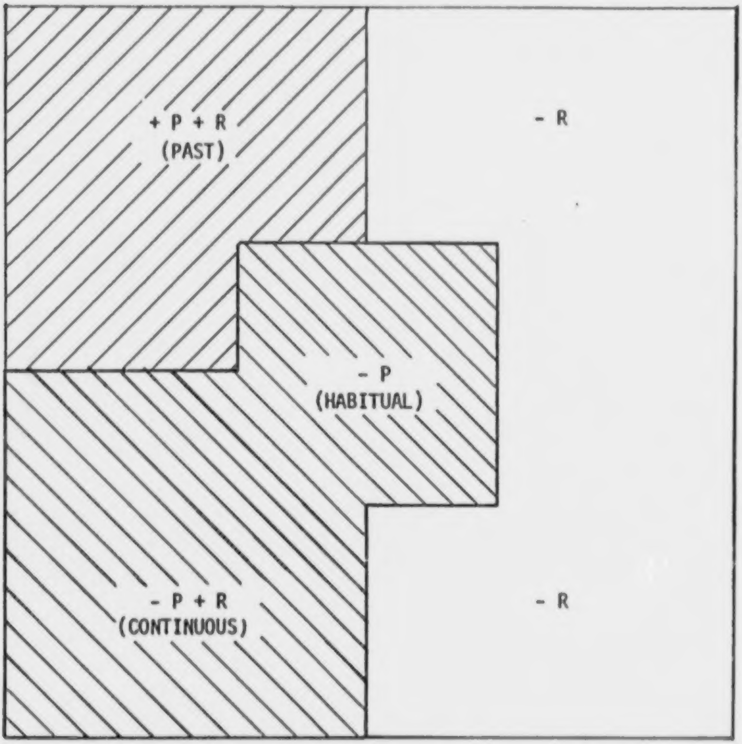
Verb	Tokens	Punctual %	Non-punctual %
Go	1029	84.2	15.3
Do	255	94.3	16.7
Tell	232	79.7	32.0
Get	145	71.4	12.5
Leave	105	91.1	0

Substratum or Bioprogram influences?

The SgE data show that the punctual-non-punctual distinction is crucial to past tense marking. However, does the background language Chinese have some influence on past tense marking?

It would seem that for SgE, the semantic space around habituals is like 'the Guyanese (majority creole) analysis' as set out by Bickerton (1981:258, 260), with the past-nonpast distinction superimposed upon it (see Figure 6).

It is noticed that Chinese fits this pattern too if one examines the



P = Punctual
R = Realis

Figure 6. Semantic space around habituals found in the Guyanese (majority creole) analysis.

(Based on Bickerton 1981:260, figure 4.9(a))

situations where the completive or perfective aspect marker *le* can be used. *Le* can be used only in the '+ P + R' area but not in the '− P' (habitual) and '− P + R' (continuative) areas e.g.

1. Tā zuótiān wèi le gǒu.
   He/She yesterday feed PFV dog.
   'Yesterday he/she fed the dog.'
2. *Qùniǎn tā měitiān wèi le gǒu.
   Last year he/she everyday feed PFV dog.
   'Last year he/she fed the dog every day'.

3. *Tā zuótiān ba diàn zhōng zài wèi le gǒu.
He/She yesterday eight time DUR feed PFV dog.
'He/She was feeding the dog at 8 o'clock'.

4. *Qùnián tā xǐhuān le wèi gǒu
Last year he/she like PFV feed dog.
'Last year he/she liked to feed the dog.'

Examples 1 to 4 show that *le*, being a perfective aspect marker cannot co-occur with habituals, duratives and statives. SgE shows the strong influence of the Chinese aspectual system. In situations where the features [+completion, +event] are present, the degree of marking of verbs for past increases. Vice versa, verbs found in contexts showing such features as[+durative, +habitual, +stative] receive a lower marking for past.

However, the Chinese perfective aspect marker *le* can be added to events with the features [+completion, +anterior], even though they take place habitually:

Qùnián, wǒ méitian wèi le gǒu, jiù chōngliáng
Last year, I everyday feed PFV dog, then pour cool
'Last year, everyday, after I had fed the dog, I took a bath'.

(Note: *chongliáng* is used in Singapore Mandarin, which is heavily influenced by the Southern dialects. In Standard Mandarin *xǐzào* is used instead.)

In SgE, habitual events with the features [+perfective, +anterior] are often marked for past:

P19.17 (Talking about habitual events in her childhood) Den my mother quite stric(t) too lah. Like se' she wan you early in the morning get up 6 o'clock, cannot late. Must early in the morning get up 6 o'clock, follow her go to market. Den after dat he (she) come back (from) to de market, she put down de market baske(t). An(d) den you must know to prepare everyting dat he (she) *bought* in – inside de basket dere.

Note that *bought* is marked because it is in [+anterior] position. As Bickerton remarks 'the anterior-non-anterior contrasts, not events at all, but the relative timing of events' (Bickerton 1981:284). Further on he adds:

> Anterior marking is primarily a device which alerts the listener to backward shifts of time in a narrative or a conversation, thus enabling him to preserve the correct sequence of reported events....
>
> (Bickerton 1981:286)

What is extremely interesting is that the same speaker above who marked *buy* because it has the element of [+anterior] did not mark the same verb when all the habitual actions in her narrative are in an ordered sequence:

P19.19 I see the comics when I was still chil(d)hood dat one - I like to see de comics. When my father everyone, one mon(th) one - everytime *buy* for me two comics boo(k) for me and my mother grumble.

In the following text, informant S7 is referring to a habitual situation in the past (the car park ticketing system which has since then been superseded by a new coupon system).

S7.16 (talking about rude motorists whom she had to deal with) Sometime over 5 minute like 9 o'clock dey *came* in, and (10.05) ten o fi(ve) he (they) *came* out; eighty cen(ts) we *charge* dem, dey *scold* you know.

Note that the two non-punctual verbs *come,* being [+anterior] are marked for past, while the other non-punctual verbs *charge* and *scold* are not.

Other exemplifications from my corpus are given below:

T12.3 I always *wanted* to see the reflection of de mountains. (had wanted)

A17.18 I brought a slipper - a pair of slippers almost broken. I was in - I *intended* to throw it away.... So lucky I was in slacks. (had intended)

S9.8 After *came back* - carry the purse put here. Reach her house already - she din know.... (had come back)

The interplay of factors influencing past tense marking

To what extent is the interlanguage of the L2 learner influenced by the Bioprogram and by L1? Are the interactions of both factors equally important in the acquisition process? These are questions which Bickerton (1984b:155) poses when he gives a possible example of a sentence which might be produced by Spanish speaking learners of English. Referring to an English sentence such as *For many years he lived in Pennsylvania but he studied French in Montreal,* Bickerton asks:

> If a Spanish-speaking learner of English then produces *For many years he was living in Pennsylvania but he was studying French in Montreal,* are we to assume that this is due to first-language interference or to continuing influence from the bioprogram, or to a mixture of the two?

Bickerton then cites an example which runs counter to the Bioprogram and shows the strong influence of the mother tongue:

> In the course of nonprimary acquisition of English, native speakers of Hindi frequently make mistakes such as *I am liking it* or *He is wanting to see you* (Gordon Fairbanks, p.c.) Use of non-punctuals with statives is a bioprogram as well as an English violation; Hindi speakers apparently commit it because in Hindi imperfective marking can be used with statives.
>
> (Bickerton 1984b:155-156)

It is true that the background language could have an influence on the use of such structures. However, as shown in Platt, Weber and Ho (1984:73) there are other influences at work too, e.g. overteaching of the *-ing* form in school and there is also the extended use of *-ing* constructions in the established varieties of English e.g.

I'm having a good time.
She's having her breakfast now. Please call back later.

Such usage has led to overgeneralization by Singaporean learners of English. The following are common expressions in SgE:

I'm having a running nose.
At present I'm having a house with four rooms.

However, in general, the State-Process distinction holds for Singaporean Chinese learners of English. This is, of course, also explained by the fact that the progressive marker is incompatible with statives in Chinese.

With regard to the punctual-non-punctual distinction, empirical evidence as tabulated in Table 2 shows that both influences – the Bioprogram and L1 background language of the learners of English are important.

Andersen (1984:84-90) refers to findings by Kumpf and Flashner. The former's investigation of the English IL (Interlanguage) of a Spanish and a Japanese speaker reveals that a zero-ING opposition is used to encode perfective/imperfective distinctions while the latter's research on the English of three Russian speakers shows a PAST-zero opposition.

In the following written text (an account of the past, as the writer's parents have since then been separated) by a Navajo Indian, Bartelt shows the use of the non-past forms to express the Navajo usitative mode, a mode denoting [+habitual] actions. The past tense is used to denote the perfective mode.

> She never wanted to get married, because it was a lot of problems, for them to stay together. Beside the problem they had was my dad drink a lot. when he comes home drunk. He always starts fighting with my mother. which we didn't like at all. He never comes back, when he goes to town. My dad stays out in town for a week or two weeks. We all get worried about him. Instead, he come back all drunk which we don't like. And finally she couldn't put up with him. The reason why she gave up was because he was too mean to her. He didn't want my mother to spend time with us kids when we want something he doesn't buy it for us. The part that got mom really mad was when he didn't let her go to the store and get something to eat. he always hit us kids around for no reason. Probably we get on his nerves.
>
> (Bartelt 1982:201-202)

Table 2 shows the way past events are marked according to 2 semantic categories by informants with different background languages.

Table 2
How Punctual and Non-Punctual Events with Past Reference are encoded by Learners of English with Different Background Languages

L1 of Informants	Researcher	Punctual Events	Non-Punctual Events
Group I			
Spanish	Kumpf	0	-ING
Japanese	Kumpf	0	-ING
Group II			
Russian	Flashner	PAST	0
Navajo and Western Apache	Bartelt	PAST	0
Chinese	Ho	PAST	0

The above evidence shows aspect rather than tense morphology. Clearly the informants are marking verbs according to semantic categories – perfective/imperfective, or in Bickerton's terminology, punctual/non-punctual.

Pedagogical Implications

From the table it may be seen that learners of English whose L1 is Russian, Navajo, Western Apache and Chinese (i.e. those in Group II) tend to mark punctual events with past forms. Those whose L1 is

Spanish or Japanese (Group I) tend to use the non-past forms. It would be interesting to see what a longitudinal study of English Language acquisition by speakers of Spanish and Japanese revealed - whether punctual verbs are better marked than non-punctual ones for past.

For the learners in Group II, where it is overwhelmingly clear that punctual verbs are better marked for past than non-punctual verbs, it is important that this distinction should be borne in mind in the planning and designing of instructional programmes.

References

Andersen, R. W. (1984). "The one to one principle of interlanguage construction". *Language Learning* 34.4:77-95.

Bartelt, H. G. (1982). "Tense Switching in Narrative English Discourse of Navaho and Western Apache Speakers". *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 4.2:201-204.

Bickerton, D. (1981). *Roots of Language.* Ann Arbor: Karoma.

Bickerton, D. (1984a). "The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis". *The Behavioural and Brain Sciences* 7:173-221.

Bickerton, D. (1984b). "The Language Bioprogram Hypothesis and Second Language Acquisition". In Rutherford, W. ed. 1984:141-161

Cedergren H. and Sankoff D. (1974). "Variable rules: Performance as *Statistical Reflection of Competence.*" *Language* 50:333-355.

Ho, M. L. (1986). "The Verb Phrase in Singapore English". Ph.D. thesis, Monash University, Melbourne.

Ho, M. L. and Platt, J. T. (forthcoming). *Dynamics of a Contact Continuum.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Platt, J. T., H. Weber, and M. L. Ho (1984). *The New Englishes.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Rutherford, W. E. ed. (1984). *Language Universals and Second Language Acquisition.* Amsterdam: Benjamins.

A Comparison of Internal Conjunctive Cohesion in the English Essay Writing of Cantonese Speakers and Native Speakers of English

Yvette Field
Yip Lee Mee Oi
Hong Kong Baptist College

Abstract

A comparative analysis is made of organizational cohesive devices in the English essays of Form 6 writers from a native speaker group and three groups of Cantonese speakers. The analysis is based on the work of Halliday and Hasan (1976) on cohesive conjunction and determines differences in the use of internal conjunctive cohesion between native and ESL writers. Results show that Cantonese writers use a significantly higher frequency of devices in their English writing than their native speaker counterparts. There are also differing patterns in the positioning of devices and the choice of particular devices to express the same conjunctive relation. Some difference is found between ESL groups in these patterns. The findings are discussed in terms of the developmental level of the writers, the acquired behaviour of second language learning from teachers and textbooks and the transfer of writing habits and linguistic patterns from the first language.

Introduction

This study tests the hypothesis that Cantonese students writing in English use more conjunctive cohesive devices in the organization of their essays than students at a similar educational level who are native English speakers.

The term internal conjunctive cohesion (ICC) is based on the distinctions made by Halliday and Hasan (1976). Cohesion occurs in a text through the use of devices that link across sentences. Conjunction is one type of cohesion, which specifies additive, adversative, causal or temporal relations between what has been said previously and what follows. Additive signals the *and* link between sentences as in *also* or *furthermore* as well as ICCs to exemplify or to explain, such as *for instance* or *in other words.* Adversative signals that what follows is contrary to what has been stated, as in *however* or *but*. The causal relation presupposes a reason or argument as in *thus* or *hence* and the temporal relation points to a sequencing, as in *next* or a summary as in *in short*. Internal conjunction refers to the cohesive devices used by writers or speakers as they organise the material to express their roles as communicators in different stages of the discourse.

There are many alternative terms for internal conjunction, for example, logical connectors (Quirk and Greenbaum 1973) and linking signals (Leech and Svartik 1975). These terms while being more accessible and convenient and therefore widely used, lack the systematic basis that the Halliday and Hasan scheme provides for use in analysis.

Researchers in Hong Kong have pointed out the over use of cohesive devices in the English writing of Cantonese speakers. (Crewe, Wright and Leung 1985) and (Crewe 1990). However, no study has so far tested this impression quantitatively.

Selection of Internal Conjunctive Cohesion

The selection of devices is based on the discussion and table of internal conjunction in Halliday and Hasan (1976). To be selected, the device needs to be conjunctive, cohesive and internal. To be cohesive, a device must link to the previous text across sentence boundaries. This criterion is usually met when the device is in initial sentence position where ICCs most commonly occur. However, when writers want to reproduce the tonal patterns of speech they often vary the position. Some cohesive conjunctions can only appear in initial position such as *and, but* and *so,* but others can be placed after an initial phrase and some, like *however,* can appear in final position and still be cohesive across sentence boundaries. The criterion of conjunction requires a careful consideration of the basic conjunctions *and, but, yet* and *so* to check that they are not coordinates. Sometimes a loosely constructed written text will place these grammatical coordinates after a stop when the use is structural and should join clauses. Hartnett (1986) notes that this difficulty with sentence boundaries is common among basic writers. Also included as conjunction are expressions which mix conjunction with another category of cohesion such as reference or with an item giving lexical cohesion, as in *despite this* or *another problem*. These terms are included because their additive, adversative, causal or temporal relations function as conjunctive cohesion without reference or lexical item. (Halliday and Hasan, 1976) The third consideration, that the device is 'internal' as opposed to 'external', is more open to interpretation.

The internal-external distinction is acknowledged to be "not always clearcut" (Halliday and Hasan 1976:241). External conjunction is a content-based cohesion and seems to occur most frequently in narrative writing and description of processes. For example, compare "He put the disc in the player. Then he pressed 'play'", which is external, with "Compact discs are popular. Then there are video discs". In the second sentence the temporal conjunctive expression *then* is used as a cohesive device in the ordering of the material to be communicated, not as an expression of the sequence of events being described. Its use is therefore internal. Most examples to illustrate this distinction are drawn from narrative or speech and not from essay writing. In order to select from a corpus of essay texts, internal cohesion is taken here to occur when the writer uses a device to make a conscious juxtaposition of one point to another.

This interpretation of the internal distinction may be broader than in Halliday and Hasan (1976). The basis of this selection is the writer's attempt to organise the material by signalling a conjunctive relation between points. In practice the effect of conjunction across sentences in the essay form has an organising intent although there are degrees by which the use of a device is impelled by the content. Included in the selection as adversatives are all instances of *however* and *on the other hand* in their contrastive function if they meet the cohesive criterion (See Halliday and Hasan 1976:250-252 on the external classification for these devices) and the use of *also* when not in initial sentence position (See Quirk and Greenbaum 1973:248 on the virtual restriction of *also* to initial position). It is not assumed here that internal conjunctive cohesion refers only to superfluous expressions, although Hartnett (1986) suggests that student writing is improved when some devices are taken out and Crewe, Wright and Leung (1985) proved that removal of these devices from a text had no significant effect on reading comprehension.

Experimental Design

An experiment was designed to determine whether there were significant differences in the use of internal conjunctive cohesion by comparing these devices in the essays of English speakers (L1) with those of Cantonese speakers writing in English (L2).

The writers were at the same educational level which was set at Form 6 in the Hong Kong school system. The reasons for this were that at this level students have learnt to write an essay and are fluent writers. They are one year away from their final school examinations and this makes it less inconvenient for their teachers to set a practice essay in class time. The L1 writers were year 11 students from a school in Sydney, Australia from which 29 scripts were received. The L2 writers came from three schools in Hong Kong. These three will be referred to as C1, C2 and C3.

C1 and C2 are Anglo Chinese schools where the medium of instruction is English. 15 scripts were received from C1 and 26 scripts from C2. C3 is a Chinese Middle School where the medium of instruction is Chinese. 26 scripts were received from C3.

Each group of writers was asked to write an essay on the same unseen topic in a class period and a guideline of 300 words was also given. The essay topic was set in the argumentative mode because in this mode students are likely to take care to organise their thoughts and therefore to use some devices to that end. The title of the essay was chosen for its cross cultural applicability.

"Do the pressures of living in a big city outweigh the pleasures?"

Method of Analysis

The scripts were numbered within the writing group and each instance of internal conjunctive cohesion was highlighted and recorded under the script number. The total number of ICCs used by each writer was recorded.

The position of each device in the text was noted for initial paragraph position (IPP), for initial sentence position (ISP) and for not being in initial position (NIP).

The ICCs were then placed into one of the four categories of conjunctive cohesion: additive, adversative, causal or temporal.

An unpaired t-test was applied to the data on the number of ICCs used by each writer to determine whether there was a significant difference in the frequency of use of ICCs between two groups. This was done in all combinations including comparisons between L2 groups. Although an f-test would seem appropriate for the latter, the t-test was used to maintain the same pattern as for L1-L2 comparisons.

The mean number of frequencies per group and the percentage of ICCs in each category was also determined. The variety of ICCs in each category was noted and each specific device was counted.

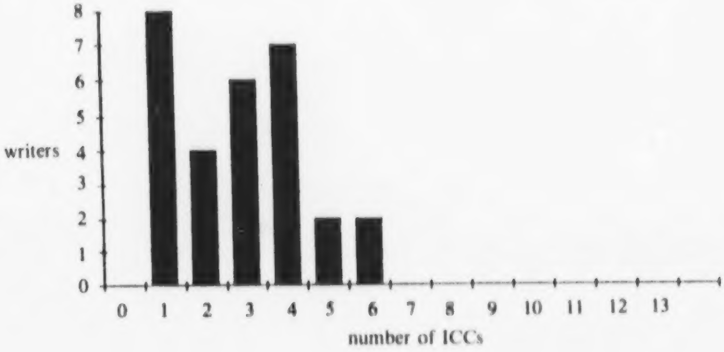
Results

The frequency distribution of the use of ICCs among writers in each group is shown in Figure 1. In each case the data was found to be distributed normally using a normality test based on the Kolmogorov-Smirnov one sample test.

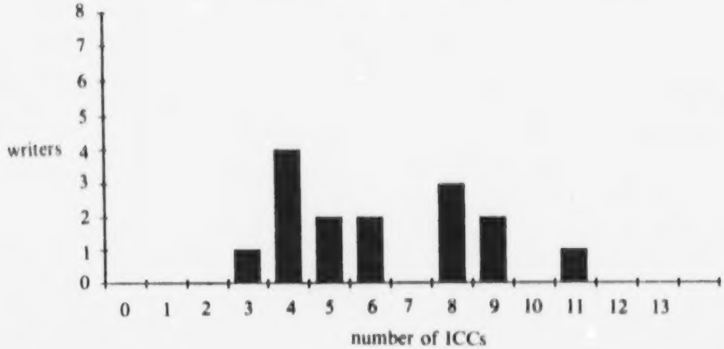
The mean number and standard deviation of devices used by L1 was 2.9 ± SD 1.5. The combined L2 scripts had a mean of 5.3 ± SD 2.6. Mean and standard deviations for each Chinese school were C1: 6.3 ± SD 2.3, C2: 4.4 ± SD 2.2 and C3: 5.7 ± SD 2.7.

Figure 1 shows that writers who are native speakers tend to be sparing in their use of devices, with the greatest number using only one device. Nearly as many L1 writers used four devices but none used over six. Two L2 writers used no devices but one of these was a very basic writer who had trouble with sentence boundaries and used grammatical coordinates after a stop. Twenty-one writers in L2 used over the max-

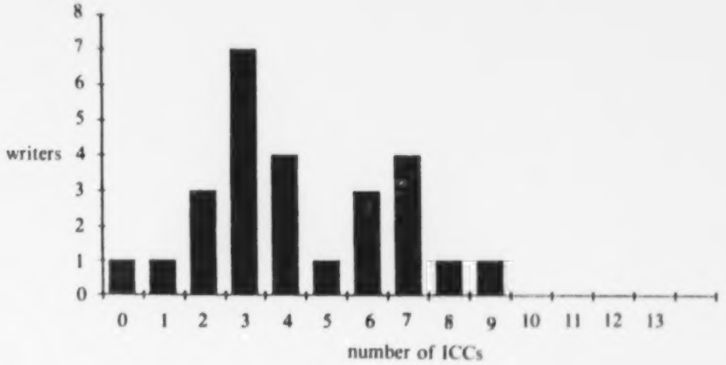
(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

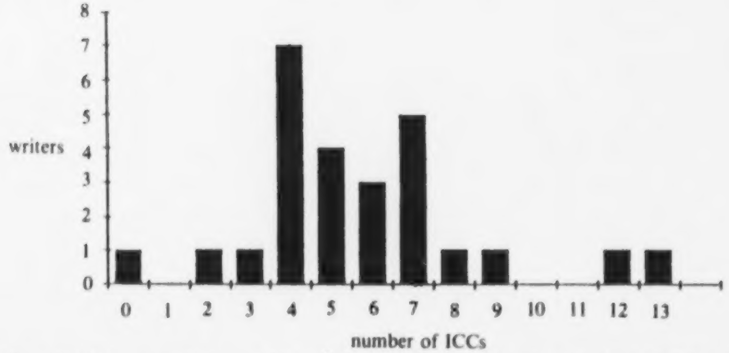


Figure 1. (a) Frequency in terms of the number of internal conjunctive cohesions (ICCs) used by native English speakers (L1) from one school, (b), (c) and (d) are similar distributions for native Chinese speakers from different schools (C1; C2; C3). The distribution of frequencies was found to be normal in all cases tested.

imum count for L1, with the highest recorded number of devices in a script being thirteen.

Tests comparing the frequency of ICCs were based on the null hypothesis that there would be no significant difference between groups. These tests showed significant differences between L1 and the three L2 writing groups. In testing between the three groups of Cantonese writers using the same null hypothesis a significant difference was found in one out of three tests. The unpaired t-test results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1
t-statistics comparing all groups

Groups/mean	t-statistic	df	significance
L1 (2.897) L2 (5.269)	−4.547	94	0.000
L1 C1 (6.267)	−5.614	42	0.000
L1 C2 (4.385)	−2.874	53	0.006
L1 C3 (5.692)	−4.654	53	0.000
C1 C2	2.519	39	0.015
C1 C3	0.668	39	0.515
C2 C3	−1.865	50	0.065

The hypothesis that there would be no significant difference between L1 and L2 writers was rejected at below the 1% confidence level in all tests. The L2 scripts used significantly more ICCs than L1 scripts.

In the test of C1 and C2 the hypothesis was rejected at below the 2% confidence level, with C1 scripts using significantly more ICCs per script than C2 scripts. In tests comparing C1 and C2 with C3, the hypothesis was accepted, with the difference in frequency of ICCs per script not considered to be significant at the 95% level of confidence.

Positioning of Devices

The percentage use of initial paragraph position (IPP), initial sentence position (ISP) and of ICCs not in initial position (NIP) was as follows:

Table 2
Percentage use of paragraph positions

	L1	C1	C2	C3
IPP:	33.3	41.4	14.4	23.6
ISP:	38.1	52.7	81.2	72.3
NIP:	28.6	5.9	4.4	4.1

These figures show that the most common position for all L2 writers was ISP and that only L1 writers had less than 50% of devices in initial sentence position. L1 writers used the NIP position significantly more than L2 writers. This was so particularly with *also*, which was always NIP in L1 scripts whilst its position varied in L2 scripts. All groups used *however* in the three positions but only L1 used NIP to any extent.

Both the highest and the lowest levels of IPP were found in the L2 group.

Categories and range of devices

The categories expressed in percentage terms for each school group are as follows:

Table 3
Percentage use of ICCs by category

	L1	C1	C2	C3
Additive	33.3	22.3	41.2	31.1
Adversative	45.2	33.0	27.2	33.1
Causal	16.7	23.4	23.7	23.0
Temporal	4.8	21.3	7.9	12.8

These figures, from the 96 scripts analysed represent a total of 149 adversatives, 140 additives, 97 causals and 49 temporals. That adversatives should be most used was an expected result because the essay was set in the argumentative mode. Only C2 altered the overall pattern by its heavier use of additives than adversatives. The least used device overall was the temporal conjunction but there were notable differences in the patterns of use.

The most frequent devices in each group are given in table 4 by first to third ranking order. The temporal category is shown in Halliday and Hasan's subclassification; sequential, summative, conclusive and resumptive, wherever it is necessary to avoid phrasal varieties of the same relation.

The table shows *also, however, but, so* and *therefore* as devices common to all groups and *on the other hand* as common to the three L2

Table 4
First to third ranking order to ICCs

	L1	C1	C2	C3
Additive	also	moreover	also	for example
	and	also	for example	and
	too	(a variety)	moreover	also
Adversative	however	however	however	however
	but	on the other hand	on the other hand	but
	yet	actually	but	on the other hand
Causal	therefore	therefore	therefore	so
	so	thus	so	therefore
	(a variety)	so	as a result	(a variety)
Temporal	another +	conclusive	conclusive	sequential
	(4 classes no repeats)	sequential	sequential	conclusive
		summative	summative	summative

groups. Particular points of interest in the choice of devices go beyond this table. L2 used a wider range of devices overall compared to L1 and there were notable differences between the groups of L2 writers. Among the additives, the L1 range was little more than those listed above but there were two exemplifications, in *for example*. There was a much greater variety in L2, with 18 instances of *moreover*, 12 of *besides*, four with a reference item, and 6 instances of *furthermore*. Exemplification was heavily used in C2 and C3. C1 was the only group to use no exemplification and no C1 writer began a sentence with *and*. Among adversatives, *on the other hand* was used 22 times but only by L2 writers. The C1 group had six instances of *actually*, which appeared in no other scripts. Use of causal devices was more standard across the corpus, except for variations in frequency of particular devices such as a heavy use of *so* in C3. The phrase *as a result* appeared six times in C2 and C3 scripts only. Apart from the marginal ICC *another +*, L1 used few temporal devices. In L2 they were bolstered by use of conclusives, eighteen instances overall, and enumerative sequentials, mostly based on *first* with a few writers going to *secondly* and *thirdly*.

Discussion

The distribution of devices presented in Figure 1 shows that some writers use very few ICCs and others use many. This is so both with L1 and L2 writers although the overall tendency is for far fewer in L1 than in L2. Whether composing in a native or a second language, writers may use more or less devices in a legitimate way that is not overuse, depending on cognitive differences in the way they approach the task of writing. A study of Chinese writers composing in both English and Chinese (Arndt 1990) suggests that composing processes are not language specific and that an individual's thinking and organizational processes in pursuit of a given writing task will be the same whichever language is being used. Since ICCs are organizational devices, this suggests that a writer's use of more or less devices is, to some extent, part of a natural style. Nevertheless, in this study high frequency in a short script points to some unnecessary use.

The high frequency of devices in L2 and even in L1 scripts may be due to the limited time provided for completion of the task. Content had to be devised quickly and writers may have relied on organizational devices to shape the essay rather than a strong development of their thought. The Form 6 educational level of the writers, who would have little essay writing experience, may also account for an overall high use.

The significantly higher use of ICCs by Cantonese speakers requires further investigation.

The significant difference found between C1 and C2 may depend on acquired behaviour from teaching and the way the textbook was used in the classroom. Teacher and textbook influences may take many forms. For example, the use of *actually* in C1 may come from the classroom language of the native speaker teacher, since the device is usually confined to speech in native English and is unlikely to be taught. The extensive use of temporal devices by some L2 writers may derive from the teaching of essay organization along with suitable phrases, especially to signal conclusion. Model answers given out by teachers may compound the problem of overuse in students' writing. One textbook which has been used extensively in English medium schools in Hong Kong is O'Neill (1985). For each writing exercise, model answers are provided and a secondary school teacher who has been occupied with a heavy work-load of teaching and marking will normally copy these to students without any screening of the linguistic content. The high correlation between L2 overuse of *also* and *moreover*, and the high count of these two devices in the model answers may imply a significant influence for the textbook in the development of student writing habits.

Some textbook lists may encourage L2 writers to use devices where they are not needed and could provide them with an easy substitute for coherent ideas. These lists provide convenient self-access for student writers and may encourage overuse unless tempered by caveats from teachers. Carrell (1982) warned that teaching cohesion to ESL students should not be seen as the answer to the achieving of more coherent texts. "Bonding an incoherent text together won't make it coherent, only cohesive." (Carrell, 1982:486) The very separateness of cohesive conjunctive devices, divorced as they are from grammatical structure, makes them particularly easy to teach, list and choose.

Norment (1984) in a comparative study of native speaker essays in Chinese and English essays by the same group of Chinese found that when Chinese native speakers write in English they use the same organizational structures as in their own language, and that this structure is maintained across the rhetorical modes. Overuse of ICCs may come from a limited ability to write well in the first language. Even when writing in Chinese, students tend to use many connective structures to fill out the gap in their organization and to sort out their thinking. Thus, Chinese writing problems may have been transferred to L2.

The heavy use of *on the other hand* in L2 scripts presents an interesting transfer feature. Some writers used it to add a point without meaning to imply contrast. This was so in at least six uses in C2 and C3 with others being marginal, as in this discussion on limited places for degree courses:

> "Hence, students must compete.... And, on the other hand parents will put pressure on their children...."

The writer contrasts "students" with "parents", but this focus does not serve the argument well. The device would be better deleted since the additive on its own gives less distracting signals.

To give *on the other hand* an additive, function may imply literal translation from Chinese, taking it to mean "another side or aspect". For poorer writers it may come from a misuse in Chinese of the device 另一方面來說. This has a similar contrastive function, phrasing which could be translated directly into *on the other hand,* the error then being transferred to English. Care needs to be taken when teaching *on the other hand* to avoid transfer confusions.

The impression of too many devices in the L2 scripts may be compounded by a strong use of the initial sentence and paragraph position. If the effect of the NIP position is to reduce the prominence of organizational devices and to convey a fluent and natural sounding speech tone, then a heavy use of ISP/IPP where it is possible to place the device within the sentence, can make the prose sound ponderous and stilted. Use of the IPP/ISP position may be due to a lack of complex sentence writing abilities among L2 writers or they may feel less competent to insert within a sentence. Being less influenced by native speaker intonational positions, they may simply not see a need to vary position in this way.

In this study the additive devices *moreover*, *furthermore* and *besides* appear only in L2 scripts and always in initial position. L1 writers used *also* instead, more sparingly except for some poorer writers, but always NIP. Some shift away from organization towards content occurs in the NIP position for *also* so that the writer's role as a communicator is less overt. Compare "Also, there are some more pleasures...." from an L2 script with an L2 writer's "The city may also be seen....". In the first, the writer signals 'and another point is' and in the second, the focus is on the city and its aspects about which something more can be said. It is possible that the NIP position may have a positive effect beyond variation in that it points the reader more firmly to content than the ISP position. This may only apply to *also* but further study of this aspect of NIP is needed.

An aspect of conjunction within the context of essay writing which requires further emphasis in teaching is the formality or informality of certain expressions and therefore their appropriateness. Some of the devices used by L2 writers studied here can give confusing signals of register to native English speakers, since *moreover*, *furthermore*, and perhaps *nevertheless* would seem very formal and most unlikely expressions to find in student essays, whereas *actually*, and *besides* as a conjunction and not as part of a prepositional phrase, are common in English speech but not in writing.

The conjunction *besides* was prone to misuse in L2 scripts. In colloquial English its use is quite specific and not synonymous with the prepositional phrase which means "as well as". The usual function of *besides* in speech is to introduce a final and entirely different point to back up a given explanation. A memorable example occurs in the following line spoken by the eponymous character in Christopher Marlowe's play *The Jew of Malta* where he coldly and irreverently dismisses the sin of fornication:

> "But that was in another country;
> And besides, the wench is dead."
>
> (Act IV)

There was one use of *besides* in the L2 scripts which could be interpreted as correct but its correctness is not convincing.

> "Even if they have leisure, they have to spend time on mass entertainment, for example, cinema, radio, television, disco and that always make them to live(sic) in a noisy environment. Besides, since the city is a fast changing and higly competitive environment, people living in (it) are struggling to survive."

More, the suspicion here is that the cohesive device has been written in an attempt to weld together points which do not fit together coherently. On two accounts, its informality and its misuse, it would be best to discourage the use of *besides* in essay writing.

This study demonstrates differences found in the use of conjunction in the English essay organization of native speakers and of Cantonese speakers. It has shown that Cantonese speakers use far more devices than their native speaker counterparts, that many of them choose expressions that seldom appear in the writing of L1 students of a similar age and educational level and that they tend to choose the initial paragraph and sentence position rather than to place devices within the sentence. ESL writers in this study tended to choose from a wider range of ICCs than those who acquired the language naturally. An awareness of the variety of devices acquired from second language teaching led many writers to overuse them and sometimes to misuse them. Formal teaching needs to be approached with care to prevent this. There may be a problem of transfer of bad writing habits in Chinese to English writing, which practice in thinking through ideas and organization in either language may help to avoid. A consciousness of transfer habits could help students to choose their English words with more thought without destroying what may be natural in their style.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the staff and students who provided the scripts and Colin Field, Johanna Klassen, Tony Lee, Nancy Lee and Graham Lock for their advice and for reading the paper.

References

Arndt, Valerie. 1990. *Writing in first and second languages: Comparisons and Contrasts.* Research Report No. 1 Hong Kong. City Polytechnic of Hong Kong.

Carrell, Patricia L. 1982. *Cohesion is not Coherence.* TESOL Quarterly Vol. 16, No. 4:479-488.

Crewe, W., Wright, C. and Leung, M. W. K. 1985. *Connectives: On the other hand, who needs them, though?* Working Papers in Linguistics and Language Teaching. 8:61-65. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University.

Crewe, W. 1990. *The Illogic of Logical Connectives.* ELT Journal 44(4):316-325.

Etherington, A. R. B. 1982. *Teach and Test 5.* Hong Kong. Summerson. Eastern Publisher Ltd.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. 1976. *Cohesion in English.* London: Longman.

Hartnett, Carolyn G. 1986. *Static and Dynamic Cohesion: Signals of Thinking in Writing.* Functional Approaches to Writing: Research Perspectives ed. by B. Couture, 143-153. London: Frances Pinter.

Leech, Geoffrey and Svartvik, Jan. 1975. *A Communicative Grammar of English.* Singapore: Longman.

Norment, Nathaniel Jr. 1984. *Contrastive Analysis of Organizational Structures and Cohesive Elements in Native and ESL Chinese, English and Spanish Writing.* Ph.D. dissertation. Fordham Univeristy.

O'Neill, E. F. 1985. *Effective English 5 for New Certificate Course.* Hong Kong. Whitman Publishing.

Quirk, R. and Greenbuam, S. 1973. *A University Grammar of English.* London: English Language Book Society, Longman.

1015

Does Class Size Really Make A Difference? — Exploring Classroom Interaction in Large and Small Classes

Karuna Kumar
Central Institute of English & Foreign Languages
Hyderabad
India

Abstract

This paper reports an attempt to explore the question whether it is class size which makes a difference in the language learning opportunities made available to learners. Classroom interaction data from traditional and activity-based English classes of different sizes is compared in terms of the opportunities made available to learners to interact meaningfully. It is found that in these classes, it is the nature of the teaching-learning activities and the teacher's role and attitude which influences the nature of learner participation and the patterns of interaction rather than class size *per se*. The study highlights the need to carry out detailed investigations of interaction in different types of large classes.

Introduction

Educational administrators and practitioners in the field of ELT have for long been debating over the question whether class size affects students' learning. The issue has, for equally long, been ignored by applied linguists. For the 'expert', the problem is either not theoretically interesting or, is insoluble, the only solution being to avoid having large classes altogether. Recently however, there has been a realization that the large class phenomenon being complex, widespread, and unavoidable is worthy of investigation. It was this felt need to face a problem which was obviously of immense importance to many teachers that led in 1987 to the founding of the Lancaster-Leeds Research Project on Language Learning in Large Classes (see Coleman 1989a for details). Research in this area seems however, to be still in its infancy and rather limited in scope.

From a review of studies on large classes, it appears that the existing research has been focussed on three broad aspects:

1. Teacher's perceptions of large classes and the related question, how large is a large class. (See for example, Coleman 1989b; LoCastro 1989; McLeod 1989; Peachey 1989; Sabander, 1989).

2. The difficulties faced by teachers in large classes and the effects of large classes on student achievement, etc. (See Singh 1990 for a review of the literature related to this aspect).
3. Methodological solutions to the problems of large classes (See Coleman's survey of approaches to the management of large classes, Coleman 1989c).

A large class is generally perceived as one which has anything between 35 to a 100 students, and on account of its size is said to pose insurmountable problems for the teacher. In language teaching in particular, besides the obvious problem of control and management which a large class creates, it is felt that the teaching-learning process itself is hindered in large classes, as teachers are unable to provide individual attention to students or to organize the kind of interactive activities considered so essential to language teaching (see for example, Rivers 1986).

The problem is even more acutely felt in developing countries where the continual increase in the number of students has put immense pressure on available educational resources and has made large classes an inescapable fact of academic life. Since the time of Michael West (1960) various methodological solutions have been proposed to deal with the problem of teaching English in large classes. These include the use of group work (see for example, Long 1977) and various kinds of communicative language learning activities and techniques (see for example, Nolasco and Arthur, 1988).

While there seems to be an underlying assumption that through the use of such techniques, interactional opportunities of the kind normally available to learners in small classes will become available in the large class, there appears to be hardly any research on the nature of interaction which arises in large classes where such teaching techniques have been tried out. In fact, no attempt seems to have been made to compare interactional behaviour in large and small classes in which various kinds of communicative activities/teaching techniques are used and there seems to be no research which can help us to find out whether indeed class size by itself determines the availability of interactional opportunities for learners.

The Study

This paper represents an effort in this direction - an effort to determine the effect of class size on language learning opportunities in the classroom. For the purposes of this study, it has been assumed, following Hatch 1978, 1983; Long 1981, 1983; Allwright 1984a, 1984b; Pica and

Long 1986; Pica 1987; Pica and Doughty 1988 (among others), that what is of crucial importance for language learning in the classroom is opportunities for learners to negotiate meaning during meaningful interaction. Meaningful interaction is seen as genuine communication i.e., as a "two-way flow of communication in which each possesses something that the other wants or needs and has a right to request and a responsibility to share" and which in turn, arises out of a social relationship in which learners and their interlocutors "see themselves as having equivalent status with regard to meeting their needs and fulfilling their obligations as conversational participants" (Pica 1987:4). Therefore, it is also assumed that traditional classroom discourse (see Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Fanselow 1977, Mehan 1979 etc. for descriptions of the I-R-F or STR-SOL-RES-REA pattern of classroom discourse), which is characterized by an unequal distribution of participation rights (with the teacher dominating the interaction), and is orientated not towards a two-way flow of information but a "one-way display from student to teacher" (ibid:10), cannot provide the kind of information exchange, negotiation, and collaboration which characterizes genuine interaction.

Selection of the Sample and Data Collection

The study reported here arose out of the felt need to determine whether indeed class size makes a difference in the opportunities for meaningful interaction (as defined above) made available to learners. With this end in view, a small class and a large class, in which English was taught as a subject at the middle school level (i.e., the 6th to the 9th year of the schooling in the Indian system), were observed. During the initial observation phase, the emphasis was merely on finding out how much student talk there was relative to teacher talk and whether indeed the teacher dominated the interaction in the large class. As a rough measure of the amount of teacher talk vs student talk, a count was made of the number of times the teacher took a turn and the number of times the students (either collectively or individually) took turns. Further, the classroom interaction was recorded using an audio-recorder and notes made to get a feel of the classroom atmosphere and the nature of teaching and learning in the two classes.

The count of student vs teacher turns in both the large class and the small class came as a tremendous surprise. For it was found that in the small class which had no more than 25 students, the teacher took the floor more often than the students but in the large class which had as many as 45 students, it was the students who took the floor far more often than the teacher. The table below indicates the number of teacher vs students turns in the two classes:

Table 1
Frequency of Teacher Turns vs Student Turns in the Large Class and the Small Class (Sample I)

	Total No. of Turns	Teacher Turns	Student Turns
Large class	276	57	219
Small class	123	66	57

Moreover, the classroom observation seemed to indicate that in the large class, the students' turns were generally as long as the teacher's while in the small class, it was the teacher who took long turns and the students' utterances seemed to consist largely of single words and phrases. In this sample, then, it was the larger class which seemed to provide greater opportunities for students to talk than the smaller class and the teacher dominated the interaction in the small class rather than in the large class!

A possible reason for this rather unexpected result seemed to be that in the small class, the focus of the lesson was on points of grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary, while in the large class, the students were involved in a role-play activity. The important questions that this observation therefore raised were - Does class size indeed make a difference to the opportunities available for student interaction? Could the crucial variable be the choice of the teaching-learning activity being carried out rather than the 'smallness' of the class?

In order to probe further into these questions, another large class and another small class were observed. This time, an effort was made to find a large class in which a traditional mode of language teaching was employed and a small class in which an attempt was made to carry out some kind of activity. Again, a count was made of the number of teacher and student turns. This time it was found that the teacher talked more often than the students in the large class but it was the students who talked more often than the teacher in the small class. This is indicated in the table below:

Table 2
Frequency of Teacher Turns vs Student Turns in the Large Class and the Small Class (Sample II)

	Total No. of Turns	Teacher Turns	Student Turns
Large class	305	157	148
Small class	132	38	94

This time, the classroom observations indicated that the students' utterances in the large class were very short, while the teacher took very long turns. On the other hand, in the smaller class, the students' turns seemed to be much longer than in the large class.

Since the teaching-learning activity seemed to centre around 'language' in the large class and around role-play in the small one, the observation of these classes served to confirm the earlier hunch that the opportunities made available for learners to talk could depend on the choice of the activity being carried out in the classroom rather than simply on a smaller class size.

By this time, four kinds of classes had been observed: two large classes - one in which a traditional mode of teaching was employed and another in which there was role-play activity - and two small classes - one which centred around a role-play activity and another in which there was traditional teaching. The four classes could now be grouped thus:

Large Class A	Large Class T
Small Class A	Small Class T

The initial observations indicated that Large Class A and Small Class A in which the teaching and learning centre around an activity, viz., role-play, provided similar opportunities for students to talk, while both Large Class T and Small Class T in which the teaching and learning was of the traditional kind, similarly restricted student talk.

Data Analysis

At this stage, the data was examined more carefully and an attempt was made to look for specific examples of the similarities and differences among and between the two groups of classes (i) Large Class A and Small Class A and (ii) Large Class T and Small Class T.

Transcripts of the four classes were now studied. No attempt was made to follow any available system of analysis, or to impose preconceived categories on the data. Instead an attempt was made to draw insights from the transcribed data both into the similarities and the differences among and between the two groups of classes and into the possible reasons for these similarities and differences. To obtain a clearer picture of the differences between the two groups of classes regarding the nature of the students' role and the extent of their participation, the length of the student turns in terms of the average number of words per student turn in each class was also calculated. Descriptive profiles for each of the four classes were then prepared. These class profiles seemed to confirm that there were several similarities between the two activity-based classes (in spite of the fact that one was large and the other small) as well as between the two traditional classes (one large and the other small). For the sake of presentation therefore, each of the two groups of classes have been described together. The similarities and differences for each group of classes have been presented in terms of the nature of the teaching-learning activities, the teacher's and students' role and the patterns of interaction.

The Nature of the Teaching-Learning Activities

The classroom interaction in all the four classes seemed to be greatly influenced by the teaching-learning activities being carried out. The nature of the teaching-learning activities, as observed earlier, was fairly similar within each group of classes, while it was completely different between the two groups. Thus in Large Class A as well as in Small Class A, the main activity centred around role-play while in Large Class T and Small Class T, the focus was on the content of the lesson in the textbook and on points of grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation arising out of it.

In Large Class A, the students are engaged in enacting a play from the prescribed textbook under the teacher's supervision. The role-play activity involves the entire class - nearly half of them are directly involved in the role-play as the play being enacted has a large number of roles, while the others watch, prompt, and direct their peers. Finally, at the end of the role-play activity, the teacher with the help of the learners, attempts to re-construct a summary of the play. In Small Class A, while the students are not actually enacting the play - they are preparing for it - use is again made of a story from the textbook (in this case, Shakespeare's 'Macbeth'). In this lesson, as preparation for the role-play, the teacher gets the students to create their own dialogue for the witches' scene. After some initial prodding by the teacher, the students make enthusiastic suggestions for the dialogue.

The choice of the activity in both these classes seems to create a great deal of student involvement and interest, a natural need to communicate and immense opportunities for meaningful interaction. For example, in the large class, the focus on enacting a play which is of interest to the learners, results in an active student involvement in spontaneous and meaningful interaction as illustrated by the following excerpt:

SS (Disciples): (chanting rhythmically altogether)
Heartless hunting, you will not....
T: Don't read as sentences.
S: Didi, I will read out.
T: You come here. Listen to her and then you sing.
S: Heartless hunter, you will not
Have long to live, having shot
A courting curlew's mate and killed
A bird in longing unfulfilled.
T: Now read out properly (addresses Valmiki)
S_1: Heartless hunter, you will not....
SS: Sing it. Sing it.

(Large Class A)

During this episode, the student playing the role of 'Valmiki' fails to sing the lines as required and one of the onlookers quickly offers to demonstrate. When in spite of the demonstration, Valmiki fails to sing the lines, it is again the students in the audience who promptly provide the cue.

In a similar manner, the preparatory discussion of the role-play in the small class creates tremendous interest and enthusiasm on the part of the learners and leads to a spontaneous and even creative use of language as in this episode:

T: O.K. but what could they be saying? ...
What would the witches say....what would they say?
S: They make all sorts of noise.
T: Alright, what sort of noise....
....
describe what could they be saying?
SSS: (puzzled)....
T: O.K. I'll suggest...Parry's Toffee...
Cadbury's chocolate...you watch TV,
don't you, and what ice cream?
SS: Sir, Dinshaw's ice cream.
T: Dinshaw's ice cream.
S: Sir, they could say Parry's toffee,
Dinshaw's ice cream, Cadbury's chocolate...
lizard's tail, frog's skin.
....

T: Yes...it's the usual thing - say something,
suggest something different.
S: Sir, Bofor's gun...Coco Cola.
T: Hmmm, Coco Cola isn't there...do you think you'll say that?
S: Sir, Bofor's gun, Pepsi Cola.
S: Big Fun bubble gum.
S: Sir, Rola Cola.
S: Sir, Maggie noodles.
S: Milk-food yoghurt.

(Small Class A)

In this excerpt, the students vie with each other to come out with a string of tongue-in-the-cheek chants for the witches.

On the other hand, the scenario in the two traditional classes is quite different. For example, in Small Class T the teacher picks on words and sentences from the lesson to question the students on various aspects of formal grammar, including parts of speech, comparative forms of adjectives, phrasal verbs etc. In the episode below, the teacher gets the students to make sentences using words exemplifying various grammatical categories.

T: ...Can you use this 'tall' in a sentence?
Yes, Bhargavi?
S: Praveen is a tall boy.
T: In a positive way.
S: Tall is positive.
T: Yes, but use it in another way, in any other kind of
sentence. All right, you tell me in comparison.
S: Ravi is a tall boy. (hesitates)
T: Yes. You tell me, Sashikant.
S: Ravi is taller than any other boy.
T: Tallest, can you use?
S: Ravi is the tallest boy in the class.

(Small Class T)

Similarly, in Large Class T, the teacher reads out long paragraphs from the textbook and attempts to elicit answers to comprehension questions. She also asks questions on word meanings, points of grammar and pronunciation. In this class, as in Small Class T, the learners are also often required to construct isolated sentences with various vocabulary items.

T: He wore what?

SSS: Copper plates around his belly.

……

T: Now which part of your body is belly?

SSS: Stomach part.

T: So you all know. Now when I say my belly is full, what does it mean?

S_1: My stomach is full.

T: My stomach is full

……

Now pay attention here.
The last boy. You make a sentence using the word 'around'.

S_1: (No answer)

T: Try to make a sentence.

S_1: The planets are revolving around the sun.

(Large Class T)

The focus on language form in both Small Class T and Large Class T seems to restrict learner interaction and the learners' activity in these classes, unlike that in Small Class A and Large Class A, consists entirely of listening to the teacher talk about the textbook lesson and about language, and displaying their knowledge as and when required to do so by the teacher.

The Teacher and Student Roles

The nature of the activity in these classes is seen as playing a crucial role in shaping the nature of the teacher and student roles as well as the patterns of classroom discourse.

In all the four classes, the teacher is in overall control - the initiation of the lesson is seen as the teacher's responsibility and it is she who disciplines the students when the proceedings of the lesson/activity are disturbed. However, in all other respects, the teachers and learners seem to be adopting completely different roles in the activity-based classes and the traditional classes.

In neither Large Class A nor in Small Class A, does the teacher dominate the interaction. In both these classes, the teachers seem to have an open and friendly attitude which encourages students to participate freely and spontaneously in the interaction. Although in neither class is private student-student talk permitted, in both these classes the students are given the right to take turns without being nominated. This is true even of the class with the larger number of students. It is perhaps because students readily initiate talk in these classes that the number of student turns is much more than the number of teacher turns both in Large Class A (219 student turns vs 57 teacher turns) and in Small Class A (94 student turns vs 38 teacher turns).

The readiness with which the students watching the role-play in Large Class A, take the initiative in prompting and correcting the participants in the role-play and even help the teacher direct and instruct their peers, may be illustrated by this episode:

S_1: But I don't know how. I know how to escape from jail. I have never been to hell. So how do I know the ways to escape?
S_4: But we know how.
SS: We know how to.
S_4: But we know how to escape from hell, my son....

(Large Class A)

Because of the interest aroused by the activity, the students also readily contribute to the teacher's questions during the last phase of the lesson and even, occasionally take the liberty of interrupting the teacher to complete her sentences:

T: ...Because he wanted to escape from hell he started
S: chanting Rama Mantra.

(Large Class A)

Similarly, in Small Class A, the teacher encourages the students to give free rein to their ideas. The teacher gives suggestions, monitors the discussion, leads the students on whenever necessary and the students respond eagerly, initiating talk, contributing to and expanding on each other's ideas, often totally carried away with them, resulting in almost weird albeit interesting suggestings on how to re-create the witches' scene, as in this excerpt:

S: Sir, when they are going around...one which falls in.
S: Maggie noodles and all those things come out.
S: Sir, the witch comes out with hair like noodles***
SSS: ****
S: Sir and Cadbury's sticking to her hands.
S: Sir, like**

S: ****

T: We should say things, how can you do that?...that's make up and all.... I want you to think what they say, not make up.

SSS: (No answer)

T: Apply your mind to it, don't give up yet....
some interesting idea.... Yes?...
What will come out?

S: A computer.

S: A robot comes out.

(Small Class A)

Students in both these classes are not passive recipients of knowledge but actively participate in the proceedings and make meaningful contributions to the classroom interaction. The teacher's role too is unlike that of traditional classes. For the teachers in these classes act as co-participants in the activity and as monitors of the classroom interaction. Thus in Large Class A, the teacher participates in the role-play as a narrator even while she directs and instructs the students for the role-play and in Small Class A, the teacher participates in the discussion by contributing ideas, and at the same time, acts as a moderator and gives direction to the discussion.

Both Large Class T and Small Class T on the other hand, are overwhelmingly teacher-centred. In both these classes, the teacher dominates and determines the interaction. Her role in these classes is a purely pedagogical and managerial one. The teacher addresses the whole class, asks questions, nominates students to display their knowledge and provides corrective feedback:

T: ...Any advice (is) given in the first paragraph?

S: Good wishes.

T: Yes. His good wishes. Now the question is why couldn't he send a present? You know what a present is. I need not tell you again. Why couldn't he send a beautiful present or gift to his daughter?

S_1: Because he was in prison, miss. That is why.

S_2: No, miss. I will tell, miss.

T: You sit.

S_1: Because he was in prison, miss.

T: Jawaharlal Nehru was in the prison and he was not able to send the gift.

(Large Class A)

The teacher, as in the excerpt above, transmits information as and when necessary, elicits answers to assess how much the students have understood, decides who can take a turn and when, and whether the student's answer is correct. And as the following excerpt from Small Class T suggests, the teacher, here, in spite of having far fewer students to deal with, adopts exactly the same role with the only difference being that the students are nominated by name more often:

> T: ...Yes, I want to ask you one question. Don't shout all at once. Just raise your hands. Who came to see the girl off?
> SS: (Students raise hands). Didi, Didi
> T: Suresh.
> S: The girl's parents came to see her off.
> S: Came to see her off.
> T: Yes, sit down. Next question, what did they tell her? What did they tell her means they gave her so many instructions. What are they? Yes, Nirupama.
> S: They told her not to lean out of the window and not to talk to strangers and where to keep her things.
> T: And where to keep her things. Very good, sit down.
>
> (Small Class T)

The teacher's attitude in both these classes seems to be highly authoritarian and in Small Class T, the teacher even threatens the students with punishment twice:

> T: Stand up and tell. Tell me the correct word or I'll give punishment.
>
> (Small Class T)

and

> T: ...Do the exercises one to four as homework. I will check it tomorrow. Those who do not bring will be punished.
>
> (Small Class T)

As a result of the teacher's insistence on rigidly following traditional classroom rules and procedures and the highly unequal status between teachers and learners in the classes, the students play a completely passive role. Since the students can talk only when permitted to do so by the teacher, these classes are most unlike Small Class A and Large Class A in that there is a complete lack of student-initiation and student-student interaction in these classes.

The differences between Small and Large Class T and Small and Large Class A as regards the nature of the students' role and the extent of their participation seem even more signficiant when we examine the average length of the students' turns in each of these classes as presented in the table below:

Table 3
Average Length of Students' Turns in Large and Small Casses A and Large and Small Classes T

Students' Talk	Class 'A'		Class 'T'	
	Large	Small	Large	Small
Total No. of Words	2578	692	508	229
Total No. of Turns	219	94	148	57
Average Words Per Turn	11.8	7.4	3.4	4.0

The fact that the longest student turns are found in Large Class A followed by Small Class A while the students utter very few words per turn in both Small Class T and Large Class T is indicative of the far greater participation by the students in Small Class A and Large Class A and the restricted nature of their role and participation in Small Class T and Large Class T.

The total dominance of the teacher and the extremely truncated kind of students' utterances in these classes may also be illustrated by the following excerpt from Large Class T:

T: Anil, do you know degrees of comparison?
Tell me those.
S: Positive, comparative and superlative.
T: Yes. Positive, comparative and superlative. Good. He said just now that 'tall' is an adjective, so this tall - tell me the three degrees of comparison. Tall comes under....
S: Positive.
T: Positive, and for comparative?
S: Taller.
T: Superlative?
S: Tallest.
T: Yes, sit down. Ramesh, can you give me one more example of this type. (Ramesh is silent)
T: Sirish.
S: Good, better, best.

(Small Class T)

The Patterns of Interaction

The differing nature of the teacher-student interaction in these two groups of classes seems to create differing patterns of interaction in each group of classes. Thus in both the activity-based classes, the interaction patterns are quite unlike the mechanical routinized pattern of classroom discourse found in the other group. The discourse patterns in these classes indicate a genuine negotiation of meaning taking place through a two-way exchange of information as both teachers and students initiate talk as well as respond to it and there seem to be few feedback moves made by the teachers.

In spite of the larger number of students, there is relatively equal distribution of participation rights and a two-way interaction pattern even in Large Class A. This occurs beause during most of the class time, the children are enacting the play and during this part of the lesson, the teacher interrupts only very occasionally in order to give directions.

S_7: Who is the robber?
(The seven girls go back and take their places. Immediately the seven boys come and stand in front of the class. Among them one is the robber and the remaining six are sages.)
T: Now one more.
S_1: Didi, I'll be.
S_2: Didi, Didi (Raises his hand)
S_3: You go. (Points to the boy next to him).

(Large Class A)

The only occasion when the interaction comes close to the traditional I-R-F pattern in this class, is during the last phase when the teacher elicits answers from the students to reconstruct the story. Even here, the students seem to have relatively greater participation rights, and occasionally, they take upon themsevles the responsibility of providing feedback to their peers:

T: Now all of you know how Valmiki had become a great saint from this act.
SSS: Yes.
T: How?
S: From his concentration on the 'tapas'.
SS: No, no.
T: No. How he changed in the first stage?
SS: By repeating Rama.
T: Just by repeating. He started repeating the name later on.

S: Fear of going to the hell.
T: Only that fear? Yes, what else?
S: His wife and children did not agree to come to...
S: His wife and children refused to share...share his sins.
(Large Class A)

The teacher here seems to make no attempt to prevent students from taking turns on their own and even accepts their intervention. There does not, therefore, seem to be any restriction on their spontaneous participation. Similarly, in Small Class A, the nature of the discussion being conducted is such that the students make contributions one after the other and occasionally, even interrupt each other or even the teacher. As the teacher's efforts seem to be directed mainly at getting the students to contribute ideas to the discussion, she hardly ever provides corrective feedback. Again, participation rights in this class seem more equally distributed as students themselves ask questions about the witches' dialogue or react to the teacher's description of it as in this excerpt:

S: Sir, how does the language go?
T: They say like, when shall we meet again in lightning...in thunder and in rain.
S: Sir, let's not do that.
T: O.K. This fellow says we'll do away with it ***... think of something ...
S: Sir, they go chanting.
S: They may be making ** rounds.
(Small Class A)

Thus here, it is the students who decide to re-create their own dialogue for the witches.

On the other hand, in Large Class T and Small Class T, the nature of the teacher-learner interaction results in the traditional routinized pattern of classroom discourse (i.e., teacher initiates, student responds, teacher reacts). In these classes, it is always the teacher who initiates, asks questions, and provides feedback when the students respond:

T: ...Now what is the meaning of this here? Sermonising. (Writes the word 'sermonising' on blackboard)
S: Moral lessons.
T: Moral lessons. Who is giving the moral lessons here?
S: Jawaharlal Nehru.
(Large Class T)

Even in Small Class T, the interaction pattern remains the same:

T: ... What part of speech is this tall?
S: Adjective.
T: Adjective; sit down.
(points to blackboard)
Yes, Ramana, what part of speech is this 'big'.
S: Adjective.
T: Yes, so, Sapna what part of speech is this 'boy'?
S: Boy is a noun.
T: Boy is a noun.

(Small Class T)

The discourse patterns in both these classes thus clearly indicate unequal participation rights, a one-way display from student to teacher and the lack of a two-way flow of information.

Discussion

A closer examination of the data from the four classes indicates that there are similarities in the nature of the teaching/learning activities, the teacher's and student's role in Large Class A and Small Class A and consequently, in the patterns of interaction which are, in both the classes, different from those of traditional classroom discourse. Further, both these classes seem to be making available to learners opportunities for meaningful interaction in real communicative situations.

On the other hand, in Large Class T and Small Class T in which similar teaching/learning activities are being carried out and in which, the teachers and students adopt traditional roles (i.e., the teachers dominate and the students are passive), the patterns of interaction are similar to those of traditional classroom discourse. Unlike Large Class A and Small Class A, in these two classes, opportunities for meaningful student interaction seem limited and there seems to be hardly any negotiation of meaning by the participants. On the other hand, there seem to be no similarities at all between Large Class A and Large Class T or between Small Class A and Small Class T.

This seems to imply that it is not necessarily the size of the class which limits the learning opportunities made available but the nature of the teaching/learning activities and the teacher's role and attitude which influence the nature of student interaction and create particular types of interaction patterns. In the data examined, the role-play activity in both Large Class A and Small Class A, the teachers' attempt to engage the students and her relatively flexible attitude, seemed to lead to interaction patterns which were different from those of traditional classrooms and to a fairly spontaneous kind of student interaction and negotiation of meaning in a meaningful communicative situation. In the other two classes studied, Large Class T and Small Class T, the focus on transmitting the content of the lesson and on the explicit teaching of grammar and vocabulary, the highly structured kind of teaching, coupled with the teacher's authoritarian, dominant attitude seemed to lead to traditional patterns of classroom discourse and to limited opportunities for free and spontaneous interaction by students in genuine communicative situations.

Conclusion

The analysis presented here – though somewhat limited in scope – does indicate that class size alone may not be responsible for greater or fewer interactional opportunities being made available to learners. An important implication of this study is that language teaching experts need not perhaps be overly concerned about ensuring drastic reductions in class size alone. No doubt small classes are desirable in terms of the greater opportunities they provide for individualization and the greater ease with which a teacher can control the class and ensure student involvement. However, this study indicates that whatever may be the administrative reasons for preferring smaller classes, it *is* possible to provide interactional opportunities for learners even in relatively large classes (although this of course, cannot necessarily be said about classes larger than those studied here), for, in the final analysis, what is of crucial importance, is the effort and understanding which the teacher brings to the class and the kind of activity she introduces into the language teaching situation. Since large classes are a fact of life and we have necessarily to live with them, the findings of this study may have implications both for language teachers and for trainers of teachers in large class situations.

The study also points to the need to approach the problem of finding suitable teaching techniques for large classes through the analysis of classroom interaction in large classes in which different types of teaching techniques/activities are used. Systematic and detailed analyses of similar data collected from different situations need to be carried out. This would give us a clearer picture of teaching and learning in both large and small classes and also enable us to evaluate the effect of various teaching techniques/activities on interactional behaviour in classes of different sizes.

References

Allwright, Richard L. 1984a. The importance of interaction in classroom language learning. *Applied Linguistics,* 5:2, 156–171.

Allwright, Richard L. 1984b. "Why learners don't learn what teachers teach? - The interaction hypothesis." In D.M. Singleton, and D. G. Little (eds.) *Language Learning in Formal and Informal Contexts.* Dublin: Irish Association of Applied Linguistics, 3–18.

Coleman, Hywel. 1989a. The study of large classes. *Project Report No. 2.* Lancaster, Leeds: Lancaster-Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Research Project.

Coleman, Hywel. 1989b. How large are large classes? *Project Report No. 4.* Lancaster, Leeds: Lancaster-Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Research Project.

Coleman, Hywel. 1989c. Approaches to the management of large classes. *Project Report No. 11.* Lancaster, Leeds: Lancaster-Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Research Project.

Fanselow, John F. 1977. Beyond Rashamon -Conceptualizing and describing the teaching act. *TESOL Quarterly*, 11:1, 17–39.

Hatch, Evelyn. 1978. "Acquisition of syntax in a second language". In J. Richards (ed.): *Understanding Second and Foreign Language Learning.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Hatch, Evelyn. 1983. *Psycholinguistics: A Second Language Perspective.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

LoCastro, Virginia. 1989. Large size and classes: The situation in Japan. *Project Report No. 5.* Lancaster, Leeds: Lancaster-Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Research Project.

Long, Michael H. 1977. Teaching English in large classes. *English Teaching Forum*, 15:1, 40–42.

Long, Michael H. 1981. "Input, interaction and second language acquisition." In: H. Winitz (ed.). *Native Language and Foreign Language Acquisition. Annals of the New York Academy of Science*, 379:259–78.

Long, Michael H. 1983. Linguistic and conversational adjustments to non-native speakers. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,* 5:2, 177–93.

McLeod, Nicki. 1989. What teachers cannot do in large classes. *Project Report No. 7.* Lancaster, Leeds: Lancaster-Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Research Project.

Mehan, Hugh. 1979. *Learning Lessons: Social Organization in the Classroom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nolasco, Rob and Arthur, Lois. 1988. *Large Classes.* London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd.

Peachey, Linda. 1989. Language Learning in Large Classes: A Pilot Study of South African Data. *Project Report No. 8.* Lancaster, Leeds: Lancaster-Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Research Project.

Pica, Teresa. 1987. Second Language Acquisition, Social Interaction, and the Classroom. *Applied Linguistics,* 8:1, 3-21.

Pica, Teresa and Doughty, Catherine. 1988. "Variations in Classroom Interaction as a Function of Participation Pattern and Task". In Jonathan Fine (ed.) *Second Language Discourse: A Textbook of Current Research.* Norwood: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Pica, Teresa and Long, Michael H. 1986. The Classroom Linguistic and Conversational Performance of Experienced and Inexperienced teachers. In: R. Day (ed.). *Talking to Learn: Conversation in Second Language Acquisition.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Rivers, Wilga M. 1986. Comprehension and Production in Language Learning. *Modern Language Journal,* 70:1, 1-7.

Sabandar, Jacob. 1989. Language Learning in Large Classes in Indonesia. *Project Report No. 9.* Lancaster, Leeds: Lancaster-Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Research Project.

Sinclair, J.M. and Coulthard R.M. 1975. *Towards and Analysis of Discourse.* London: Oxford University Press.

Singh, Rajinder. 1990. *Towards an Integrated Methodology of Teaching English in Large Undergraduate Classes. Unpublished M. Litt. Dissertation. Hyderabad: CIEFL.*

West, Michael. 1960. Teaching English in Difficult Circumstances. London: Longmans.

Studies in Language Learning in Large Classes: A Critical Appraisal

Oladejo J.A.
National University of Singapore

Abstract

In this paper an attempt is made to critically examine an ongoing research, namely, the Lancaster-Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Research Project, in order to focus attention on its importance as a major research effort aimed at investigating the problems of language learning in large classes. More importantly, however, the paper highlights some major flaws in the research project, so that corrective measures which will make the entire research project worth the effort might be taken.

Introduction

Although for most people second language (L2) learning takes place in the context of the classroom, the significance of class size is often overlooked in most discussions of situational variables in second language learning. Consequently, while the role of class size in L2 teaching/learning is sometimes mentioned, it is hardly ever thoroughly investigated. It is no surprise, therefore, that while there are literally scores of articles and research studies discussing the effect on L2 teaching/learning of situational variables such as: the social and political status of the target language, the linguistic and geographical distance between languages, and the quality of teaching and materials, (for instance: Paulston 1975; Burstall 1975; Burstall et. al. 1974;), little evidence exists of such significant interest in the size of the class and its effect on L2 learning.

Whatever information is available in respect of the effect of class size on language learning is therefore largely in the form of anecdotes from teachers' own experiences, some of which often pass for myth rather than reality. This is more so, particularly as findings from the few research studies relevant to the question tend to contradict rather than support such anecdotal opinions (see for instance Stephens 1967). Without strong evidence therefore, it is difficult to back up teachers' claims about the role of the size of the class in L2 learning. In the words of Allwright (1989:3), this lack of support also "raises the suspicion that the people who complain about their large class (i.e. teachers)...are perhaps really only trying to find a plausible excuse for a general, if understandable, reluctance to rethink their whole approach to language pedagogy".

Apart from generating "suspicion", such findings also point to the need for more research which will seek to establish the conditions under which class size might or might not matter. And until research evidence emerges which clearly answers the question one way or the other, the question of the relationship between class size and L2 learning is bound to be a thorny one for teachers, applied linguists, and education authorities.

The purpose of this paper is to critically examine an ongoing large-scale research project which is seeking to provide some answers to the many relevant questions on the role of class size in second language learning, namely the Lancaster-Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Research Project (henceforth the Lancaster-Leeds Project). In so doing, the relevance and significance of the research project will be highlighted and, more importantly, some serious lacunae will be identified in order to focus attention on the need for rectification, so that the research project might produce desired results. Specifically, the following aspects of the Lancaster-Leeds projects shall be discussed: (a) research focus (b) data design, collection and analysis, and (c) research findings and interpretation. But first, a brief statement about the project.

The Project

The Lancaster-Leeds Project started in 1987, and is jointly coordinated by Dick Allwright in Lancaster and Hywel Coleman in Leeds, U.K., hence the name Lancaster-Leeds project. Its main aim is to investigate the relationship between large classes and English language learning. The data for the studies consist mainly of two types of questionnaire, the difficulties questionnaire and the number questionnaire, (see appendix 1 and 2 respectively). These were completed by respondents, mostly university teachers of English, who were in the U.K. for short term development/refresher courses. The majority of the respondents were from three continents of Africa, Asia and Europe, and from countries such as: Cote d' Ivore, Greece, Jordan, India, Indonesia, Japan, Mexico, Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa (Coleman 1989b).

Partly because the research is still in its infancy, and in part because of some methodological problems which shall be discussed in latter parts of this paper, none of the findings so far reported provides conclusive answers to most of the questions being addressed by the research. Nevertheless, there is hardly any doubt that the research project promises to be an invaluable contribution that should throw some light on the relationship between class size and L2 learning. For apart from being the first systematic study of the effects of large classes of language learning, it is also the first of its kind in terms of size, having collected its data from many countries. The Lancaster-Leeds project is also a first step in the right direction because it attempts to focus the attention of linguists, teachers and educators to the very important but often neglected problems of large classes in language learning, and also because it will lead the way forward to further research on the matter.

Research Focus

Coleman (1989a) spells out the focus of the project as follows: "creating a bibliography, networking, organizing colloquial, and promoting and undertaking research". The critical examination of the project here shall focus on the fourth and probably most important item on the agenda, promoting and undertaking research. To achieve this fourth goal, the researchers identified nine research questions: teachers' concern with large classes, the extent of the phenomenon of large classes, reasons for the occurrence of large classes, attitudes to large classes, data collection in large classes, the performance of learners in large classes, strategies in large classes, language acquisition in large classes, and experiments in large classes (see Coleman 1989a:18–27 for details).

Although these nine points which constitute the focus of the research are important and relevant to the whole question of language learning in large classes, it is doubtful if they alone are sufficient to answer many important questions which might interest teachers and education authorities concerned about class size and language learning in the situations investigated. If the goal of the research is to obtain a clear picture of the phenomenon of large classes and its influence on language learning, then certain important issues may have been overlooked in the focus of the Lancaster-Leeds project. One such issue is the attitudes of language learners in large classes.

It is a well known fact that language teaching/learning is an enterprise in which both the teacher and the learner are joint participants. It is equally true that, as a human being, the learner has his own perceptions and attitudes about what is happening around him. Indeed, as the one at the receiving end of language teaching, the learner and his attitudes, feelings, and opinions about what goes on in large classes could be as important as the teacher and his views in order to have a clear understanding of the magnitude of the problems of language teaching/learning in such a situation. It follows, therefore, that we cannot afford to be interested only in the attitudes of the teacher as is now the case with the Lancaster-Leeds project.

Apart from neglecting the attitudes of language learners, none of the research questions seeks to investigate how large classes actually affect the teacher. Questions such as: do large classes make the teacher more or less creative in using known methodologies, how do large classes compel him to modify a given teaching method or even develop new ones, and how do large classes affect his overall perception of what he is doing, ought to be investigated. Similarly, how large classes affect the learning process, whether it makes learning faster or slows it down, whether it makes the learner learn more or less within a given period of time, whether the learner in a large class uses language more often than the one in a relatively smaller class, are all important for a balanced view of the role of class size in L2 learning.

Data Design

At least two main features of the research instrument need to be critically examined here, namely, the questionnaire and the respondents. Perhaps one main defect of the questionnaire has been noted by Peachey (1989:1) when she points out that: "there is apparently a fundamental assumption underlying the questionnaire that large classes are to be viewed negatively". Given the negative direction of the difficulty questionnaire, for example, it is doubtful if the respondents are not just being called upon to endorse the ready-made opinions of the researchers, rather than being given a chance to state their own (respondents) views about teaching in large classes. If the researchers' intention were to elicit the respondents' own opinions, one would have expected that the phrasing of the questions would be so neutral that it would not have prejudiced the subjects' views about the issue at stake. Why, for instance, must question 1 of the difficulties questionnaire present such a negative view of large classes, as if it is gospel truth that such classes always create difficulties for teachers? (See appendix 1). Would it not have made a difference if it were put another way, such as: "Indicate whether large classes make teaching difficult for you, and if so, state how"?

Another problem with the questionnaire is that many of the questions are open to misinterpretation, and were indeed misinterpreted by many of the respondents. Consequently, a significant proportion of the responses the subjects provided are invalid. Two examples of such questions open to misinterpretation are those asking respondents to indicate the class size at which problems begin without clarifying which problems are meant (see questions 5a & b of the numbers questionnaire, appendix 2). For these questions to elicit valid responses, the respondents should be left in no doubt as to what problems are intended by the investigator.

After all, different respondents might have different concepts of what a problem is, and, in any case, it is most unlikely that all problems would start at the same time once the class size reaches a given number. In this connection therefore, the questions cannot elicit any detailed information on which problem(s) starts at what class size level, and the usefulness of any answer devoid of such a detailed information is certainly questionable.

Apart from the misinterpretation inherent in the questionnaire, it is also doubtful if such a questionnaire can alone elicit all the important information relevant for a detailed study of the relationship between language learning/teaching and class size. How, for instance, can an analysis of data from such questionnaire alone show the root causes of the phenomenon of large classes? How can we clarify which of the identified problems in large classes are actually the result of the size of the class, rather than the outcome of other factors like poor teacher training, lack of adequate teaching materials, or even the adoption of unproductive teaching method? It would also be important to find out whether any of the problems associated with large classes are also found in relatively smaller classes, and if so, whether certain factors other than class size could be accountable for such problems. What it takes to obtain such information is more than a questionnaire. Other data collection procedures such as classroom observations and even oral interviews would be necessary complements to any questionnaire in such an investigation as the Lancaster-Leeds project.

Respondents

Three questions must be raised in connection with the respondents and, consequently, with the validity and reliability of the data they provided for the study. First, in view of the context in which the questionnaire was administered to the subjects, how reliable is the information they supplied on the relationship between large classes and language learning? It will be recalled that the majority of the subjects were teachers of English who had just completed some training courses in the United Kingdom when the questionnaire was administered. This situation not only generates suspicion about the effect the newly acquired knowledge might have had on their responses, but it also raises the question of whether the respondents did not answer the questions with the benefit of a hindsight provided by the foreign context. After all, it is a well known fact that classroom sizes in the United Kingdom are smaller, and the available teaching and research facilities are better than in most of the respondents' countries of origin. In other words, is it not likely that the respondents might have been influenced in certain ways by the new teaching methods, materials, and perhaps, new ideas about the size of an "ideal" class, all of which they must have been exposed to by the fact of their being away from home where conditions are generally worse as far as language teaching is concerned? And could one be sure that the newly acquired knowledge about language teaching had no influence on how the teachers responded? In fact, this suspicion is justified, given the following responses provided to quesiton one (appendix 1) by some of the respondents from the South African study:

> "I couldn't answer no 1 easily since studying child-centered education as I was always teacher-centered before"
>
> "We would like to be given a chance of teaching small classes to implement our new skills"
>
> "If I want to achieve my system of child-centeredness how can I go about it in large class of 80 pupils"
>
> (Peachey, ibid:15-16).

The second, and perhaps more serious, problem in respect of the subjects for the research is that the majority are not directly involved in English language teaching in large classes in their various countries. With the exception of the South African data obtained from primary and secondary school teachers, almost all the other sets of data were elicited from university lecturers who could hardly be regarded as real participants in teaching in large classes. For there is hardly any doubt that, in most parts of the world where English is learnt as a second or foreign language (ESL/EFL), the bulk of the teaching and learning of the language takes place at the primary and secondary school levels. It is often the case therefore, that the majority of ESL/EFL speakers in such countries are not university graduates but primary and secondary school leavers. Obviously too, in most of the situations investigated by the Lancaster-Leeds researchers, the purpose of English language teaching in universities and other higher institutions of learning is not the same as in the lower levels of education. For while primary and secondary education provide basic competence in English, teaching English in the higher institution usually has two main goals. It may be aimed at providing remedial training in the language, so that the students' competence in it would be enhanced, particularly to meet the demands of higher education in which English is often the medium of instruction. The other goal, and a more restricted one, is to train specialists who would then obtain degrees and diplomas in the language. Such specialist courses are often available only to students who must have demonstrated some reasonable level of competence in the language prior to admission. It will be misleading therefore to present the experience of the lecture room situation often found in universities as if it were representative of the true ESL learning situation in the countries investigated. It follows from the above clarification also that, any attempt to obtain genuine data on large classes and its relationship to English language teaching in such countries as have been investigated ought to have focused significantly on the primary and secondary school levels where English Language teaching/learning mainly takes place and where the phenomenon of large classes may exist. Though university lecturers may be more easily available, they are less competent to comment on language teaching in large classes than their primary and secondary school counterparts because they (university lecturers) do not have the real experience of teaching in such a situation.

If the situation in which the data were obtained and the subjects' actual experiences both raise questions about the validity and reliability of the information obtained, the small number of respondents further increases one's suspicion of the data. The third question therefore is: how representative of Indonesian teachers' opinions, for instance, can one expect the responses of only eleven teachers to be, and to what extent can one rely on the views of 10 teachers from Turkey, and five from Greece as a true position of language teaching in large classes in these countries? (See Coleman 1989b:6 for details of the figures for each country investigated). There is little doubt that the number of respondents in most of these studies is too small to yield any reliable data on which valid generalizations can be based. It follows from the small size of the data also that the statistics provided in most of the studies so far reported not only conceals the fact, but it is also grossly misleading.

Findings

Although the results reported so far have shown that language teaching in large classes is widespread throughout the English speaking world, this information is not alone sufficient to provide solutions to the phenomenon. Rather, it makes real the possibility that governments and education authorities in some of the countries investigated might wrongly interpret the research findings. For example, economically poor countries such as Nigeria, Mali and Senegal might take solace in the research finding that an economically strong nation such as Japan is equally experiencing large classes and its attendant problems. The danger therefore is that politicians, whom we expect to respond to the problem of large classes in the form of better funding for education and for language teaching in particular, might use the findings as an instrument to fight against this desire. It might be argued, for instance, that if a rich country such as Japan experiences the phenomenon of large classes, then the problem has nothing to do with the state of a nation's economy. Worse still, the findings might give a wrong signal to teachers that large classes is such a universal problem that it cannot be solved. Consequently, they might give up on whatever solution they might have been seeking in the form of modification of teaching methods or materials so that they could meet the peculiar needs of their teaching situations. It is grossly misleading therefore to report on each learning situation without actually carrying out any detailed study of the circumstances which gave birth to the phenomenon of large classes in the individual cases. For example, while the foreign language status of English in Japan would partly explain the occurrence of large English classes in the country, for example, the same will not be true of a country such as Nigeria where English is a second language. As a result of its status, learning English language in Japan would be a luxury rather than necessity, but a compulsory aspect of education in Nigeria. The occurrence of large classes in Japan might therefore be partly explained in terms of the need of the nation while in Nigeria it is partly the result of the state of the country's economy in which the government has to budget less money than is needed for education as for most aspects of social spending. Thus, although the phenomenon of large classes might look alike universally, the root causes of it would differ from one country to another.

In order to ensure that the findings of the research are not misinterpreted or misapplied therefore, the research itself must focus not only on the documentation of the problems encountered in large classes, but also on the possible causes of these problems in different learning contexts. In addition, the results must be presented in such a way that it would be possible to compare them across different learning situations and without leading to unwarranted conclusions. If these are to be achieved, it will be necessary to modify the existing questionnaire in at least two ways. First, the questions will have to be designed in such a way that respondents are not just called upon to provide comments on the problems they encounter in teaching large clases, but such problems should also be ranked in a way that will show their gravity. Second, it will be necessary to design a questionnaire which will seek to identify the possible causes of large classes in different learning contexts.

Another problem with the findings of the research is the lack of standard method of analyzing the data. Consequently, different anal examining similar data have come up with different classifications a categories. For example, while Peachey (ibid:18) establishes seven categories in her analysis of responses to question 1 (Appendix 1) from the South African data, Mcleod (1989:1) establishes only three in the analysis of answers to the same question in the data obtained from Japan. Yet the same question received five categories of answers according to the analysis of the Indonesian data by Sabanda (1989:8). Obviously the differences in the number and types of categories established by the different analysts are not the outcome of the differences in the data sets analyzed but the inevitable product of the absence of a carefully worked out method of analysis. Worse still, a close look at the categories established by the analysts shows that they are not only too loose but also overlapping.

Although Sarangi (1989) attempts to address some of the problems arising from this lack of a standard for analyzing the data, and although she works out a more rigorous and a better method of analysis, her categories are not without some lacunae. First, while the five categories she establishes: physical environment related, activity related, learner related, teacher related, and achievement related, are more comprehensive in accounting for the various responses, the subcategories required to adequately account for the nuances of the different answers under each category are too many. The categories and sub-categories are also too close and somewhat confusing. For instance, what is the main difference between "being able to give attention to every student" and "being able to keep tab on the progress of individual students"? (Sarangi, ibid:6) It would seem that the former subsumes the latter. Yet they are classified under two different major categories, "effect" and "effort", respectively.

Second, although Sarangi's method produces a more comprehensive account than any of its predecessors, certain responses in the data are left unaccounted for. One such feature is the "level of noise" in large classes. In addition, the method of analysis is too elaborate and delicate to handle large data. Although it might seem somewhat adequate for analyzing the Senegalese data on which the method has been experimented, it is not unlikely that the small size of that data might have facilitated this. It should be noted that, even so, the method was only able to account for about 90% of the responses elicited from the 10 subjects who provided that data. With an increase in the number of subjects and consequently in the types of responses, it is obvious that the same method will be less able to cope.

A more serious defect in the findings of the Lancaster-Leeds project is the total absence of any suggestion on how to tackle the problems of large classes. As has already been pointed out, such an omission can lead to serious misinterpretation by education authorities and even teachers. Apart from such misinterpretation and its consequences, there are at least two other reasons why some recommendations are necessary. First, we should be under no illusion that governments and education authorities in the countries investigated are unaware of the phenomenon of large classes and its negative effects. Research studies will make little impact therefore, if they merely catalog the already well known problems. What is more important is to begin to think of solutions to such problems at the same time as they are documented. Secondly, given the fact that the Lancaster-Leeds project is the first of its kind, it cannot afford to be interested in identifying the problems of language learning in large classes without also attempting to solve such problems. Any suggested panacea will of course have to be based not just on the identification of the problem but also on the outcome of an investigation of the sources of such problems. Yet, as we have earlier observed, no attempt has been made so far to identify the possible causes of the problems in each of the countries reported on.

Conclusion

The foregoing observations about the Lancaster-Leeds Research Project are made in order to focus attention on its importance as a major research concerned with the investigation of a hitherto neglected but yet important variable in language teaching/learning, the class size. As should be clear by now, however, this paper has not emphasized the very many good aspects of the research, its importance and relevance to language learning, particularly in third world countries. While there is hardly any doubt that these qualities deserve highlighting, it must also be clear that it is more important to ensure that this pioneer effort be thoroughly examined now that it is still in its infancy, so that it can develop into a valuable research effort. It is for this reason therefore that I have critically examined the research focus, data design and collection, and the analysis and interpretation of the results.

If the Lancaster-Leeds project is to fulfill the aspirations of progressing "from description through analysis to application" (Coleman, 1989a:27), and therefore become a major research which will provide a breakthrough on the problems facing language learning in large classes, at least five major steps will have to be taken. First, the focus of the research must be broadened to include the investigation of the attitudes of language learners in large classes. After all, they together with language teachers are the ones directly affected by the impact of the class size on language learning. Similarly, how large classes affect teachers in the performance of their duties are also significant, if we are interested in obtaining a detailed analysis of the issue.

Second, the research instrument, particularly the problem questionnaire, will have to be reworked in such a way that respondents are given an opportunity to present their own views rather than confirm or deny the opinions of the researcher. Similarly, a modification to the existing question format will be needed so that the data obtained can be compared across different learning situations.

Third, in order to obtain sufficiently representative, and genuine data, the researcher cannot afford to sit in the United Kingdom waiting for English language teachers from the countries he intends to investigate to come over to be interviewed. Otherwise the wrong subjects will be asked for information. In addition, such information cannot be reliable nor valid when it is gathered in the foreign environment of the U.K., because the phenomenon of large classes does not exist there as in the respondents' home countries, and because the U.K. provides the subjects with the benefit of a hindsight when responding to the questions. What needs be done therefore is for the researcher to go into the field where there are abundant data on which any reasonable generalization can be based, and where such data would not be contaminated by the fact of their being collected under suspicious circumstances. Going into the field will also afford the researcher the opportunity to observe actual classroom practices and see which of the problems encountered are the true result of large classes.

Fourth, the adoption of a standard means of analyzing the data obtained is imperative if the quality of the research is to be improved. The present situation where different analysts adopt their own categories, some without even defining how and why such categories are established is unsatisfactory. Without a standard of analysis, it is not impossible that some analysts will fail to identify features which are important to the question of the relationship between large classes and language learning. Such a lack of standard also makes comparison across learning contexts impossible.

Finally, the research project will need to seriously address itself to the question of what are the remote and immediate causes of large class sizes in different learning situations, and what solutions are available. To ignore these issues will of course amount to frustrating the hopes of those we would expect to benefit from the research itself. It is only when these two issues have been addressed also that the entire research effort can have direct relevance to the learning situations investigated, and it is only then that the language teacher, learner, and the enterprise of language learning in large classes can benefit.

References

Allwright, D. (1989). *Is Class size a Problem?* Lancaster-Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Project Report No. 3

Burstall, C. (1975). "Factors Affecting Foreign Language Learning: A Consideration of some Recent Research Findings." *Language Teaching and Linguistics Abstracts.* 8:5-25.

Burstall, C. Jamieson, M. Cohen, S. and M. Hargreaves (1974). *Primary French in the Balance.* Slough: National Foundation for Educational Research.

Coleman, H. (1989a). *The study of Large Classes* Lancaster Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Project Report No. 2.

Coleman, H. (1989b). *How Large are Large Classes?* Lancaster Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Project Report No. 4.

Mcleod, N. (1989). *What Teachers Cannot Do in Large Classes.* Lancaster Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Project Report No. 7.

Paulston, C.B. (1975). *Teaching English as a Second Language:* Techniques and Procedure.

Peachey, L. (1989). *Language Learning in Large Classes: A Pilot Study of South African Data* Lancaster Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Project Report No. 8.

Sabanda, J. (1989). *Language Learning in Large Classes in Indonesia.* Lancaster Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Project Report No. 9.

Sarangi, U. (1989). *A Consideration of Methodological Issues in Analysing the Problems of Language Teachers in Large Classes.* Lancaster Leeds Language Learning in Large Classes Project Report No. 10.

Appendix 1
Difficulties Questionnaire

Many teachers say that teaching English in large classes is a problem for them. But in what way are large classes a problem? How do large classes stop teachers from doing what they would like to do? Your responses to this questionnaire will help us to answer these questions.

Under each of the following, please list as many points as you can.

1. Large classes make it difficult for me to do what I would like to do because:

2. With an ideal number of students in my class, I could:

3. When I am teaching a large class, I help my students to learn English by:

4. Do you have any other comments or questions about teaching and learning in large classes?

5. Is the institution you teach in (Please ring the appropriate letter):

primary/elementary?	a
secondary?	b
college/university?	c
other (please specify)?	d

6. In principle, would you be willing to help us with future research into large classes (perhaps by responding to another questionnaire)? Yes/No

Thank you very much for your help.

Appendix 2
Numbers Questionnaire

Important: Please think only of English Language classes.

1. How many people are there:
   a) in the largest class which you regularly teach?
   b) in the smallest class which you regularly teach?

2. What is your usual class size?

3. What is your ideal class size?

4. What class size do you consider to be uncomfortably small?
   a) At what number do the problems begin?
   b) At what number do the problems become intolerable?

5. What class size do you consider to be uncomfortably small?
   a) At what number do the problems begin?
   b) At what number do the problems become intolerable?

6. Among all your problems, how important is class size? Is dealing with classes (Please ring appropriate letter):

the major problem	a
one of the major problems	b
a problem, but not a major one	c
a very minor problem	d
no problem at all	e

7. Is the institution you teach in (Please ring the appropriate letter):

primary/elementary?	a
secondary?	b
college/university?	c
other (please specify)?	d

Expressing Causation in Written English

Fang Xuelan and Graeme Kennedy
Victoria University of Wellington

Abstract

This article reports a study of the ways in which the notion of causation is expressed in written British English. The focus of the study was on how causation is marked or expressed explicitly in the computerised one million word LOB corpus. A total of 130 different devices for expressing causation was collected from a number of sources, and the frequency of these devices in the LOB corpus was established. The use of causative conjunctions was found to be the most frequent of eight major ways of marking causation, closely followed by causative adverbs. There was a tendency for language in use to focus on the cause or reason rather than effect in a causal relationship. Causation is also sometimes implied rather than marked explicitly in texts. Because implicit causation is much more difficult to identify, it is suggested that more attention needs to be paid to implied causation in English language teaching. Comprehension of causation is important in language use, affecting both the analysis of information in texts and skills such as notetaking involving accurate information transfer. The findings of the study provide an empirical basis for the development of course design and teaching materials, especially for courses in English for academic purposes.

1. Introduction

Over the last decade and a half, the focus of attention in English language teaching has shifted from the mastery of language forms, especially words and structures, to the more semantic notional and functional aspects of language. The communicative approach to language teaching has given greater attention to aspects of language in use. Many contemporary language syllabuses designed with the communicative approach as their rationale now draw attention to or include specific content on notions and functions such as time, place and causation, generalization, requesting and informing.

However, the problem for teachers of English is that there are very many notions, and very many ways of expressing a particular notion. The most frequent linguistic devices or ways in which a semantic notion is expressed are not generally known. Because of the lack of statistical information, syllabus designers and materials writers have to make decisions based on their intuitions. A series of empirical studies has shown that intuitively-based decisions are not always reliable and that there can be a considerable gap between what is prescribed to be taught and what is actually done by native speakers of English. For example, Pearson (1983) studied how the notion of agreement and disagreement occurs in actual conversation as compared with ESL texts; Kennedy (1987) explored how temporal frequency is expressed in academic English; Williams (1988) examined the language used by native speakers of English in business meetings and the language taught by business English textbooks for use in meetings; Cathcart (1989) conducted a case study of the language of a doctor-patient interaction and compared the results with what is typically taught in ESL courses. Computer corpus research is increasingly revealing the gap between what is conventionally taught to learners of English and what actually occurs in spoken and written texts (Kennedy, forthcoming).

Causation has been the subject of many studies by linguists and philosophers over the last two decades especially in terms of the semantics and syntax of causative constructions. However, none of the research brings together into a single taxonomy the range of devices which can express causation along with the frequency of their occurrence in actual use. Furthermore, no existing reference source shows an empirical basis for its choice of causative devices, or statistical information on their relative frequency. The main focus of the present study is not on the notion of causation, as such, but on the following questions: What are the major ways in which causation is expressed? Which specific causative devices are most frequently used? In English teaching and learning, what forms might most profitably be taught and learned first?

There are three underlying assumptions: 1) A description of the major ways in which causation is expressed and a list of specific causative devices drawn from different sources with their frequency in a large computer corpus will provide a useful source of information for teachers of English. 2) The most frequently used causative markers are likely to be the most worth teaching and learning especially for academic purposes. Therefore, the frequency list of causative markers will provide an objective, empirically-derived basis for the development of syllabus design and teaching materials. 3) Although intermediate and advanced learners of English are unlikely to need to produce a wide range of linguistic devices which express the notion of causation, they will encounter a large number in their reading. Thus, the more frequently used causatives can serve as a basis for the productive learning of causation, while the less frequent ones will be important for the receptive learning of causation. It is also assumed that easy recognition of the structure of causation and the causative devices in a reading passage will contribute to learners' reading comprehension.

2. Categories of Causation

The semantic category of causation typically focuses on why something has happened, is happening or might happen, or what caused or causes something (to happen). A causal relation always involves a cause/reason and an effect/result.

Because it is often difficult in language use to distinguish between the cause of an event and the reason why an event has occurred, they are treated as one category in this study. For the same reason, no attempt has been made to distinguish between result and effect.

Causation is present in many texts. Sometimes causation is marked by explicit causative devices; at other times, it is expressed non-explicitly by implicit causative verbs, elliptical syntactic patterns, and juxtaposition of phrases or sentences.

Table 1
Categories of Causation

EXPLICIT CAUSATIVES

1. causative conjunctions
2. complex causative prepositions
3. causative prepositions
4. causative adverbs
5. causative adjective phrases
6. causative nouns
7. causative verb phrases
8. causative verbs

NON-EXPLICIT CAUSATIVES

9. implicit causative verbs
10. elliptical syntactic patterns
    — V-ing phrases
    — V-ed phrases
    — To V phrases
    — Adj. phrases
11. Juxtaposition
    — within a sentence
    — beyond a sentence

2.1 Explicit Causation

Explicit causation refers to a causative situation where the causal relation is signalled with causative markers such as 'cause', 'from', 'effect' and 'because of'. This can be observed in sentences 1 and 2:

1. Sulphite preservations can *cause* rashes and abdominal pain.
2. Britain suffers comparatively little *from the effect* of the pollution in the North Sea *because of* winds, currents, depths and the nature of its rivers.

2.2 Non-explicit causation

2.2.1 Implicit causative verbs

Implicit causative verbs are those which entail the meaning of 'cause somebody/thing to do something', 'cause somebody/thing to become + Adj.' 'make somebody/thing do something' or 'make somebody/thing + Adj.' The verbs 'destroy', 'simplify', and 'make' are examples.

3. The earthquake *destroyed* the building.
4. The book needs to be *simplified* for the intermediate students.
5. He *made* me angry.

Verbs like 'destroy', 'simplify' and 'make' in the above contexts are considered to be implicit causatives because they cannot be replaced directly by explicit causative verbs such as 'cause', 'produce', and 'result from'.

2.2.2 Elliptical syntactic patterns

Elliptical syntactic patterns are those cases where adverbial clauses which express causation are replaced by 'Verb-ing phrase' (present participle phrase) as in 6 and 7; 'Verb-ed phrase' (past participle phrase) as in 8; 'to Verb phrase' (infinitive phrase) as in 9; 'Adjective phrase' as in 10; and 'Noun phrase' as in 11:

6. *Correctly anticipating the political turnaround,* the cinema lobby had avoided all unpleasant surprises.
   (= Because they correctly anticipated....)
7. *Being Christmas,* the library was closed.
   (= Because it was Christmas....)
8. *Hindered in his career and dogged by the terrible hardships that fell upon Vienna after 1918,* Freud had to rely throughout his life on his friend's generosity.
   (= Since he was hindered... and dogged by...)
9. Mayor Ritondate was very annoyed *to be questioned* on these matters.
   (= he was very annoyed because he was questioned...)

10. *Unable to contain his anger at the proposals,* Mr Kadar grabbed the microphone and screamed that the voting should stop.
    (= Because he was unable to contain his anger...)
11. *The only teacher in the class,* he has to teach different subjects.
    (= Because he is the only teacher in the class...)

2.2.3 Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition is another way in which causation is expressed implicitly. It refers to a situation where a causal relation is implied although no particular word signals it. This kind of causal relation has to be identified through context. Causation expressed by juxtaposition can occur between phrases within a sentence or between sentences.

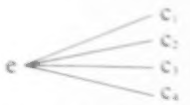
Within a sentence

Juxtaposition here refers to relationship between phrases or clauses within a sentence.

Example 12 illustrates such a causal relationship:

12. (Frosts had badly damaged Coca-Cola's orange groves in Florida and California.) Belize looked a perfect alternative [e] – a climate guaranteed free of frost [c_1] in a politically-stable country [c_2] close to the US [c_3], whose government was keen to encourage foreign agricultural development [c_4].

(*New Scientist* 29 October 1988:64)



The causal relation in example 12, as shown in parentheses, involves one effect (Belize looked a perfect alternative) and four parallel causes/reasons explaining why Belize looked a perfect alternative:

c_1 Belize has a climate guaranteed free of frost
c_2 Belize is a politically-stable country
c_3 Belize is close to the US
c_4 the Belize government was keen to encourage foreign agricultural development.

However, the causal relation in sentence 12 is not marked by any explicit causative devices. It is possible that the four causes are arranged in a descending order of importance. It would be reasonable to suppose so because a climate guaranteed free of frost should be the prime concern in choosing an alternative country to grow the oranges, since, as indicated in the previous sentence, it was the frosts, not other factors that had badly damaged Coca-Cola's orange groves in Florida and California in the US.

Beyond a sentence

Causation expressed by juxtaposition of sentences can be observed from examples 13-15:

13. It is raining hard. We should cancel the picnic. [c - >e]
14. The Soviet Union cannot do much to help them (Eastern Europe). It lacks resources to bail out Poland, or Hungary, or Romania. [e < - c]
15. The morning-after doubts about whether Nelson Mandela can manage it are to be expected. There are divisions on the black side as well as on that of Mr de Klerk. [e < - c]

The causal link in each of the examples 13-15 is expressed by the juxtaposition of two sentences, with causal sequences [c - > e] or [e < - c].

3. Methodology

The present study focuses on the linguistic devices used for marking causation explicitly in the computer corpus. First of all a list of 130 causative devices or types was drawn up from different sources. The sources include standard reference books (Hornby 1954, Leech and Svartvik 1975, Halliday and Hasan 1976, Quirk et al 1985, Roget's Thesaurus 1984 and the Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary 1987); contemporary English language teaching syllabuses (Wilkins 1973, 1976, van Ek 1976, Munby 1978, CNESTSST 1985); contemporary course books (Smith and Coffey 1982, Lawrence 1972, Hamp-Lyons and Heasley 1987 and Oster 1987).

On their own, out of context, some devices are not unequivocally causative markers. These include 'tend to', 'follow', 'fate', 'excuse' and 'moment'. Some of the devices in grammars are put in contexts, but the contexts are often made up by the authors, and are not taken from authentic texts. The devices identified in the above sources were supplemented by a manual search of about 58,000 running words of text from each of two major newspapers or magazines: the Guardian Weekly [GW] and the New Scientist [NS]. The text analysis was found to be useful. Not only were more causative devices identified than were found in the reference sources, but also a sense of how the causative devices are used

Table 2
Explicit Linguistic Devices Expressing Causation in the LOB Corpus in Descending Order of Frequency

Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens	Types	Tokens
*because (1)	635	*on the ground(s) that (4)	14	*underlie (5)	3
*why (2)	443	*thereby (2)	14	aftermath (3)	2
so (2)	425	*as a result (4)	13	*as a consequence (4)	2
for (1)	365	make for (6)	11	attribute to (6)	2
*therefore (2)	296	contribute to (6)	10	*for reasons of (4)	2
*effect (3)	278	provoke (5)	10	incite (5)	2
cause (5/3)	265	*by reason of (4)	8	*in consideration of (4)	2
*reason (3)	258	derive from (6)	8	*on that account (4)	2
thus (2)	227	prompt (5)	8	*on that score (4)	2
*result (3/5)	212	*what with (4)	8	put down to (6)	2
since (1)	189	*accordingly (2)	7	*seeing that (1)	2
as (1)	166	*by virtue of (4)	7	spring from (6)	2
*because of (4)	142	generate (5)	7	*upshot (3)	2
so ... that (1)	139	incur (5)	7	*with the consequence that (4)	2
then (2)	135	raise (5)	7	at the bottom of (4)	1
so that (1)	127	responsible for (8)	7	awaken (5)	1
due to (4)	123	as a matter of (4)	6	*by consequence (4)	1
*for (that) reason (4)	93	*in consequence (4)	6	*consequential to (8)	1
lead to (6)	83	out of (4)	6	*cos (1)	1
from (7)	81	source (3)	6	emerge from (6)	1
hence (2)	52	arise out of (6)	5	*from reasons of (4)	1
*as a result of (4)	48	*bring on (6)	5	*mainspring (3)	1
bring (5)	47	compel (5)	5	spark (5)	1
under (7)	47	*engender (5)	5	stem from (6)	1
*consequence (3)	45	*on the ground(s) of (4)	5	*the whys and wherefores (3)	1
produce (5)	45	*on the strength of (4)	5	beget (5)	0
*consequently (2)	44	*with the result that (4)	5	breed (5)	0
*result in (6)	44	yield (5)	5	*by courtesy of (4)	0
create (5)	41	evoke (5)	4	contributor to (6)	0
through (7)	38	excite (5)	4	foment (5)	0
*bring about (6)	37	*inasmuch as (1)	4	*give occasion to (6)	0
in view of (4)	36	*in consequence of (4)	4	inspiration (3)	0
now that (1)	32	motivate (5)	4	proceed from (6)	0
arise from (6)	29	*occasion (5)	4	*seeing as (1)	0
owing to (4)	26	pose (5)	4	spawn (5)	0
arouse (5)	25	precipitate (5)	4	spring out of (6)	0
present (5)	23	produce of (3)	4		
such ... that (1)	23	root (3)	4		
induce (5)	22	rouse (5)	4		
*result from (6)	22	stir (5)	4		
*thanks to (4)	21	stir up (6)	4		
*in the light of (4)	20	account for (6)	3		
*on account of (4)	2&	*as a consequence of (4)	3		
*outcome (3)	20	ascribe to (6)	3		
*give rise to (6)	19	*consequent on/upon (8)	3		
give (5)	18	*corollary (3)	3		
inspire (5)	17	spark off (6)	3		

Note: 1) The types marked with * are always used to express causation. For the other types, only those tokens which express causation in the corpus were counted.
2) The number in parentheses after each type indicates membership of one of the eight different categories of explicit causative devices in Table 1. e.g. (1) = causative conjunction.

in real contexts was developed. (See Appendix A).

All the causative devices in Table 2 were examined in the whole one million word LOB corpus of adult written British English (Johansson, 1978).

Every example in the LOB corpus of each of the causative devices identified in Table 2 was extracted by a computer search using the Oxford Concordance Programme (OCP) as software. These tokens of each causative type examined were printed out in the form of a concordance for manual analysis. The context of each token was about 20 words, 10 on each side of the token. The context was in most cases long enough for deciding whether a particular token expressed a causal relation or not in that context.

Unambiguous causative types such as 'because (of)', 'result from', 'as a result (of)', 'therefore' and 'outcome' were not analyzed token by token because they always express causation.

The ambiguous causative devices such as 'produce', 'through', 'as' and 'accordingly' express causation only on some occasions. Therefore each token of the ambiguous causative devices had to be checked in order to decide whether the token in the particular context expressed causality or not. A number of criteria were used for making the decision.

It was first necessary to see whether the example answered questions like "Why has something happened, is happening or might happen?" and 'What caused or causes what (to happen)?'.

Secondly, it was necessary to see whether the particular type in the context could be replaced by a certain unambiguous causative device, and to see to what extent the meaning was changed when substitution occurred. For instance, if the verbs which express cause could be replaced by 'cause', 'bring about', 'lead to' or 'result in', both semantically and syntactically, then they were considered to express explicit causation. The same is the case with the verbs expressing result. If they could be replaced by 'be caused by' or 'result from' in the context, they were considered to express explicit causation. The criteria for the substitution of causative markers of different word classes are shown in Table 3.

Fifty-five out of 130 causative devices identified in this study are unambiguous (marked with * in Table 2), constituting 42% of the total number of types. Since the interpretation of these unambiguous causative devices is not dependent on the subjective identification of a causative

Table 3
Criteria for the substitution of causative types

Substituted Types	Cause	Result
Verbs	cause bring about	be caused by result from
Nouns	cause reason	result consequence
Adverbs		as a result therefore
Conjunctions	because the reason that	so that as a result...
Adj. phrases	causing leading to	as a result of
Prepositions	because of	as a result of
Prep. phrases	because of	as a result of

use, the reliability of analysis was not checked, because the computer counting was seen as being highly reliable. Seventy-five of the causative devices are potentially ambiguous. Thirteen of the most frequently occurring ambiguous causative types were chosen for a reliability check. The reliability check was undertaken according to Rosenthal (1987). Ten representative tokens of each of the thirteen selected ambiguous types in the LOB corpus were chosen by an expert rater as the basis for a reliability check at the 0.001 significance level (Rosenthal, 1987:64). The rater and the authors analyzed the selected tokens independently and then checked the result together. They were in agreement for 95.4% of the coding on average and complete agreement was able to be reached after discussion. According to Rosenthal, agreement on 85% of occasions is acceptable in the case of data with two response alternatives (i.e. causative vs noncausative in this study).

4. Results and Discussion

Table 2 contains the 130 causative devices identified in this study, with the number of occurrences in the corpus beside each type. Some such as 'because', 'why', 'so', 'for', and 'therefore' are very frequent, but many of them are infrequent including, for example, 'by reason of', 'accordingly', and 'precipitate'. A small number do not occur at all in

1057

the whole LOB corpus, namely those listed at the end of Table 2 (e.g. 'beget', 'foment', and 'by courtesy of'.) The reason for including the devices without any tokens in the list is that they can be found to express causation in other sources.

The findings of this empirical study are fairly consistent with the results of more intuitive selections of causative devices which receive emphasis in the syllabuses, reference sources or text books examined, especially van Ek (1976), Halliday and Hasan (1976), Smith and Coffey (1982), and Swan and Walter (1985). These sources include 'because', 'why', 'so', 'then', 'as', 'result', 'reason', 'thus', 'therefore', 'lead to', and 'due to'. A subsequent check of the intuitions of ten graduate English native speakers on what they thought were the most common ways of expressing causation showed that native speakers' intuitions are also fairly consistent with the empirical study. Each of the ten informants was asked to write down what they would consider to be the five most frequently used explicit causative devices. Sixteen devices were produced, eleven of which are among the seventeen most frequently occurring in the LOB corpus, namely 'because', 'so', 'for', 'therefore', 'thus', 'since', 'as', 'because of', 'so that', 'due to', and 'for (that) reason'. 'Because' and 'so' were the most frequent ones produced by the ten native speakers.

'Because' is the most frequent causative device identified in this study, followed by 'why' and 'so'. The study shows that 'because' as a conjunction is used about five times as often as the complex preposition 'because of'. The verb 'cause' was found to be used more often than the noun 'cause' (59%:41%). 'As a result of' occurs over four times as often as 'as a result'. Moreover, the preposition 'from' is the twentieth most frequent causative device, occurring about three times as frequently as the more often mentioned devices such as 'consequently', 'result in', 'bring about', and 'in view of'. (e.g. "From this evidence, I think we know what to do now"). Furthermore, explicit causative verbs apart from 'cause' are seldom mentioned in the existing sources, but a few of them like 'bring', 'produce, 'create', 'arouse', 'present' and 'induce' are among the more frequent causative devices identified in this study.

The frequency of occurrence of the eight categories of causative devices is summarized in Table 4. It should be noted that the total number of types here is 132 which is two more than the figure in Table 2, the reason being that 'cause' and 'result' as both verb and noun are not counted separately in Table 2.

Among the seventeen most frequently occurring causative devices, six are causative conjunctions: 'because', 'for', 'since', 'as', 'so...that',

Table 4
Frequency of Eight Categories of Causative Devices

Categories	Types	Tokens	% of Total Tokens
1 Conjunctions	12	1683	28.7
2 Adverbs	9	1643	28.0
3 Noun phrases	16	930	16.0
4 Complex prepositions	32	634	10.8
5 Explicit verbs	34	501	8.5
6 Verb phrases	23	294	5.0
7 Prepositions	3	165	2.8
8 Adjective phrases	3	11	0.2
TOTAL	132	5861	100

and 'so that'. Five are causative adverbs: 'why', 'so', 'therefore', 'thus', and 'then'. From the list as a whole, these two categories cover more than half (56.7%) of the total tokens of the eight categories as Table 4 illustrates. Causative conjunctions rank the highest: 1683 tokens of twelve types accounting for 28.7% of the total tokens. Causative adverbs are almost as frequent as causative conjunctions: 1643 tokens of nine types, accounting for 28% of the total tokens. The next most frequent are causative nouns/noun phrases: 930 tokens of sixteen types, constituting 16% of the total tokens. Complex causative prepositions are in the fourth position: 634 tokens of thirty-two types. The remaining four categories are explicit causative verbs, causative verb phrases, causative prepositions, and causative adjective phrases, in all accounting for 16.5% of the total tokens.

Among 130 identified causative devices eighty-seven types (67%) express CAUSE or REASON. Thus there seems to be a tendency for the language to more often mark the cause or reason rather than the effect in a causal relationship. Similarly, of the total number of tokens or uses of the 130 devices in the LOB corpus, 62% express cause or reason. Thus about two thirds of the devices and a similar proportion of the uses of the devices express cause or reason rather than effect. (See Tables 5 and 6).

5. Conclusions and Implications

The analysis of texts shows that the categories of causation in Table 1 of this study, are not infrequent in use. However, the survey of existing

1059

sources reveals that although causation expressed by explicit causative devices has usually received attention in descriptions of English and English language teaching, causal relations expressed implicitly, particularly by juxtaposition have been neglected. More attention needs to be paid to the teaching of causation expressed by juxtaposition, even though it has not been possible to get frequency data on juxtaposition from the corpus using current computer software. Appendix A illustrates how frequency data on juxtaposition can be obtained manually from text.

Table 5
Linguistic Devices Expressing Cause/Reason

Types	Types
account for	lead to
arouse	mainspring
as	make for
as a matter of	motivate
at the bottom of	now that
awaken	occasion
because	on account of
because of	on that account
beget	on that score
breed	on the ground (s) of
bring	on the ground (s) that
bring about	on the strength of
bring on	out of
by courtesy of	owing of
by reason of	pose
by virtue of	precipitate
cause	present
compel	produce
contribute to	prompt
contributor to	provoke
cos	raise
create	reason
due to	responsible for
engender	result in
evoke	root
foment	rouse
for	seeing as
for (that) reason	seeing that
for reasons of	since
from	source

Table 5 *(cont'd)*
Linguistic Devices Expressing Cause/Reason

Types	Types
from reasons of	spark
generate	spark off
give	spawn
give occasion to	stir
give rise to	stir up
in consideration of	thanks up
in the light of	the whys and wherefores
in view of	through
inasmuch as	under
incite	underlie
incur	what with
induce	why
inspiration	yield
inpsire	

Table 6
Linguistic Devices Expressing Result/Effect

Types	Types
accordingly	outcome
aftermath	proceed from
arise from	product of
arise out of	put down to
as a consequence	result
as a consequence of	result from
as a result	result in
as a result of	so
ascribe to	so that
attribute to	so…that
by consequence	spring from
consequence	spring out of
consequential on/upon	stem from
consequential to	such…that
consequently	then
corollary	thereby
derive from	therefore
effect	thus

1061

Table 6 *(cont'd)*
Linguistic Devices Expressing Result/Effect

Types	Types
emerge from	upshot
hence	with the consequence that
in consequence	with the result that
in consequence of	

The study provides information which can assist in the organization of English language teaching, including especially syllabus design and materials selection or writing. The more frequent devices are normally more worth teaching and learning than the less frequent ones since teaching time is limited in most situations.

The frequency ranking order of the eight categories of causation markers also provides useful information for preparing teaching materials and organizing teaching. For instance, the explicit ways of expressing causation can be introduced systematically, category by category, distributing the eight categories to different chapters or teaching units. Since the category of causative conjunctions is found to be the most common way of expressing causation explicity, it suggests that this category might be introduced first, followed by causative adverbs and causative noun phrases. It is of course not recommended that all the devices in each category be introduced at one time, but rather that the more frequent ones be introduced first. Frequency of linguistic devices is of course, only one basis for selecting items for teaching purposes. Ease or difficulty of learning, usefulness and range of use of an item are among the other factors which can influence selection. A systematic way of introducing or teaching causation based on frequency of occurrence should nonetheless make the learning of causation more coherent and efficient.

To help learnes realise how causation is actually used in English, it can be helpful to expose them to authentic English texts in which the target causative markers (i.e. the causative markers to be taught) are used. For example, after introducing a major way or ways of expressing causation, the teacher can give more advanced learners carefully selected texts to read from newspapers, magazines or other sources, having them identify causative markers and analyzing cause-effect relationship. As noted before, some words which are not normally regarded as causative markers, when used in certain contexts do express causation. Getting learners to do text analysis can enable them to learn to recognize this phenomenon. Note-taking which focuses on information transfer is one way of checking that causal relationships in text have been accurately recognized through explicit markers or through inference.

The study has illustrated the variety of ways in which the semantic notion of causation can be expressed both with and without explicit linguistic marking, with elliptical syntactic patterns and juxtaposition as key instances of the latter. At present only explicit marking of a notion with words or structures can be readily counted by computer. As computer corpus analysis develops in sophistication, however, it should become possible to use the computer to record and analyse causative devices and processes beyond the boundaries of the word or sentence.

References

Cathcart, R.L. (1989). 'Authentic discourse and the survival English curriculum' *TESOL Quarterly,* Vol, 23, No. 1, 105-26.

Chinese National English Syllabus for Tertiary Students of Science and Technology (CNESTSST) (1985). Beijing: Higher Educational Publishers.

Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English. London: Longman.*

Hamp-Lyons, L. and B. Heasley (1987). Study Writing. A course in written English for academic and professional purposes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hornby, A. S. (1954). *A Guide to Patterns and Usage in English.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johansson, S. (1978). (in collaboration with G. Leech and H. Goodluck). *Manual of Information to Accompany the LOB Corpus, for Use with Digital Computers.* Oslo: University of Oslo.

Kennedy, G. D. (1987). 'Expressing temporal frequency in academic English'. *TESOL Quarterly,* Vol. 21, No. 1, 69-86.

Kennedy, G. D. (forthcoming) 'Preferred ways of putting things with implications for language teaching'.

Lawrence, M. S. (1972). *Writing as a Thinking Process.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Leech, G. and J. Svartvik (1975). *A Communicative Grammar of English.* London: Longman.

Munby, J. (1978). *Communicative Syllabus Design.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Oster, J. (1987). *From Reading to Writing.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Pearson, E. (1983). Agreement and disagreement: a study of speech acts in conversation and ESL texts. Unpublished *MA thesis*. University of Hawaii.

Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech and J. Svartvik (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman.

Rosenthal, R. (1987). *Judgement Studies: Design, Analysis, and Meta-analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, J. and Coffey, B. (1982). *English for Study Purposes*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.

Swan, M. and C. Walter (1985). *The Cambridge English Course*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

van Ek, J. A. (1976). *The Threshold Level for Modern Language Learning in Schools*. London: Longman.

Wilkins, D. A. (1973). 'The linguistic and situational content of the common core in a unit/credit system'. In *Systems Development in Adult Language Learning*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 129-43.

Wilkins, D. A. (1976). *Notional Syllabuses*. London: Oxford University Press.

Williams, M. (1988). 'Language taught for meetings and language used in meetings: is there anything in common?' *Applied Linguistics*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 45-58.

Appendix A

Causation in context

An examination of a text such as the following can illustrate how causation can be expressed by explicit and non-explicit means in a text which makes heavy use of the notion.

Most of us consume additives in our food with impunity, but evidence is growing that a few people are not so lucky. Allergic reactions, as well as hyperactivity in children, have been linked to particular colourings, preservatives and antioxidants.

Tartrazine (E102), for instance, a yellow dye added to a variety of foods and medicines, may *provoke* asthmatic attacks and skin rashes, especially in people who are sensitive to aspirin. Sulphite preservatives can also *cause* rashes and abdominal pain, according to Dr Alice Huang of Harvard Medical School. In studies carried out by Dr David Atherton at the Hospital for Sick Children, Great Ormond Street, in London, some children suffering *from* eczema improved *when* colourings and preservatives were excluded from their diet. His colleague, Dr John Egger, found that artificial colourings *provoked* severe migraines in some children suffering *from* the complaint.

These and similar studies *give cause for* concern; but it is difficult to assess how many people are affected by food additives. A joint report of the Royal College of Physicians and the British Nutrition Foundation estimates that perhaps some 0.15 percent of the population is at risk.

Research into the links between food additives and behavioural disorders in children is more extensive. In the early 1970s, Dr Ben Feingold, an American clinician specialising in allergy, claimed that artificial colours and flavourings in food as well as naturally occurring salicytes (in some fruits, for instance) could *lead to* hyperactivity and learning disabilities in children. He estimated that 50 percent of hyperactive children could be completely cured by a diet that eliminated these chemicals. Attempts to substantiate his clinical experience in double-blind trials, have *yielded* inconsistent *results*. But it seems that at least a small number of hyperactive children do benefit *from* his special diet.

Food additives may also be carcinogenic, but again we know little about whether the low levels present in some foods *present* a real hazard to humans. Two artificial sweeteners, saccharin and cyclamate, along with nitrites used to cure meat, have attracted most attention. Large doses of saccharin, comprising a few percent of the diet, *cause* cancer of the bladder in rats. But there is no sign of any increase in bladder cancer in humans that could be *attributed* to the introduction of saccharin; and diabetics, who tend to consume more saccharin than other people, are not especially likely to develop the disease.

Another artificial sweetener, cyclamate, was taken off the market in the US in 1970, *after* animal experiments suggested that it too could *cause* bladder cancer in rats. But later studies failed to find a consistent link between the sweetener and cancer, and cyclamate may shortly be introduced to the American market. Even so, caution is in order. As the Oxford epidemiologists Richard Doll and Richard Peto point out, "human exposure to a weak carcinogen may need to be prolonged for several decades before any positive *effect* can be detected, and no assurance can be given that an *effect* will not be *produced* by a lifetime of exposure to the usually large amounts that are consumed in diet drinks by some children and young adults".

Nitrites and nitrates, used to preserve meats since the last century, are also a possible *source* of human cancer, especially of the liver. These compounds can be transformed in the gut to nitrosamines, which are powerful carcinogens, *so* supplementing the low levels of nitrosamines already present in some meats. Although nitrite added to food probably constitutes only some 10 pecent of the nitrites we ingest in vegetables and saliva, the additive may be disproportionately important, Doll and Peto suggest, *because* it arrives in the stomach in concentrated packets. Nitrites are also added to some cheeses, such as Samsoe and Emmenthal, and many processed cheeses.

Sulphite dioxide and the related sulphites are versatile preservatives that maintain the pale colour of everything from sultanas and sausages to flour and beer; they also inhibit the growth of microorganisms. One disadvantage of sulphur dioxide is that it destroys the vitamin thiamine (B1) in food. Sulphur dioxide also *induces* mutations in bacteria. It may not *present* a similar threat to people, *because* our liver and kidneys possess an enzyme, sulphite oxidase, that converts sulphite to sulphate, which is then excreted. But it is conceivable that this detoxification process could be overloaded by a diet composed largely of processed food, beer, wine and cider.

Finally, some additives are suspected of being potentially damaging to the fetus or infants and *so* are not permitted in baby foods. In large doses, monosodium glutamate (MSG), a flavour enhancer, *causes* severe brain damage in young animals. It became notorious some 12 years ago as the *cause* of "Chinese Restaurant Syndrome"...headaches, dizziness and burning sensations experienced by some *after* eating a Chinese meal heavily laced with MSG. The antioxidants butylated hydroxyanisole (BHA) and butylated hydroxytoluene (BHT) have also been shown to *induce* abnormal growth and behaviour when fed to mice before weaning. But the relevance of these animal studies to the human situation remains an open question.

from: Can food additives damage your health?' by Gail Vines. *New Scientist*. 18 October, 1984.

1066

Notes:

In the text, explicit causation is marked 30 times and each example has been underlined. Some of the types occur more than once. The use of explicit causation in the passage accounts for 3.6% of the total number of 836 running words, and 81% of the sentences include explicit causal relations.

In addition to individual words such as *carcinogen* or *carcinogenic* which imply causation, there are at least three places in the passage where causal relations are expressed by the juxtaposition of sentences. The first example occurs between the third sentence and the fourth sentence in paragraph four, sentence three being the cause, and sentence four the effect. That is, it was Dr Feingold's estimation (i.e. 50 percent of hyperactive children could be completely cured by a diet...) that had led to 'attempts to substantiate his clinical experience'.

The second unmarked causal relation takes place between the second sentence and the rest of the sentences in paragraph five, the former being the effect, the latter the cause/reason, explaining why the two artificial sweeteners, saccharin and cyclamate have attracted most attention.

The third implied causal relation occurs between the first sentence and the second sentence of paragraph six, the former being the effect, and the latter the cause/reason, explaining why nitrites and nitrates are also a possible source of human cancer.

The Culture of the English Language Teacher: A Hong Kong Example

Jack C Richards
Peter Tung
Peggy Ng
Department of English
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong

Introduction

The study of teaching can be approached from a number of dimensions. A focus on the objective facts of teaching involves examining the behaviours of teachers in classrooms in order to be able to make generalizations about such things as teacher discourse and teacher-learner interactions (cf. Chaudron, 1988). A focus on the subjective dimensions of teaching on the other hand, involves examining teachers' goals, values, and beliefs about teaching and using such information to help explain teachers' classroom actions. In the last 10 years, research on teachers' beliefs has been seen as a valuable complement to traditional approaches to the study of teaching (Floden and Klinzing, 1990; Nespor, 1987). The information obtained from such studies clarifies the nature of teachers' knowledge and belief systems, their views as to what constitutes good teaching, and their views of the systems in which they work and their role within it: such beliefs and values serve as a background to much of the teachers' decision-making and classroom action and hence constitute the "culture" of teaching (Brousseau, Book and Byers, 1988; Feiman-Nemser and Floden, 1986).

This paper reports on a study of the culture of teachers of English in Hong Kong. A questionnaire was administered to a group of Hong Kong teachers in order to identify their beliefs, goals, practices and judgements about their teaching and the teaching of English in Hong Kong secondary schools. Results of the study are analyzed in terms of teachers' view of the ESL curriculum, of language and language teaching, classroom practices, the role of teachers, and teachers' view of their profession. The role of experience and training in determining attitudes, choice of teaching methods, and teachers' sense of professionalism are also discussed.

Teachers' Belief Systems

Several approaches to identifying teachers' beliefs and the culture of teaching have been employed (Shavelson and Stern, 1981). Analysis of teachers' conversations about their work is one source of information. Another is to video-record classroom actions with follow-up stimulated recall interviews in which teachers comment on what they did and why. A third approach is through the use of interviews and questionnaires, which was the one used in this study. In each approach, data is obtained from which inferences must be made about the core components of the teacher's belief system or culture.

English and English Teaching in Hong Kong

English occupies a unique role in Hong Kong. Hong Kong is an international centre of trade, finance and commerce with a population of over six million, 98% of whom are Chinese with Cantonese as the predominant language. Although English is used with varying degrees of proficiency among the Chinese population, ranging from native like (a small percentage) to minimal or non-existent, it has traditionally been the major language of government, education, and business, as well as an important medium for communication, the media, tourism, and the arts. The status of English in Hong Kong has been subject to ongoing debate for many years with advocates for a greater official role for Chinese (both Cantonese and Putonghua) on the one hand, and advocates for maintaining or enhancing the status of English on the other.

English has therefore always played a crucial role within the education system. English is first introduced in primary school almost as a foreign language. At secondary school, schools have the choice of using English or Chinese as the medium of instruction. Because of the recognition of the economic and educational potential a knowledge of English makes available, most parents have opted for English-medium secondary education for their children. The result is that the Chinese language stream only caters for about 10% of the student population, those whose proficiency is insufficient to enter the English-medium system. The medium of instruction at the tertiary level is almost exclusively English.

English-medium schools are however not necessarily "English-medium". The English proficiency level of many students is often inadequate to enable them to be taught exclusively in English (except in some elite schools). Particularly in teaching content subjects, teachers consequently often switch back and forth between English and Chinese during lessons. This "mixed code" style of teaching has been frequently criticized by local educators as being a primary cause of a decline of standards in English (Education Commission, 1990).

English is also taught as a subject in secondary schools for some eight periods a week. The English curriculum in Hong Kong has reflected general trends in language teaching over the years, with a movement away from a structural approach in the 1970's to a more communicative one in the 1980's. However, in practice, both students and teachers see the primary goal of English teaching at secondary level as preparing students to pass public examinations, which are administered at the fifth and seventh form. Success in these is a prerequisite for entering into tertiary education.

English teachers in the secondary schools have different levels of training and experience. They may be (a) non-graduates but holders of a teacher's certificate (mainly teaching at junior secondary schools), (b) graduates but not necessarily English graduates with or without a teaching certificate. Although generally having a high degree of professional commitment, along with others in the teaching profession in Hong Kong they must contend with large classes (up to 40 students), heavy teaching and administrative load (an average of 30 class periods a week) and limited availability of resources. Their performance is likely to be assessed, not on the quality of their teaching, but on the performance of their students in the public examinations. Due to the increased demand for English-speaking graduates in the work place, fewer English graduates are entering the teaching profession, which is an issue of some concern to the education authorities.

English teachers, however, are recognized as playing a vital role in successfully implementing Hong Kong's educational policies. The ways in which teachers see their role, the attitudes and values they subscribe to, and how they characterize their classroom practices, form the focus of the present study.

Design of the Study

In order to identify the beliefs and attitudes of English teachers about their work, a questionnaire was developed which covered five main areas: teachers' view of the ESL curriculum; their attitudes towards English and Chinese and their beliefs about second-language learning and teaching; the classroom practices and procedures they employ; how they see their role as teachers; their views of language teaching as a profession.

In constructing the questionnaire, preliminary questions were first generated in each of the five areas. These questions were tried out with a small group of teachers and a preliminary version of the questionnaire was developed. A further group of teachers then went through this questionnaire in detail and from the feedback, a pilot questionnaire was prepared. This was then piloted with 21 subjects. The revised questionnaire was subsequently divided into two shorter forms for ease of administration. Each form contained some 32 items, covering the same five areas. Both forms of the questionnaire were randomly distributed to a sample of 249 teachers in February, 1990.

The teachers who completed the questionnaire were a) teachers enrolled in in-service teacher education programs at two tertiary institutions in Hong Kong and b) the colleagues of one of these groups of teachers. The teachers came from a wide range of secondary schools in Hong Kong. On average, they had seven years of teaching experience. About three-quarters of the teachers were graduates, over half with teaching qualifications. 47% had majored in or studied English language or literature; the others majored in a wide variety of subject areas.

Results

The teachers' responses will be discussed according to the five main areas included in the questionnaire. The items included in the questionnaire assumed different forms according to what was asked. Some items offered teachers a list of options to choose from; others required teachers to evaluate items on a Likert-type scale.[1] At the end of each item, space was provided for teachers to state their personal view. For convenience of presentation, most of the items in the questionnaire have been reformulated below as questions.[2] The discussion of teachers' responses may, however, be in terms of percentages or a ranking of the options.

For the purpose of statistical analysis, it was found useful in this study to classify teachers who had taught six or more years as experienced teachers. Similarly, teachers with a recognized teacher qualification are categorized as trained teachers. Experienced teachers and trained teachers constitute 46% and 52% of the sample of teachers respectively. Only descriptive statistics are reported in this section; the results of hypothesis testing are incorporated in the discussion section.

(i) Teachers' view of the ESL curriculum

Fifteen items in the two forms of the questionnaire focused on the use of English, aims and objectives of English language teaching, standards and the medium of instruction in Hong Kong as follows:

1. What do you think the major functions of English are in Hong Kong?
2. What are the advantages of being able to use English fluently for a local Chinese-speaking resident?

3. To your knowledge and belief, what are the major aims of English language teaching in Hong Kong?
4. Who do you think sets the aims of English language teaching in Hong Kong?
5. Ideally, who should determine the aims of English language teaching in Hong Kong secondary schools?
6. For what personal reasons do senior Hong Kong secondary school students study English?
7. For what personal reasons do junior Hong Kong secondary school students study English?
8. To what extent do you think the secondary school English syllabus appropriately represents the aims of English language teaching in Hong Kong?
9. In your view, who ultimately determines the objectives of the teacher's lessons?
10. How do you think the standard of English listening/speaking skills of Hong Kong secondary school students has changed over the past several years?
11. How do you think the standard of English reading/writing skills of Hong Kong secondary school students has changed over the past several years?
12. What do you think about the use of English as a medium of instruction?
13. If you think English should continue to be a medium of instruction, please indicate the percentage of English that should be used at each level of schooling.
14. What do you think about the teacher's use of a mixture of English and Chinese in the classroom?
15. What language policy do you think is appropriate for secondary schools in Hong Kong?

The major functions of English identified were: for business communications (82%), to link Hong Kong to other parts of the world (73%), for use in Government (54%).[3] The advantages of being able to use English were cited as: for better job opportunities (89%), for access to higher education (70%), for social interaction with native speakers of English (52%).

The aims identified for teaching English in Hong Kong were: to enable students to pursue further studies (74%), to pass examinations (72%), and to obtain jobs (68%). Studying in English in order to appreciate western culture and values was not ranked highly (17%), indicating a utilitarian rather than cultural value attributed to English.

For question 4, the Curriculum Development Committee (76%), the Education Department (65%), and the Examinations Authority (52%) were identified as determining the aims of English language teaching. However, 74% of the teachers felt that ideally teachers should determine the aims of the curriculum, while 54%, 43%, and 32% respectively thought that the Curriculum Development Committee, the Education Department and students themselves should determine the aims.

The reasons for which students study English are similar to those cited in question 3: to prepare themselves for further study (83%), to get a job (82%), and to pass examinations (78%). Reasons given for junior secondary school students are to pass examinations (83%), to satisfy school requirements (79%), to satisfy parents' demands (57%).

Only 31% of the teachers thought the school syllabus appropriately represents the aims of English language teaching in Hong Kong. Teachers were regarded as ultimately determining the objectives of lessons (73%) rather than textbook writers (17%).

Asked about the standard of English of secondary school students in Hong Kong over the past several years, teachers were divided in their opinion. 47% felt that the students' listening and speaking skills have not changed or have improved. 53% think that the students' skills in these areas have deteriorated. 73% think that the students' skills in reading and writing have deteriorated, while only 27% think that standards have been kept up or have been improved. Of the teachers who think the students' oral skills and aural skills have not changed or have improved in the past several years, 47% think that the students' reading and writing skills have deteriorated.

Regarding the use of English as the medium of instruction, nearly three-quarters (70%) of the teachers indicate that using English prepares students for tertiary education. 64% believe that using English as a medium helps students to improve their English. 58% believe that having English as the instruction medium is not without its costs as it places an unnecessary burden on most students. Only 21% of the respondents think that it is sound educational practice to do so.

The teachers were asked what percentage of English they thought should be used at each level of schooling if English continues to be the medium of instruction. 78% believe that the percentage of English for Primary One to Three students should not be more than 40%. For Primary Four to Six students, 86% believe that the percentage of English used should still be no more than 60%. For Form One to Three students, 72% think that the percentage of English should be between 40%-80%. For Form 4-Form 7 students, 89% believe that 60%-100% of English should be used as the medium of instruction; out of this, 60% think that the amount of English that should be used is between 80%-100%.

On the use of English and Chinese in the classroom, 42% think that it is better to use English only. 31% think that it is acceptable to use Chinese words within English sentences whereas only 15% think that it is all right to use English words within Chinese sentences. With respect to the language policy appropriate for Hong Kong, most teachers think that both English and Modern Standard Chinese should be emphasized in the secondary schools (72%). However, more teachers favour the use of Putonghua than Cantonese pronunciation in the schools (46% vs. 35%).

(ii) Teachers' view of language and language teaching

Section 2 of the questionnaire sought to identify the teachers' attitudes towards the English and Chinese languages and their beliefs about second language teaching. The following questions were asked:

16. How would you characterize the English language?
17. What do you think the main differences between English and Chinese are?
18. Do you think English is easier to learn than Chinese?
19. Which skills do you think are most important for students to learn at elementary school?
20. Which skills do you think are most important for students to learn at secondary school?
21. What kinds of theories do you think are most useful to English language teaching?
22. What kinds of research do you think are most useful to help improve the teaching of English?
23. What are the best ways to learn a language?
24. What teaching approaches/methods do you try to implement in your classroom?
25. What influences your teaching most?

In describing their perception of English, the following views were reported: an important international language (98%), a language with great flexibility (29%), a language in which grammar plays an important role (25%), and a language with a rich vocabulary (23%). Some 17% consider that pronunciation, rhythm and intonation are very important in English.

1074

In comparing English and Chinese, 78% of the teachers who expressed an opinion felt that English has more grammar rules than Modern Standard Chinese (MSC); most disagreed that English has a larger vocabulary (70%), or more colloquial expressions (64%), or more flexibility *in communication (54%) when compared to the written forms of MSC.* 25% think that English is easier to learn. 21% think that it is easier to learn at first, but just as difficult to learn as MSC at a later stage. 21% think that English is no more difficult to learn than MSC, while 34% think that English is more difficult to learn. On balance, it seems that slightly more teachers think that English is easier to learn, at least in the initial stages.

The teachers ranked the importance of the four skills at elementary school as: listening/reading, speaking, and writing.[4] At secondary school, however, the importance of the skills was ranked as reading, writing/listening, speaking. This probably reflects the need to emphasize skills which are more important for passing school examinations at each level of schooling.

Teachers were given a number of theories to evaluate, and the theories which teachers judged to be most useful to them were: theories of how second language learners learn a language, grammatical theories of language, theories about different teaching methods and the psychology of learning, and theories which help teachers develop classroom practices. The kinds of research which teachers thought to be useful were reported as: research into the effectiveness of teaching materials, comparisons of the effectiveness of different teaching methods, research into learning strategies, research into remedial teaching, research on the effects of streaming students, and research on the effects of teacher personality on teaching.

When asked what they thought was the best way to learn a language, the following suggestions were reported: learners should expose themselves to the language as far as possible (92%), interact with native speakers (67%), and read books in English (66%). Strategies which most of the teachers did not think were helpful were studying rules of the language (16%), and repeating and memorizing chunks of the language (5%).

The teaching methods which teachers most frequently use in their classes were identified as a grammar-based approach (59%), a functional or communicative approach (58%), and a situational approach (44%).

The factors which most influence teachers in their teaching were reported as self-reflection (39%), teacher training/development courses

(38%), past experience as a language learner (36%), and the need to obtain satisfaction in teaching (33%).

(iii) Teachers' view of classroom practices

Section 3 of the questionnaire asked a number of questions concerning classroom practices and procedures. These questions fell into four categories: questions concerning the English language syllabus, the use of teaching materials and activities, their attitudes towards the use of Cantonese in their classes, and their views on assessment. The following questions were asked about the English language syllabus:

26. What should be the main criteria for selecting teaching/learning items to be included in the Syllabus for English (Forms I–V)?
27. How often do you consult the Syllabus for English (Forms I–V)?
28. When you consult the Syllabus for English (Forms I–V), what use do you make of it?
29. What changes do you think are needed with respect to the syllabus for English (Forms I–V)?

Teachers felt that the main criteria for including items in the Syllabus should be the frequency of use in everyday English (98%). Items that are frequently used in local English newspapers were also judged to be important (59%) as well as those that might appear in examinations (49%). Only 35% thought that items from textbooks in other subjects should be included.

When asked how often they consulted the syllabus, however, over half reported that they rarely (41%) or never (13%) consulted it. Only 13% claimed that they consulted it more than once or twice every school term. Those who do consult the syllabus report they use it mainly as a guide to the selection of teaching materials (65%) and to teaching methods (57%). Only about a quarter (27%) describe it as a definitive guide to English language teaching in Hong Kong.

In terms of changes they would like to see in the syllabus, 71% of the teachers think that the syllabus should be made more flexible for use with mixed ability groups. 51% of the teachers think that the syllabus should include more suggestions for teaching, and 50% feel it should include detailed descriptions of the teaching/learning items. A quarter of the teachers (24%) feel that there should be more coordination between the teaching syllabus and the examination syllabus.

The following questions were asked about the teachers' use of teaching materials and classroom activities:

30. What teaching resources do you make use of in your teaching?
31. What is the primary role of the textbook?
32. How many different kinds of English textbooks do you use?
33. To what extent do you develop your own exercises and materials?
34. Have you ever made up a lesson plan?
35. If you make use of lesson plans, how often do you make one?
36. When you make a lesson plan, how detailed is it?
37. What teaching activities do you most often use in your classes?

The teachers reported that their primary teaching resources are the textbook, supplementary materials, and audio tapes. The primary functions of the textbook are seen as to provide practice activities (64%), to provide a structured language program for teachers to follow (56%), to provide language models (55%), and to provide information about the language (50%). Most teachers do not rely on a single textbook (83%), many using a separate text for listening (86%), reading practice (66%), and writing (58%). Only 28% make a significant use of exercises and materials which they develop themselves.

97% of the teachers are familiar with preparing lesson plans. However, the frequency of use of lesson plans varies: 36% use them only once in a while, 32% before every class, 20% a few times a week, and 11% not since their last teacher training course. For many teachers (43%) lesson plans consist of a few rough notes. Only 12% use a complete lesson plan specifying every item to be taught. For others, the lesson plan simply lists the main class activities to be used (23%) and for some (22%), the lesson plan is not committed to paper.

The classroom activities the teachers most frequently employ in their teaching were ranked as: (1) doing reading and writing exercises from the textbook, (2) doing written grammar exercises, (3) composition, (4) pair or group work tasks, (5) reading aloud, (6) dictation, and (7) oral grammar exercises.

Teachers were asked two questions concerning the use of Cantonese in their teaching:

38. What is your attitude towards teachers using Cantonese in English classes?
39. When you teach an English class, what practice do you adopt with respect to the use of Chinese?

Many of the teachers (59%) felt that Cantonese can be used whenever necessary to ensure understanding. 36% felt that Cantonese can be used to explain difficult vocabulary items. Only 5% believe that teachers should never use Cantonese in English classes.

When describing how they make use of Chinese in an English class, 76% reported that they use Chinese in order to simplify the explanation of difficult English vocabulary items. 51% use Chinese sometimes to explain grammatical structures. 29% use Chinese to give instructions for classroom activities and exercises, while 20% switch back and forth in Chinese and English as necessary.

Teachers were asked to address a number of questions on assessment:

40. What do you think the basic functions of tests are in school?
41. When you mark an assignment, what objectives do you seek to accomplish?
42. To what extent is your teaching determined by tests and examinations?
43. Do you think any changes need to be made in the English language examinations conducted by the Hong Kong Examinations Authority?

Teachers were somewhat divided concerning the basic functions of tests in school. 30% felt that the function of tests is to give feedback to teachers. 28% think that tests assess students' learning difficulties. 13% believe tests are used to motivate students while 10% think that tests serve to direct students' learning. Only 9% and 5% of the teachers respectively feel that basically tests prepare students for public examinations and identify areas for re-teaching.

In giving feedback to students on their performance on assignments, the following objectives were reported: to help students discover their problems (79%), to give guidelines for improvement (66%), to identify problems (47%), to encourage students to work harder (41%). 63% of the teachers indicated their teaching was to a large extent determined by tests and examinations.

The majority of the teachers (80%) are satisfied with the English language examination of the Hong Kong Certification of Education Examination.[5] 60% think that the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination is suitable. Only about a fifth think that the two public examinations need changes although they did not specify the changes they think are necessary.

(iv) Teachers' view of their role

Section 4 of the questionnaire addressed how teachers view their role in the education system. The following questions were asked:

44. What do you think the qualities of a good teacher are?
45. What is the role of the teacher in the classroom?
46. What do you think your main role is as a teacher of the English language?
47. Who do you think would make the best teachers of English in Hong Kong classrooms?
48. To what extent do you feel you are free to make changes in your approach to teaching?
49. To what extent do you feel you are able to bring about changes in your students' learning outcome?
50. What kinds of learners do best in your classes?
51. What are the sort of activities outside the classroom that would benefit you as a teacher of English?

Teachers listed the following qualities as characteristic of good teachers: they are able to motivate students (52%), they are able to diagnose students' weaknesses (26%), they know the subject matter well (26%), they assist students in their development (24%), they are well-organized (22%).

Teachers saw their primary roles in the classroom as (1) to provide useful learning experiences, (2) to provide a model of correct language usage, (3) to answer learners' questions, and (4) to correct learners' errors.

When asked what they saw their main role to be as an English teacher, the following functions were identified: to help students discover effective approaches to learning (32%), to pass knowledge and skills to pupils (32%), and adapting teaching approaches to meet students' needs (16%).

Teachers felt that local Chinese-speaking teachers trained in language teaching would make the best English teachers in Hong Kong (72%) although a large percentage (68%) thought that any trained ESL teacher would be suitable. 62% believed native-speakers of English with ELT training would make the best teachers.

Most teachers (83%) felt that they are free to some extent to make changes in their approach to teaching. 64% of the teachers felt that they are able to bring about changes in their students' learning outcomes to some extent. Only 21% felt that they could make a difference to a large extent.

The kinds of learners the teachers felt did best in their classes were those who were motivated (75%), who are active and speak out (51%), who are not afraid of making mistakes (40%), who can work individually without the teacher's help (31%) and who follow the teacher's instructions (27%).

The kinds of activities outside the classroom which the teachers thought of most benefit to them were activities on preparing lessons (55%), developing supplementary materials (54%), attending seminars and teacher workshops (50%), and reading teachers' magazines (44%).

(v) Teachers' view of their profession

The final section of the questionnaire included the following questions on teachers' view of English language teaching as a profession:

52. What is the best way for teachers to evaluate their teaching?
53. What are the difficulties you face in teaching the English language?
54. In your view, what is the most rewarding aspect of English language teaching?
55. What changes would you like to see in English language teaching in Hong Kong secondary schools?
56. What sources support or facilitate your job as an English language teacher?
57. What do you think about the status of English teachers in Hong Kong?
58. What do you think English language teaching professionals should be like?
59. What do you think can improve teachers' teaching practice?
60. Given the opportunity, what professional development activities would you choose?

Concerning evaluation of teaching, 63% felt that teachers are the best judges of their own teaching. Other indicators that were considered valuable were: students' achievement in tests and examinations (55%), inspection of students' work (54%), and anonymous student evaluation of teaching (47%). Only 29% would invite colleagues to observe their classes and even fewer (7%) would request school inspetors to give an evaluation of their teaching.

The main difficulties teachers identified in teaching English were (1) too much marking (2) heavy overall workload, (3) large class size, (4) lack of opportunity for students to use English, and (5) examination pressure.

The most rewarding aspect of English language teaching identified by teachers was seeing students make progress (66%). Job satisfaction was not ranked highly (17%), nor was self-improvement (15%). None cited salary as one of the rewards of teaching.

Teachers saw their main sources of support coming from (1) their students, (2) the English Panel Chairpersons, and (3) their colleagues. Teachers thought that the statements which best describe the way they are supported in their professional development are (1) teachers are supported by the school authorities when they apply for teacher education programmes, (2) teachers are provided with opportunities for professional development. Few teachers supported the statement that teachers are provided with adequate facilities and resources in school.

The teachers felt that the statements which most accurately describe their status as English teachers in Hong Kong were: (1) teachers have an important and useful role to play in Hong Kong, (2) teachers are not seen as important as they should be, and (3) teachers are looked up to by parents.

The skills which were felt to be most important for English language teachers were identified as (1) special skills and training in English language teaching, (2) reading widely to keep up with the field, (3) a good understanding of how a second language is learned, (4) a superior command of the English language, and (5) a knowledge of the culture of English-speaking countries.

Activities that teachers felt could improve their teaching practice were (1) discussing problems of teaching with other teachers, (2) consulting reference materials, (3) team work or team teaching, (4) starting a school-based curriculum, and (5) observing another teacher's classes.

Given the opportunity to take part in professional development activities, the following priorities were identified: (1) attending workshops and in-service courses (47%), and (2) taking an advanced degree in TESOL (33%).

Discussion

In order to permit some broader generalizations, the teachers' responses were also examined to find out the role experience and training played in determining their perceptions, to characterize what approaches to teaching they appear to follow, and to describe their views of their role as professionals.

The role of experience and training

Experienced and trained teachers differ from their counterparts in three areas: their views of the aims and approach of English language teaching in Hong Kong; some aspects of their classroom practice; and their views of professional support and professional development.

Experienced teachers are more aware of the utilitarian aims of language teaching. They are more likely to think that the aims of English language teaching in Hong Kong are to enable students to pass examinations ($x^2 = 4.85$, df = 1, $p < .05$)[6] and to help students to obtain jobs ($x^2 = 4.55$, df = 1, $p < .05$).

Compared with the experienced and trained teachers, inexperienced and untrained teachers are more likely to think that grammatical theories of language are useful to language teaching ($x^2 = 7.55$, df = 1, $p < .01$). When asked about the relative importance of the four skills, untrained teachers are also more likely to think that writing is a more important skill in both elementary ($x^2 = 6.70$, df = 1, $p < .01$) and secondary school ($x^2 = 6.61$, df = 1, $p < .05$)

The teachers' views are reflected in their declared preferences when asked about their classroom practice. Inexperienced teachers tend to require students to memorize dialogues more often ($x^2 = 6.60$, df = 2, $p < .05$), and are more likely to use a separate book for writing activities ($x^2 = 6.84$, df = 1, $p < .01$). They tend to develop more of their own exercises ($x^2 = 3.96$, df = 1, $p < .05$) but presumably stay within the written medium. In contrast, more experienced teachers seem to go beyond the written medium more often, in the use of audio and video tapes ($x^2 = 17.67$, df = 2, $p < .01$), oral exercises and pronunciation drills ($x^2 = 10.24$, df = 2, $p < .01$).

Experience also influences how they view the difficulties they face. Perhaps because the experienced teachers are more confident of themselves, they see poor student motivation ($x^2 = 6.66$, df = 2, $p < .05$) and lack of family support ($x^2 = 6.21$, df = 2, $p < .05$) for the students as less serious problems than their less experienced colleagues do.

Another difference is seen in their views of the use of Cantonese in English lessons. Trained teachers are more likely to use Cantonese for specific purposes, for example, to explain difficult English vocabulary items ($x^2 = 5.44$, df = 1, $p < .05$), while untrained teachers report that they tend to switch back and forth between Cantonese and English whenever necessary ($x^2 = 5.42$, df = 1, $p < .05$)

Regarding the area of professional support and development, experienced teachers are more apt to think that training and in-service courses are the most important sources for their teaching ($x^2 = 8.98$, df = 1, $p < .01$). Perhaps because they are more idealistic, inexperienced teachers are more likely to think that their personal philosophy of teaching is more important in their classroom practice ($x^2 = 5.14$, df = 1, $p < .05$). If given the opportunity, trained teachers are more likely to take advanced degree courses to further their professional development, while untrained teachers are more likely to attend workshops and in-service courses ($x^2 = 8.23$, df = 2, $p < .05$). Experienced teachers tend to view seminars and workshops ($x^2 = 3.94$, df = 1, $p < .05$), and reading professional publications ($x^2 = 8.93$, df = 1, $p < .01$) as beneficial to their practice. By contrast, inexperienced teachers seem to concentrate more on the daily tasks of teaching such as lesson preparations ($x^2 = 10.31$, df = 1, $p < .01$).

When asked what can improve language teaching in Hong Kong, teachers with relatively little training and experience are more likely to favour revision in the examination syllabus ($x^2 = 3.88$, df = 1, $p < .05$) and employing more teachers who are native speakers of English ($x^2 = 5.94$, df = 1, $p < .05$), whereas trained teachers are more likely to see the need for further training as a way of bringing about improvement in the situation ($x^2 = 3.84$, df = 1, $p < .05$).

Different approaches to English language teaching

Two distinct groups of teachers can be identified in the sample of teachers surveyed. One group reported adopting a functional approach to language teaching, and another a grammar-based approach. With respect to the English language curriculum, teachers following the functional approach tended more to think that the local *Syllabus for English (Forms I*-V) appropriately represents the aims of English language teaching in Hong Kong than teachers following a grammar-based approach ($x^2 = 7.93$, df = 2, $p < .05$).

As to classroom practices, teachers taking the functional approach reported making more frequent use of audio-tapes ($x^2 = 4.42$, df = 1,

1083

$p < .05$), role-plays ($x^2 = 6.99$, df = 1, $p < .01$), and pair- and group-work tasks ($x^2 = 6.98$, df = 1, $p < .01$), while teachers taking the grammar-based approach made more use of written grammar exercises ($x^2 = 4.00$, df = 1, $p < .05$) and dictation ($x^2 = 5.42$, df = 1, $p < .05$). Teachers using the grammar-based approach also treated the textbook more as a structured language programme for teachers to follow ($x^2 = 3.98$, df = 1, $p < .05$).

Regarding teachers' view of their role, those teachers using a functional approach felt that they are freer to make changes in their teaching ($x^2 = 4.80$, df = 1, $p < .05$). These teachers were also more willing to ask students about their teaching as part of their effort to improve their teaching practice ($x^2 = 4.58$, df = 1, $p < .05$).

Professionalism and teacher beliefs

A major theme underlying teachers' beliefs in Hong Kong is that of professionalism. Teachers' views and actions reflect their belief that language teaching is a profession and teachers are professionals. Therefore, they engage in a large variety of professional activities. They believe that preparing lessons, developing materials, and attending seminars would benefit them most as teachers of English. They favour consulting their peers for advice and they believe the best teachers are those with professional training. They see themselves playing an important and useful role in society.

The teachers' responses reveal that they are willing to assume professional responsibilities. They believe that teachers should play a part in shaping the aims of the curriculum and the objectives of lessons are ultimately determined by them. They feel that they can take charge of their teaching and improve the learning outcomes of their students.

As a group of professionals, they share a view towards the language they teach, stressing the importance of the language for education, career and business communications. They see one of their main roles as passing on knowledge of a language important to their students' lives.

Teachers also share a view about the best way to learn a language – exposing students to the target language in as many ways as possible. Repeating and memorizing chunks of language are least favoured. They feel that students need to be motivated in order to maximize learning. They rely on professional tools, textbooks, supplementary materials, and audio-tapes. They indicate that they are all familiar with the preparation of lesson plans.

As professionals, teachers are concerned about their students. This can be seen in several ways: (1) they find it most rewarding to see students make progress, (2) they see one of their main roles as helping students discover effective approaches to learning and (3) they provide the kind of feedback that helps their students improve their language ability.

As professionals, the difficulties faced by teachers are related to (1) thier workload (marking, large classes, school meetings), (2) their working environment and external constraints (lack of resources, restrictions imposed by a rigid curriculum).

Conclusion

This study has attempted to identify the beliefs and attitudes of Hong Kong teachers of English towards the teaching of English and shown that patterns of teachers' views and behaviour can be identified. These are viewed as constituting the culture of teaching for this group of teachers. A relationship was found between teachers' goals, values and beliefs, on the one hand, and their teaching experience, training and approach to language teaching on the other. Beyond their differences however, the teachers in this study were found to share much common ground as professionals, thinking and acting responsibly to help develop their students' learning of English. Although a questionnaire study such as this is only able to explore teachers' expressions of their ideas, values, and goals, rather than determine how or whether they put these into practice in actual teaching, the study provides valuable information that can assist in developing teacher education programs and activities.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the following for their contributions at various stages of questionnaire development for this study: Dr Keith Johnson, Francis Yau, Mable Tang, Paul Sze, and K. K. Tong. For their help in completing the questionnaires, we would like to thank members of the Postgraduate Diploma (TESL) program (1989-91) at the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong and members of the Postgraduate Certificate in Education course (1989-91) at the University of Hong Kong. We would also like to thank Della Au for her help in coding and tabulating the data and Dr. Martha Pennington for her helpful comments on the paper. This research was supported by a research grant from the City Polytechnic of Hong Kong.

Notes

[1] A Likert-type scale consists of items in the form of statements that require subjects to make a graded response, commonly on a five-point scale. For example, subjects may express their agreement or disagreement with a statement in terms of the following five categories: strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, and strongly disagree.

[2] Because of the length of the questionnaires, only one page of a form of the questionnaire has been included in the appendix to provide readers with an impression of the instrument. The full questionnaires are available on request from the authors.

[3] Some items of the questionnaire presented teachers with a list of options from which they were asked to choose a maximum of three options that best describe their views. The percentages reported here indicate the proportion of teachers who chose each option. Since teachers could select more than one option, the percentage of the options add up to more than 100% for these items.

[4] Percentages are not reported for those questions where teachers were asked to rate items on a five-point Likert scale.

[5] The Hong Kong Examinations Authority conducts a Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination for all students completing Form 5 (Grade 11) in May every year. Students studying through the medium of English take "Syallbus B" of the examination on English language. Students completing Form 7 (Grade 13) sit the Hong Kong Advanced Level Examination of the Examinations Authority.

[6] Yates' correction for continuity has been applied to all chi-square tests with 1 degree of freedom. This generally gives a better approximation to the theoretical distribution of the statistic.

References

Brousseau, B. A., Book, C., & Byers, J. L. (1988). Teacher beliefs and the cultures of teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education, 39*(6), 33-39.

Chaudron, C. (1988). *Second language classrooms: Research on teaching and learning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Education Commission. (1990). *Education Commission Report No. 4: The curriculum and behavioural problems in schools.* Hong Kong: Government Printer.

Feiman-Nemser, S., & Floden, R. E. (1986). The cultures of teaching. In M. C. Wittrock (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching* (3rd ed.) (pp 505-526). New York, NY: Macmillan.

Floden, R. E., & Klinzing H. G. (1990). What can research on teacher thinking contribute to teacher preparation? A second opinion. *Educational Researcher, 19*(5), 15-20.

Nespor, J. (1987). The role of beliefs in the practice of teaching. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 19*(4), 317-328.

Shavelson, R. J., & Stern, P. (1981). Research on teachers' pedagogical thoughts, judgements, decisions and behaviour. *Review of Educational Research, 51*(4), 455-498.

1087

Appendix

Teacher Beliefs Questionnaire:

The first three questions from Form A of the questionnaire. A total of 64 items were included in the questionnaire (Forms A and B).

Directions

For each of the questions below, please respond by circling one or more options according to the directions given in brackets. If you feel that your views have not been represented fully, please circle "Other" as one of your options and use the space below it to explain your thoughts. None of the respondents to this questionnaire will be identified by name. Thank you for your cooperation.

Section 1:

1. What do you think the major functions of English are in Hong Kong? (Please circle up to three options.)
   a. It is a language used by government.
   b. It is a language used in business communications.
   c. It links Hong Kong to other parts of the world.
   d. It is a common language for people speaking different languages in Hong Kong.
   e. It is a medium of education.
   f. It introduces Western values and culture to the people of Hong Kong.
   g. Other; please specify:
   ____
   ____
   ____

2. What are the advantages of being able to use English fluently for a local Chinese-speaking resident? (Please circle up to three options.)
   a. He/She would have better job prospects.
   b. He/She would be regarded more highly by other residents.
   c. He/She would have a sense of personal accomplishment.
   d. He/She could obtain a higher education.
   e. His/Her cultural awareness would be increased.
   f. He/She would be able to obtain up-to-date information.
   g. It would be easier for him/her to interact socially with native speakers of English.
   h. Other; please specify:
   ____
   ____
   ____

3. To what extent do you think the *Syllabus for English (Forms I-IV)** appropriately represents the aims of English language teaching in Hong Kong? (Please circle one option only.)

   a. completely
   b. to a large extent
   c. to some extent
   d. to a small extent
   e. to no extent

---

*Throughout this questionnaire, this refers to the *Syllabus for English (Forms I-V)* recommended by the Curriculum Development Committee of the Education Department and published in 1983. Presently, it has a green cover.

Two Feedback Types: Do They Make A Difference?

Ken Sheppard
Hunter College
New York

Abstract

This study contrasts the effects of two distinct ways of responding to a student essay: discrete-item attention to form and holistic feedback on meaning. In examining the before- and after-essays of a linguistically diverse group of 26 college freshmen, it shows that the use of a holistic response is likely to increase a student's awareness of sentence boundaries more than the alternative. In other words, responding to content results in improvements in grammatical accuracy. General implications are also addressed.

Introduction

Interest in the relative effectiveness of various ways of responding to a piece of student writing continues apace, as Kroll's *Second language Writing* (1990) shows. In the past, many teachers took a discrete item, surface-level approach to errors by, for example, correcting an error themselves or indicating its types (by means of a code) and/or location in the text. More recently, many, particularly those who have read the "process" literature or Krashen (1984), have begun to comment on an essay's overall shape and intention and eschew error correction altogether (at least on preliminary drafts), though as Zamel has shown (1984) fascination with "mechanics" lives on. Research, however, is still needed among adult learners of the language to determine how these and other types of feedback influence the accuracy and complexity of student writing.

To be sure, theorists and researchers have approached the issue in a variety of ways. Burt and Kiparsky (1972) compared the communicative effects of sentence-level, or "global", errors and constituent-level, or "local", errors, and generally speaking, found the first of these to be serious. Following their lead, Hendrickson (1978) compared direct and selective error treatments but found no differences in their effects on accuracy, which were in any event insignificant. Brumfit (1980) described a continuum of six error treatments, from the most "salient" to the most covert, indeed, to the absence of any feedback whatever. In a somewhat related study, Lalande (1982) compared teacher-made corrections with code-triggered corrections and found the latter more effective. In a study of the effects of multiple drafts on accuracy and complexity, Dicker and

Sheppard (1985) found a significant advantage for discrete-item correction on a punctuation measure, but that study is only marginally related to the central issue of feedback.

Most recently, Robb, Ross and Shortreed (1986) found no significant difference in the effects on accuracy of four feedback techniques – from teacher-made correction to marginal comment on the number of errors per line – in the compositions of 134 Japanese freshmen, although some differences emerged when criteria of fluency and complexity were applied. Similarly, Hillocks (1986), in a review of the research, concluded that "teacher comment has little impact on student writing" (p. 165). Thus, we are led to believe that the various types make little difference; indeed, the use of *any* type at all may not be worth the effort.

But wait a minute. At about the same time that these studies were undertaken, Leki discovered that her "students" (sic.) wanted to have every error marked and mostly approved of written clues from the teacher to enable them to correct their errors themselves" (1990: p.62). Similarly, Fathman and Whalley (1990), in an empirical study of 72 students, found that when they "were provided feedback on grammar errors only, all students improved their grammatical accuracy and 44% improved the content of their writing" (p. 183); by comparison, the sub-group that received only feedback on content, while making some progress in content, showed little or no improvement in grammar (35% got worse). In other words, error correction was okay after all.

Unfortunately, while many of these studies address issues of specificity and comprehensiveness, none, apart from Fathman et al., compares the effects of radically contrasted approaches to feedback on the writing of college-level ESL students. The question of the relationship between feedback and grammatical accuracy is an important one because, despite infatuation with "holistic" evaluation, many writing programs still rely on grammatical criteria: as Fathman et al. indicate, "many teachers maintain a strong interest in correctness in spite of this recent focus on process" (p. 178). As long as such criteria are still applied, it is important to know which approach is most likely to prepare a student to meet them.

In the case of the present study, two forms of corrective feedback were compared. The first involved coded error correction such as that described in Bruder and Furey (1979): both the type and location of each error were indicated in writing on the page of text; after a conference with the teacher about these errors, each student was asked to make a second, corrected copy (Group A). The second approach relied on general requests for clarification ("I don't know what you mean here. Could you say it in other words?") written in the margin of a student's paper; these comments then became the basis for teacher-student conferences on the student's general meaning (Group B). In the first case, *every error* was indicated, and only errors were discussed; in the second, only comments on the writer's *intention* were made on the paper, and only discussion of what she had intended to say took place.

The purpose of the study was to track the progress of both groups and assay the effects of both treatments on grammatical accuracy and complexity by comparing the first and last compositions in a sequence of nine written over a ten-week period. The hypothesis was that no significant differences would emerge between the two groups with respect to these criteria. A difference-of-means test (a *t* test) was used to assess student gains and treatment effectiveness.

Method

The two groups of students were formed from a pool of about 50 students at an upper-intermediate level. Those chosen (N = 26) came from the Caribbean (Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico), Latin America (Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador), Europe (Cyprus, Greece, Rumania) and Asia (China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Viet Nam). All were pre-tested for general reading comprehension (*Descriptive Tests of Language Skills: Reading Comprehension*) and grammatical knowledge (*Comprehensive English Language Test: Structure*) and matched-paired accordingly. A writing sample provided confirmatory baseline data.

The students received a total of 35 hours of instruction over the ten-week period of the study. The same teacher (the author) taught both courses, and the courses were identical except for the two treatments of error, which were clearly differentiated. Both groups read two novels (*Foreigner* and *Old Man and the Sea*) and wrote seven compositions on the same topics, in multiple drafts, between the two compared in this study. Both groups were also given classes in the simple past/past perfect contrast, direct and indirect speech and subordination. Thus, they differed primarily with respect to a single variable, feedback.

The principal problem with the previous study of multiple drafts (Dicker et al. 1985) was that the two groups wrote on widely different topics. In this case, the groups were given identical topics of two types: narratives related to a book of *foto-novelas (Stranger on the Road)* and expository topics that asked the students to relate the two novels they had read and their experiences. The two essays compared were personal experience essays, one involving a description of the neighbourhood each had lived in as a child and the other a description of a journey each had taken. In each case, the students wrote only one draft.

In the analysis of the data, two direct measures of accuracy and one indirect measure of complexity were applied (see Dicker et al.): (1) The percentage of correct *verb forms*. (Person, tense, aspect and context were taken into account; the correctness of negating devices was ignored.) So, for example, the verbs in the following sentence were both counted as correct.

*She no has taken a bus since she came.

(2) The percentage of correct *sentence-boundary markers*. (Periods, semicolons and question marks were considered equivalent; fragments were ignored). That is, each obligatory context for some such marker was underlined in each essay. The total number of markers actually present divided by the total number of obligatory contexts then yielded the percentage used in this statistic.

(3) The ratio of *subordinations* to the total number of sentences. (Adjectival clauses with *who, which* and *that* and subordinate clauses with *becuase, when, although*, etc. were counted; errors were ignored.) Thus, the total number of subordinations, regardless of errors, was calculated for each essay and divided by the total number of sentences, as determined in (2) above.

Once these figures had been arrived at, the mean for each group on each essay was calculated. The differences were then measured and tested for significance.

Table 1
Student Gains (before/after)

	Group A (N = 13)	Group B (N = 13)
Measures:		
(1) Verbs	3.77*	4.78*
(2) Punctuation	0.54	3.38*
(3) Subordination	– 2.34*	– 0.54

*p - .05

Results

As Table 1 shows, Group B made significant progress in verb accuracy and punctuation; Group A also showed significant improvement in verb accuracy. On the other hand, by the end of the course, Group A was using significantly fewer complex sentences, as defined by the measure employed here. The students in this group may have avoided subordination as a direct result of having studied it formally in class. That is, once having become aware of its complexity, they opted for avoidance, particularly since the course stressed corrective error feedback (see below).

Table 2
Treatment Effectiveness
(surface correction v. requests for clarification)

	Group A/B
Measures:	
(1) Verbs	1.17
(2) Punctuation	2.30*
(3) Subordination	1.70

*p - .05

As Table 2 shows, the only significant difference that emerged relates to punctuation: Group B made so much more improvement than Group A that the difference between the two groups was itself significant. In other words, these students learned the limits of a sentence better despite the lack of focus on punctuation in the course.

Discussion

In essence, with reference to these 26 students, those who were consistently asked to search their repertories for more communicative formulations - to constantly evaluate their writing and make its meaning clear - learned more about sentence length than those who were exposed to constant error-oriented feedback. Thus, at least where this particular aspect of writing is concerned - admittedly, a minor aspect - the results challenge a common assumption, i.e. that close attention to mechanics will result in more accurate mechanics. Even the assumption in this study - that there would be no differences in the effects of the two treatments was proved false, and the null hypothesis rejected. The fact is that students who negotiate meaning in conference with a teacher are unlikely to do so at the risk of diminished accuracy; indeed, they are more likely to be accurate in their use of the language than students whose attention is constantly drawn to surface-level inaccuracies and repair techniques.

The study also challenges the conclusion of Fathman et al. that the "identification of the location of errors by the teacher appears to be an effective means of helping students correct their grammar errors" (p. 185). Clearly, these students did not think so, since those who received that treatment did not improve *in grammatical accuracy* as much as those who didn't get corrective feedback; they also regressed in complexity. In fact, the generalized decline in complexity apparent in these data may constitute evidence, as I have suggested above, of avoidance. In both courses class time was devoted to the formal study of subordination. Such classes, in stretching the students' awareness of the language's complexity, may have depressed the tendency of students at this level to take risks. Alternatively, the second topic, though comparable to the first, may simply have elicited fewer tokens. In any event, the measure employed here provides at best only a gross indication of sentence complexity. The criterion employed by Robb et al. (the ratio of clauses to the total number of words written) might give a better fix; at the very least, their students showed improvement.

In the aggregate, these findings lend modest support to communicative approaches to the teaching of writing. They are consistent with those reported by Robb et al. in their EFL context. That study concluded that "highly detailed feedback on sentence-level mechanics may not be worth the instructors' time and effort.... Alternatively, teachers can respond to student writing with comments that force the writer back to the initial stages of composing, or what Sommers (1982) refers to as the 'chaos', 'back to the point where they are shaping and restructuring their meaning" (p. 91). That "chaos" seems the key.

In our rush to embrace "process" oriented composition teaching - which springs from anecodotal research carried out among young native speakers, for the most part - we run the risk of expecting too much of adult students who lack native-like mastery of the language, students who, as Leki (1990) says, "have a smaller backlog of experience with English grammatical or rhetorical structure to fall back on" (p. 59). More empirical research of all types is needed to confirm, clarify and deepen our understanding of what may be a universal tendency in language learning. Clearly, one thrust ought to be the determination of that *stage* in the L2 acquisition/learning process at which each of the various types of feedback reported in the literature is optimally effective. In the meantime, to the extent that this study makes a contribution, it shows that students who write primarily to communicate a message are unlikely to sacrifice control in the process.

As for the classroom, it seems that there is no easy answer to the eternal question of how to respond. Following Robb et al. and others, there would seem to be little point in worrying too much about what you put down on the paper at all. Following Fathman et al. and others, an argument can be made for grammatically focused intervention. This study, among urban college ESL students, suggests that even if you make that attempt you will not be conferring an advantage on your students; ironically, you might be doing so only if you respond holistically to content by means of request for clarification. Perhaps, in the end, the critical issue is still the question of how to structure a post-composition *conference* so that the student can really understand how to strengthen what she has already written.

References

Bruder, M. and Furey, P. R. (1979). The writing segment of an intensive program for students of English as a second language. *Journal of Basic Writing, 2,* 67–84.

Brumfit, C. J. (1980). *Problems and principles in English teaching.* Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Burt, M. K. and Kiparsky, C. (1972). *The Gooficon: A repair manual for English.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

______ (1977). *Descriptive tests of language skills of the College Board: Reading comprehension.* (1977). Princeton: Educational Testing Service.

Dicker, S. and Sheppard, K. (1985). The effects of multiple drafts on structural accuracy in writing. *TESOL Quarterly,* 19, 168–70.

Fathman, A. K. and Whalley, E. (1990). Teacher response to student writing: Focus on form versus content. In Kroll (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harris, D. P. and Palmer, L. A. (1970). *A comprehensive English language test for speakers of English as a second language: Structure.* N.Y.: McGraw-Hill.

Hemingway, E. (1952). *The old man and the sea.* N.Y.: Scribner.

Henrickson, J.M. (1978). Error correction in foreign language teaching: Recent theory, research and practice. *The Modern Language Journal, 62,* 387–398.

Hillocks, G., Jr. (1986). *Research on written composition: New directions for teaching.* Urbana: ERIC Clearinghouse on Reading and Communication Skills and the National Conference on Research in English.

Krashen, S. (1984). *Writing: Research, theory and applications*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kroll, B. (Ed.) (1990). *Second language writing: Research insights for the classroom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lalande, J.F. (1982). Reducing composition errors: An experiment. *The Modern Language Journal, 66*, 140–149.

Leki, I. (1990). Coaching from the margins: Issues in written response. In Kroll (ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Markstein, L. and Grunbaum, D. (1985). *Stranger on the road*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Rachlin, N. (1979). *Foreigner*. N.Y.: Norton.

Robb, T., Ross, S. and Shortreed, I. (1986). Salience of feedback on error and its effect on EFL writing quality. *TESOL Quarterly, 20*, 83–95.

Sommers, N. (1982). Responding to student writing. *College Composition and Communication*, 33, 148–156.

Zamel, V. (1985). Responding to student writing. *TESOL Quarterly, 19*, 79–101.

Current Research in Southeast Asia

Yolanda Beh
RELC

In pursuit of the aim to disseminate information on language-related research currently being conducted in Southeast Asia, reports from researchers in five member countries are published. Appreciation and thanks are expressed to these researchers for their contributions. The cooperation of other researchers is earnestly sought in providing additional reports which may be sent in the format shown below to the following address:

Librarian and Head of Information Centre
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore.

Alternatively, a form may be requested from the same address.

BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

Title: **Verbal Communication in Brunei: A Sociolinguistic Profile**

Description: The major aim of this study is to determine the nature of language use in Brunei, thus enabling a sociolinguistic profile to be drawn up. The main thrust will be an examination of the unplanned use of language (both English and the Austronesian languages used in Brunei) and factors which determine such use.

The study will consider both inter- and intra-lingual communication in Brunei and will incorporate the fields of language choice, attitudes to language, and domains of language use. A subsidiary, yet important, area of study will be that of language change and variation.

Dialects of Malay spoken in Brunei include Kedayan, Kampung Air, and Brunei Malay (both colloquial and formal styles of the latter). All of these language varieties will be examined. Descriptions will focus on phonetics and discourse. In particular, non-phonemic variation in voice quality will be studied as this is likely to indicate emotional state and attitudes which the speaker holds, as well as project something of the speaker's self-image. Discourse particles as well as the overall structure of discourse are likely to reveal interesting sociolinguistic information. Although the focus will be on phonetics and discourse structure, in cases where phonologies of the dialects differ from Standard Malay, these non-standard phonologies will also be described. Features of sentence syntax which contribute to peculiarities of discourse structure will be described as well.

Principal researcher: A Conrad K Ozog
Lecturer
Universiti Brunei Darussalam
3186 Gadong
Brunei Darussalam

Other researchers: Peter W Martin
Gloria Poedjosoedarmo
Lecturers
Universiti Brunei Darussalam

Sponsoring or financing body: Universiti Brunei Darussalam

INDONESIA

Title: **A Study of Teacher's and Learners' Interpretation of a Language Lesson: A Case Study with a Reading Class**

Description: Using an ethnographic approach this study will focus on one aspect of the foreign language classroom, that is, how particular incidents in a language lesson are interpreted by the teacher and the learners. A Reading class of the second year (fourth semester) of the English Department of IKIP (Institut Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan = Institute of Teacher Training and Education) Malang, Indonesia, will be selected for this purpose.

The aims of this study are: (1) to find out how the teacher interprets particular incidents in his/her Reading class, and what teacher's concerns these indicate (2) to find out how the students interpret the same incidents (3) to see how similar or different the teacher's interpretations and the students' interpretations are.

The design of this study is exploratory-interpretative, in which the method of data collection will be non-experimental, and the interpretations of data will be qualitative. The findings of this study are expected to be useful in gaining a greater understanding of the language classroom in Indonesia. They can also be useful as feedback for the teacher in helping his/her students' language achievement.

Thesis (M.A.) — National University of Singapore.

Principal researcher: Fachrurrazy
English Department
IKIP Malang
Jl Surabaya 6
Malang 65145
Indonesia

Sponsoring or financing body: National University of Singapore
ASEAN Postgraduate Scholarship

MALAYSIA

Title: **Malay-Accented English and Employability**

Description: The study set out to investigate the English-speaking employers' attitude towards Malay-accented speech with respect to employability and to determine how the varying degrees of Malay-accented English could affect job opportunities of graduate Malay students in the private sector in Malaysia.

Nine audiotaped speech samples with varied degrees of accentedness selected by six qualified linguists from 109 final year Malay students were used to represent three accent groups: heavy, average and mild. These speech samples were rated on a 7-point bipolar traits using the semantic differential scale for employability and attitude by 63 representative employers from seven job categories. The findings indicated that applicants' accent, employers' ethnicity and job status are important contributions to employability.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.

Principal researcher:
Syed Omar bin Syed M Mashor
Lecturer
Institut Teknologi Mara
Shah Alam
Selangor Darul Ehsan
Malaysia

Sponsoring or financing body: Institut Teknologi Mara

Title: **Reading Difficulties in Malaysian E.S.L. Learners: Improving Strategies Versus Raising Basic Linguistic Competence**

Description: The study is an attempt at analysing the inherent reading difficulties of Malaysian E.S.L. learners. The issue is one of methodology, between improving the reading strategies on the one hand and raising the basic L2 linguistic competence on the other. Three groups of good L1 readers will be studied: one receiving training in reading skills development, another receiving training in basic L2 linguistic competence and yet another not receiving any kind of training in either reading skills development or basic linguistic competence. Their performances on a battery of reading tests will be compared and evaluated.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — National University of Singapore.

Principal researcher:
Anie bt Attan
Lecturer
Language Department
Faculty of Management
Universiti Teknologi Malaysia
80990 Skudai, Johor
Malaysia

SINGAPORE

Title: **The Language Culture Disjunction in Pedagogical Evaluation: Two Case Studies, New South Wales and Singapore**

Description: The study is based on the premise that the learning of language and the process of enculturation are closely connected and mutually dependent. When language is therefore evaluated in an educational setting, culture is drawn upon; when culture is the subject matter, then language is inevitably discussed. However, situations arise which result in a radical disjunction between the evaluation of language and the cultural artifacts that become the subject matter of the process of evaluation. The GCE 'O' Level/HSC English Examination is one critical site of this disjunction between culture and evaluation. The lack of coherence between the process of evaluation and the process of socialisation is discussed with regard to (i) choice of texts/curriculum (ii) pedagogy (iii) evaluation.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — Macquarie University.

Principal researcher: Joyce Evangeline James
10A King's Road
Singapore 1128

Title: **Discourse Dynamics in Interview Interaction**

Description: The thesis centres on the placement interview which is the most widely used procedure in employee selection. The interview is for the candidate one of the most critical determinants of the ability to be hired. Because of this importance, an enhanced communicative and pragmatic competence in interview interaction seems crucial for interviewees. Yet little is known about such correlates of "success". Broadly then this thesis sets out to examine the communicative and pragmatics strategies that arise during the interview process.

It focuses on the belief that an understanding of the social order is more conveniently and naturally achieved through a critical awareness of the power of language and that access to participation in power forums of society (such as placement, admission or job interviews) is dependent on knowing the language of those forums and how using that language power enables personal and social goals to be achieved. The analysis is based on the functional grammar of Halliday with its emphasis on contextual meaning and the social context of the situation in which language activity takes place.

Thesis (Ph.D.) — Macquarie University.

Principal researcher:	Phyllis Chew Ghim Lian Lecturer National Institute of Education Nanyang Technological University 469 Bukit Timah Road Singapore 1025
Sponsoring or financing body:	National Institute of Education
Title:	**Towards Cross-Cultural Cognitive Compatibility in the Malay Translation of Soteriological Terms**
Description:	This thesis seeks to investigate problems pertaining to the translation of specific theological terminology from English to Malay. As the younger generations become increasingly Malay-educated as a result of the change in the medium of instruction since 1970, English is fast losing its efficacy as a church language. There is hence a dire need to evolve an acceptable Malay church register that can replace English in that capacity, thus requiring careful research into Malay semantics and cognition to achieve this. The primary emphasis of this thesis will be on terminology related to soteriological concepts because they expound a major doctrine of the church. Islam, the official religion in Malaysia, has many Malay terms that might be borrowed readily but the concept of Salvation in Christianity is radically different from Islam and careful semantic research for a cognitively acceptable translation is needed. Thus far, various committees have been set up by both government and university authorities to research on Malay terminology lists for their respective disciplines. Religious terminology, however, has not been adequately explored. Hence the results of this research should prove invaluable to help fill this linguistic vacuum, thus enriching the role of Malay in the communication of both secular and religious concepts. Thesis (Ph.D.) — National University of Singapore.

Principal researcher: June Ngoh
Lecturer
English Language Proficiency Unit
National University of Singapore
10 Kent Ridge Crescent
Singapore 0511

THAILAND

Title: **Nature of English in Financial Service Business**

Description: This study is an analysis of the needs of those in the financial service business wishing to improve their English proficiency. A questionnaire was designed, tried out and then used to collect data from middle-level executives in the only state-enterprise commercial bank and in Thai private banks, foreign banks, finance and securities companies, financial research companies, government agencies which control these companies as well as government-established agencies providing financial services. The questionnaire requested data on personal background, number of staff of different educational levels who use English in their work and what skills they mainly use, the degree to which the managers/directors, their assistants or lower-level management and employees use each language skill, how each agency deals with those with poor English proficiency, whether they need ESP or general English courses, what time they prefer to take English courses, the situations in which they use English, etc. Interviews were next conducted with the 175 subjects. Based on the results of the analysis, an elective course entitled "Specialized Business Communication: Finance and Banking" will be designed as a component of the Graduate Diploma Program to be offered in 1993.

Principal researcher: Natchaya Chalaysap
Deputy Director
Language Center
National Institute of Development Administration
Bangkapi
Bangkok 10240
Thailand

BOOK REVIEWS

Braj B. Kachru. 1990. The Alchemy of English: The Spread, Functions and Models of Non-native Englishes.

Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press (English in the Global Context). ix + 200 pp. US$12.95. Paperback.

Reviewed by
Donna M. T. Cr. Farina*
Department of Germanic and Slavic Languages
University of Georgia at Athens, USA

To say that this is an important book is easy – to describe within the confines of a review the richness of the text is another matter. First, *Alchemy* can be used as an introductory text for students of sociolinguistics, varieties of English, etc.: it enumerates the characteristics that non-native Englishes share, defines the necessary terms in a comprehensible fashion, and provides a detailed Index to concepts. But *Alchemy* is also a handbook in the best sense of the term: more advanced readers will find that it touches on most of the important ideas in sociolinguistics, with a vitality (not often found in academic work) that seems to naturally lead the scholar to still other ideas and topics for research. Unlike dictionary-style reference works, it is a very readable text, well-supported by the Bibliography and Index.

In addition, *Alchemy* has functions beyond those that even the author may have intended for it. First, it is a distillation of the copious linguistic writings of Braj Kachru: here, he has revised many previously published papers while also including new data. That the distillaton is a success has been independently attested: the original 1986 edition (Pergamon Press; English in the International Context) from which the present edition is reprinted, won the Joint First Prize in the Duke of Edinburgh English Language Book Competition of the English-Speaking Union of the Commonwealth, 1987.

---

*I would like to thank Margareta O. Thompson for reading and commenting on a draft of this review.

1105

Second, *Alchemy* may be an invitation to other ways of considering *native* Englishes. This is ironic, since Kachru in much of his research has sought to dispel negative and theoretically unsound attitudes, that caused *non-native* varieties of English to be judged as defective imitations of native ones. Throughout his career, in describing how non-native varieties function in the contexts in which they are used, he has made many observations that can be applied to research on native varieties. For instance, Kachru points out in Chapter 7 (pp. 119–120) that a user of English in a non-native context will often control a repertoire of sub-varieties within her/his particular variety of English, so that the intelligibility of a given sub-variety will depend on the extent of the repertoires of both (or all) participants in a conversation. This is equally true for native varieties: whether a speaker of American English can readily understand a speaker from the Southern United States, a speaker from Brooklyn, New York City, a speaker who uses many words from hunters' or some other jargon, or a highly educated speaker with a large latinate vocabulary certainly depends on her/his overall experience with American sub-varieties. But linguists are not yet close enough to understanding what factors determine intelligibility to say exactly how differently native and non-native varieties function with respect to it.

The main metaphor of this work, of *alchemy*, is the key to the third way in which the book goes beyond its roles as handbook and introductory textbook. The alchemy of English as an international language above other world languages, is its ability to transform the one who "owns" it: in Kachru's own words (Introduction, p. 1), "knowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin's lamp, which permits one to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science, and travel. In short, English provides linguistic power". But, although the alchemy of English may be the strongest, other world languages have "alchemies" of their own which are not less interesting for their weaker effects. For decades, knowledge of the Russian language has been a necessary tool for success throughout the multilinguistic, multi-ethnic Soviet Union: there is no doubt that many who disliked the colonizer's yoke nevertheless tried to make the best use possible of the colonizer's language, to achieve higher social status for themselves and their children. But although non-native spoken varieties of Russian have developed, they have not been codified in the same way as have non-native Englishes, due to the control of written publication that existed until recently in the USSR. In other words, the ingredient most essential for the flourishing of a non-native variety has been missing – the creativity of the bilingual. When the bilingual does not have the possibility to fully "personalize" the linguistic tool to the new context through creative literature and other forms of (written and oral) expression, the alchemy is weakened or is at least a different "alchemy". But it is only possible to look at the Soviet-Russian situation in this way because Kachru has provided the model of the alchemy of English, with one of its important characteristics, the bilingual's creativity. I believe that in the future we will see much sociolinguistic research on the alchemy of other world languages that relies on Kachru's model for English as its starting point.

Alchemy consists of an introduction (Chapter 1; pp. 1-15) and four Parts (nine additional chapters). Part I, Varieties and Functions (pp. 17-80), contains Chapter 2, Institutionalized Varieties; Chapter 3, A nativized Variety: The South Asian Case; and Chapter 4, English in the Bilingual's Code Repertoire. Part II, Models, Norms and Attitudes (pp. 81-123) consists of Chapter 5, Regional Norms; Chapter 6, Native and Non-Native Norms; and Chapter 7, New Englishes and Old Models. Part III, Impact and Change (pp. 125-155), discusses American English and Other Englishes (Chapter 8), and Englishization and Language Change (Chapter 9). Part IV, Contact, Creativity and Discourse Strategies (pp. 157-173) contains the final chapter. The Bilingual's Creativity and Contact Literatures (Chapter 10). The Bibliography (pp. 174-189) and Index (pp. 191-200) round out the book.

The Introduction (pp. 1-15) explains the use of the *alchemy* metaphor and gives historical background on the ancient association between language and power, and on the roots of linguistic prescriptivism. It briefly discusses the association of the English language with power as a lasting result of former British colonization, and defines non-native Englishes as "those transplanted varieties of English that are acquired primarily as second languages" (p. 5). Kachru describes how English has widened its power domain since colonial times, due to its ability to function as a neutral medium; i.e., English may be the only medium available in a given multilingual situation that does not have "traditional, cultural, and emotional" overtones associated with its use (p. 9). Furthermore, in the post-colonial period English has often lost its Western cultural content as its use has become "localized" in new contexts (p. 13). But English can deeply affect its new context to the point of engendering social change, as new "castes" are created whose knowledge of English provides them with their power.

Part I, Varieties and Functions, begins with Chapter 2. Institutionalized Varieties (pp. 19-32). Here, Kachru distinguishes between native speakers of English, non-native speakers who use English as a foreign language "in highly restricted domains", and those non-native users who speak *institutionalized* varieties of English "with a long history ... in new cultural and geographical contexts"; the latter group is the focus of the book (p. 19). He discusses the attitudes of different groups of speakers toward native varieties and toward the non-native institutionalized ones: while the native speaker has traditionally viewed non-native varieties as deficient, the non-native users themselves go through stages, from non-recognition to acceptance of the localized norm, on the way to total acceptance of their variety. Chapter 3. A nativized Variety: The South Asian Case (pp. 33-66) provides as an example the variety of English used on the Indian subcontinent. After a succinct review of the history of British colonization of the area, Kachru goes on to discuss linguistic characteristics of South Asian English (phonetics and phonology, grammar, collocations, lexis, rhetorical and functional styles). A section on Literature (pp. 45-50) notes the interesting stylistic experimentation in South Asian English creative writing. The chapter concludes that the "underlying linguistic and cultural unity in the region" is also reflected in how English is used there (p. 53). Chapter 4, English in the Bilingual's Code Repertoire (pp. 57-80) explores how a bi- or multi-lingual speaker uses English as just one possible code in her/his repertoire; code-mixing, code-switching, code convergence and code change are discussed. Kachru notes the larger implications of these phenomena: first, all speech communities - even monolingual ones - use a "network of codes ... functionally allocated ... [by] social uses"; and second, most of the world's communities are multilingual, not monolingual, though "some paradigms of linguistics still continue to treat ... societal and functional concerns [such as code alteration] as marginal or secondary" (p. 78).

The first chapter of Part II, Models, Norms and Attitudes, is Chapter 5, Regional Norms (pp. 83-99). Kachru points out that the historical failure to establish a language academy for English was not without advantage: "Since there was no authorized establishment for linguistic codification, no organized resistance to a norm could develop," so that "... each identifiable native variety of English can provide a norm" (p. 85). And, in part because no homogeneous model of native English was introduced into the British colonies, it is not possible to base the norm of any non-native variety of English on that of a native variety. Instead, one must look toward the locale, for "the [non-native] variety develops its own ... registers and is used in imaginative or creative contexts" (p. 91), as it goes through the (above-mentioned) stages toward complete acceptance. Chapter 6, Native and Non-Native Norms (pp. 100-114) continues the discussion of norms by focussing on some common attitudes toward non-native varieties of English. Kachru notes that many "attitudinal sins" (p. 102), or negative attitudes toward institutionalized varieties of English are partially the result of the incorrect assumption that non-native speakers wish primarily to interact with native speakers, and not with other non-natives. He calls for a greater linguistic tolerance that would ultimately permit more understanding of the functions of non-native Englishes. Part II ends with Chapter 7, New Englishes and Old Models (pp. 115-123) which discusses the implications for second-language teaching of the existence of multiple models for English.

In Part III, Impact and Change, Kachru begins with Chapter 8, American English and Other Englishes (pp. 127-146). American English, as a transplanted variety, has much in common with other transplanted Englishes, whether they be native or non-native. Kachru notes in particular the "conscious effort toward establishing language identity" (p. 129) exhibited in (North) America and in other places where transplanted varieties thrive. The initial British attitude toward the American variety is an additional link between American and other Englishes, since all of them went through a period where they were stigmatized as deteriorating versions of British English. In Chapter 9, Englishization and Language Change (pp. 147-155), Kachru discusses how, in spite of linguistic rivalry and resistance to borrowing, Hindi has been Englishized in its phonology, lexis and syntax; this has taken place as English in its turn has been Indianized in the transplanted context.

Chapter 10, The Bilingual's Creativity and Contact Literatures (pp. 159-173), is the only chapter in Part IV, Contact, Creativity and Discourse Strategies, and it is the last chapter of the book. According to Kachru, the creative devices used by the bilingual person who writes in English "are based on multinorms of styles and strategies" (p. 164), and they therefore cannot be judged with reference to a single literary or cultural tradition. While some of a bilingual's literary devices (such as the use of native similes, metaphors, proverbs, and idioms) may be relatively easy to interpret, others (e.g., use of native syntactic structures, speech styles or rhetorical devices) would demand of a critic an extremely deep knowledge of English as well as one or several indigenous languages and cultures. This in itself may be one reason for past stigmatization of non-native varieties: it is much easier to condemn them than to master the necessary skills essential for their study! In spite of the difficulties involved in the adequate literary critique of non-native English creative tests, Kachru observes an ongoing "decannonization of the traditionally recognized literary conventions and genres of English" (p. 170). Such a decannonizaton can only mean that the literary resources of English will be expanded, and the language itself will be enriched in the process. And on that positive note, this review concludes.

Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers

Michael McCarthy 1991. Cambridge Language Teaching Library, Cambridge University Press. x.213 pp.

Reviewed by
Susan Kaldor
University of Western Australia

Any tertiary teacher who has in recent years had the task of teaching discourse analysis at an introductory level within the framework of teacher education courses will undoubtedly heave a sigh of relief upon hearing about or glancing through this volume. At last here is a work to which one can refer students who are keen and interested in extending their knowledge of matters of language use and processes of communication but who may not all be trained linguists and may not have the time or inclination to delve too deeply into the more complex and controversial areas of the theory of discourse or of the philosophy of language. At last one does not have to 'interpret' for those students such excellent but far from user-friendly books as Brown and Yule (1983).

The reader will not be disappointed even after closer examination. The book covers most of the significant developments in discourse analysis, in particular those that the author sees as relevant to the work of the language teacher. The structure and general design of the book makes it easy to fit it into courses employing diverse teaching approaches – it can accompany a course consisting mainly of lectures as well as one in which tutorials or workshop sessions have a central role.

The volume is divided into two main sections. The first section contains an introduction (including a brief historical sketch) to discourse analysis and an outline of its main branches, a discussion of the relationship between discourse analysis on the one hand and grammar, vocabulary and phonology on the other. The second section has a chapter each on spoken and written language.

One of the features that should make this book popular with both lecturers and students is that some fifty-four 'reader activities' are sprinkled throughout it. These inserts follow immediately the exposition of particular concepts, issues and problems to which they refer so that the reader can immediately test his/her understanding of the preceding passage. A further, rarely seen feature is an appendix at the end of the volume which provides detailed discussion, further examples, guidance, elaboration and explanation relevant to each reader activity, clearly signposted. A further very helpful feature is an informally worded annotated reading list at the end of each chapter. Conclusions and summary also follow every chapter, in each case leading logically on to the topic of the next chapter.

From the point of view of content, the main achievement of the book is that it brings together several areas of research and specialisation: discourse analysis, second language acquisition and second language teaching. In the main, ideas, concepts and conclusions from research are clearly presented and, with a few exceptions, adequately explained at an introductory level. Many of the explanations represent fresh angles and simplifications without distorting the essence of ideas. Illustrations, examples and reader activities are collected from a variety of sources and much use is also made of original material recorded by the author.

There are occasional slips from the generally high standard of discussion. An example is the only occurrence in the volume of the term 'illocutionary act' (p. 29) in the context of a discussion on a clause-relational approach to text analysis in the following wording: "This [clause relational] view is not just concerned with labelling what are sometimes called the illocutionary acts (a bit like speech acts) which individual clauses, sentences and paragraphs perform in a text, but is concerned with the relationships the textual segments enter into with one another". The comment in brackets hardly does justice to the concept of illocutionary act.

Another example is the inadequate treatment of the 'given-new' distinction. 'New' is explained through the comment "(in the sense of newsworthy)" in brackets (p. 99). Yet another example is the inadequate treatment of *genre*. The term occurs only once (p. 62), in passing, and is not elaborated. Under the term 'reference' only co-referentiality is discussed in depth and such matters as referring expressions are left unexplored.

The reviewer would also have preferred to have seen mention of a few additional topics, such as stylistic resources available to speakers and writers from the point of view of phonological form, connotational meaning, role structure (e.g. whether a person referred to is cast in agent, patient or experiencer role) and other grammatical choices explored by Halliday (1973), Traugott (1980) and others. Even Grice's maxims which the author explicity dismisses as having no conceivable relevance to the work of the language teacher should, in the opinion of the reviewer, rate a mention as their understanding would help L_2 speakers of English make appropriate inferences in decoding L_1 speakers' utterances.

It might be unfair to level criticism at the book from the point of view of an issue for which the author explicitly apologises in the introduction where he says: "Because a lot of the data is my own, I apologise to non-British teachers if it [the book] occasionally seems rather Brito-centric in its subject matter". The reason this matter is brought up here, in spite of the author's apology is that, in the reviewer's opinion, it could have been easily rectified by including examples from American, Australian and other L_1 varieties of English. Many of the examples do not 'sound right' for example to Australian readers, either through the use of specifically British English vocabulary use or idiom or through British topics and concerns. Perhaps a later edition of the book could contain some materials from other parts of the English speaking world.

A final point of criticism relates to the occasional over-apologetic tone on behalf of discourse analysis. The author states that the main conclusion of the book is that "just because linguists can describe a phenomenon convincingly does not mean that it has to become an element of the language teaching syllabus". This statement is repeated at least three times in the volume (on pages 119, 147 and 170). Such over-emphasis on this point seems unnecessary. There is probably little danger that language teachers will over-utilise the findings of discourse analysis.

In balance, the merits of McCarthy's book far outweigh its shortcomings. It is a most valuable addition to the Cambridge Language Teaching Library series and one that is likely to find its place on the shelves of all language professionals, be they teachers of teachers or teachers of language learners.

References

Brown, G. and G. Yule. 1983. *Discourse Analysis.* Cambridge University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1973. *Explorations in the Functions of Language.* London, Edward Arnold.

Traugott, E.C. and M.L. Pratt. 1980. *Linguistics for Students of Literature.* San Diego, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

1. Addis, Catherine and Imbert, Hazel. 1991. Company formula. Workbook. London: Macmillan.
2. Bialystok, Ellen (ed.). 1991. Language processing in bilingual children. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
3. Blundell, Jon. 1991. Passport to PET. Cassette tapes. Basingstoke, Hants: Macmillan.
4. ______ 1991. Passport to Cambridge PET. Text. - Cassette tapes. London: Macmillan.
5. Brumfit, Christopher. 1991. Literature on language: an anthology. London: Macmillan.
6. Collie, Joanne and Slater, Stephen. 1991. Speaking 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
7. Dainty, Peter. 1991. Phrasal verbs in context. London: Macmillan.
8. Doff, Adrian and Becket, Carolyn. 1991. Listening 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
9. Doff, Adrian and Jones, Christopher. 1991. Language in use: a pre-intermediate course. Classroom book. - Teacher's book. - Self-study workbook. - Class cassette sets A and B. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
10. Geddes, Marion. 1991. 101 ways to use Macmillan dossiers: a resource book for teachers. London: Macmillan.
11. Gelman, Susan A. and Byrnes, James P. 1991. Perspectives on language and thought: interrelations in development. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
12. Greenall, Simon and Pye, Diana. 1991. Reading 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
13. Hashemi, Louise. 1991. Cambridge First Certificate: examination practice 2. Self-study ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
14. Huebner, Thom and Ferguson, Charles A. (eds.). 1991. Crosscurrents in second language acquisition and linguistic theories. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
15. Imbert, Hazel. 1991. Company formula. Workbook practice tape. Basingstoke, Hants: Macmillan.
16. ______. 1991. Formula three. Workbook 1. London: Macmillan.
17. ______. 1991. Formula three. Workbook practice tape. Basingstoke, Hants: Macmillan.
18. Imbert, Hazel; Underwood, Mary; Taylor, James and Wilson, Ken. 1991. Compass 1. Teacher's cassette. London: Macmillan.
19. ______. 1991. Compass 2. Student's cassette 1 and 2. Basingstoke, Hants: Macmillan.
20. ______. 1992. Compass 3. Teacher's book. London: Macmillan.
21. Jones, Leo. 1992. Communicative grammar practice: activities for intermediate students of English. Student's book. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
22. Lawday, Cathy. 1991. Rainbow 2000. Cassette tape 6A. - Cassette tape 6B. London: Macmillan.
23. Littlejohn, Andrew. 1991. Writing 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

24. Lynch, Tony and Anderson, Kenneth. 1992. Study speaking: a course in spoken English for academic purposes. Student's book. - Cassette tape. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
25. Martin, Stella. 1991. Tropical rainforests. London: Macmillan.
26. Maule, David. 1991. The naked verb: the meaning of the English verb tenses. London: Macmillan.
27. Nunan, David and Lockwood, Jane 1991. The Australian English course: task-based English for post-beginners. Student's book 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
28. Olearski, Janet: White, Ron and Williams, Eddie 1991. Company formula. Student's book dialogues. Basingstoke, Hants: Macmillan.
29. ______. 1991. Formula three. Student's book dialogues. Basingstoke, Hants: Macmillan.
30. Potter, Mike. 1992. Panorama. Teacher's book 3. London: Macmillan.
31. Redman, Stuart. 1991. A way with words: vocabulary development activities for learners of English. Book 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
32. Richards, Jack C. with Hull, Jonathan and Proctor, Susan. 1991. Interchange 3: English for international communication. Student's book. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
33. Rixon, Shelagh. 1992. Tiptop 3. Cassette tapes. London: Macmillan.
34. Slater, Sandra. 1989. Rainbow. Teacher's book 3 and 4. London: Macmillan.
35. ______. 1991. Rainbow. Teacher's book 6. London: Macmillan.
36. Ur, Penny and Wright, Andrew. 1992. Five-minute activities: a resource book of short activities. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
37. Vaughan-Rees, Michael. 1991. The London book. London: Macmillan.
38. Walenn, Jeremy. 1992. Passport to Cambridge proficiency. London: Macmillan.
39. Wallace, Michael J. 1991. Training foreign langauge teachers: a reflective approach. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
40. Webster, Diana and Bailey, Donna. 1991. Potamus and friends. Teacher's book. Lentil's book. - Lumpadump's book. - Oota's book. - Potamus's book. - Smiler's book. - Wonkey-Donkey's book. London: Macmillan.
41. White, Ron; Martin, Mervyn; Stimson, Mike and Hodge, Robert. 1991. Management in English language teaching. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1115

RELC

ANNOUNCEMENT

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

Language for Specific Purposes: Problems and Prospects

Singapore, 19-21 April 1993

For more information, please contact:

CHAIRMAN,
SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE,
SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
30 ORANGE GROVE ROAD
SINGAPORE 1025
TEL. (65) 7379044
FAX. (65) 7342753

TESOL 1993 Annual Convention

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)
27th Annual Convention and Exposition
"Designing Our World", April 13 to 17, 1993
Atlanta Hilton, Atlanta, Georgia

For more information, contact TESOL,
1600 Cameron St., Suite 300, Alexandria, VA 22314
Tel: 703-836-0774. Fax 703-836-7864

CALL for Papers

Adult Language Learning

AILA 1993

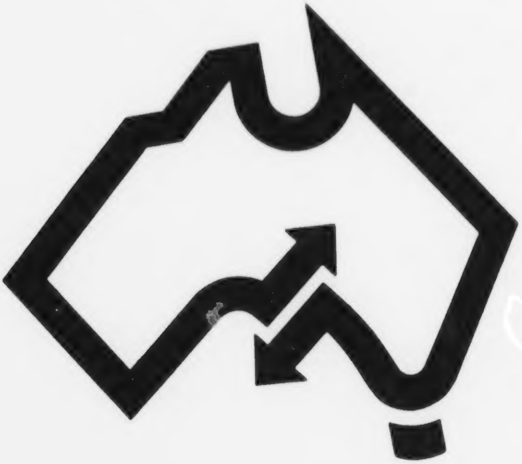
The 10th AILA World Congress (Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée) will be held in Amsterdam from August 8th to August 15th, 1993. In this context, the Section ADULT LANGUAGE LEARNING will organize a series of papers and discussions.

In addition to the section on ADULT LANGUAGE LEARNING, a *symposium* is to be held on the specific problem of "the Acquisition of Foreign Language for Professional Purposes: Needs analysis and objectives (Presentation of new research results)."

Would those interested please contact the Convenor of the AILA Scientific Commission "ADULT LANGUAGE LEARNING". Prof. Dr. A. Raasch, Romanistisches Institut, Universität des Saarlandes, D-6600 Saarbrucken. Tel: 0681/302-3243, FAX 0681/302-4588.

PROSPECT

THE JOURNAL OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM



Prospect is the national professional journal of the Australian Adult Migrant (Immigrant) Educational Program (AMEP). This Commonwealth-funded program offers English as a Second Language and Orientation tuition to approximately 100,000 adult immigrants to Australia from all over the world each year.

Jill Burton, Editor

Reference Panel includes
Professor J. Anderson
Flinders University of S.A.
Professor H. Holec
Universite de Nancy 11
Dr. D. Ingram
Brisbane College of Advanced Education
Mr. H. Nicholas
La Trobe University
Dr. M. Pieneman
University of Sydney
Professor J. Richards
University of Hawaii

It publishes articles, notes, reports and reviews on applied linguistic and teaching concerns related to the adult E.S.L. field. Prospect is published three times a year by the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research. Information about subscription rates and advertisements can be obtained from:

GERD S. STABLER
SALES AND MARKETING MANAGER
NCELTR ◆ SCHOOL of ENGLISH and LINGUISTIS ◆ MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY ◆
SYDNEY ◆ NEW SOUTH WALES 2109 ◆ AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE (02) 805 7673 TELEX MACUNI AA122377 FACSIMILE (02) 805 7849

1118

CROSS CURRENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

***Cross Currents* is a semi-annual publication of the Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) which provides a forum for the interdisciplinary exchange of ideas within the areas of cross-cultural communication and language skill acquisition and instruction. At *Cross Currents*, we are particularly committed to issues concerning both the theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, English language teaching as it applies to Japan, and English as an International Language.**

Recent contributors to *Cross Currents* include:

Robert O'Neill

Braj Kachru

Alan Maley

Walter Hirtle

Richard Via

Larry Smith

Paul LaForge

SUBSCRIPTIONS	Single issue	1 year	2 years
Inside Japan*	¥1,300	¥2,600	¥5,150
Outside Japan — Individual Subscription	$8.00	$15.00	$25.00
Outside Japan — Institutional Rate		$19.50	$35.00

* *Special rates available for JALT members. (See postal form in the Language Teacher.)*

- ***Japan Subscriptions***:
School Book Service
FI Building 4F
1-26-5 Takadanobaba
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
03-200-4531
(By postal transfer to Tokyo postal account No. 9-86192, or cash delivery Genkin Kakitome.)

- Current Issues are also available in major Japanese bookstores through **YOHAN** in Japan

- Back Issues are available from Cross Currents

- ***Outside Japan***:
Cross Currents
Language Institute
of Japan
4-14-1 Shiroyama
Odawara, Kanagawa 250
Japan
(Make checks payable to *Cross Currents* (LIOJ) drawn on a U.S. bank.)

NOW AVAILABLE

Perspectives on Second Language Teacher Education

This book contains a selection of the papers presented at the International Conference on Teacher Education, held at City Polytechnic of Hong Kong in April 1991.

CONTENTS

- 19 papers on TESL teacher education, by international specialists
- theory papers and case studies
- papers on teacher decision making, research, program design, innovation and change, journals, action research
- contributors include Donald Freeman, Nina Spada, Martha Pennington, David Nunan, Tony Wright, Andrew Cohen, Kathleen Bailey, and Diane Larsen-Freeman

HOW TO ORDER

Complete the order form below and enclose a bank draft/cheque in US dollars or HK dollars made out to City Polytechnic of Hong Kong. The price is HK$95 or US$15. Surface mail postage is included.

To: Department of English
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong
83 Tat Chee Avenue
Kowloon
Hong Kong

Please send ______ copy/copies of ***Perspectives on Second Language Teacher Education.***

Amount enclosed :

Send to
Name :

Address :

香港城市理工學院
City Polytechnic
of Hong Kong

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

香港城市理工學院
City Polytechnic
of Hong Kong

Call for Papers

Second International Conference on Teacher Education in Second Language Teaching

March 24, 25, 26, 1993
Organized by Department of English
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong

Deadline for proposals: November 30, 1992

The goals of the conference are to examine research and practice in L2 teacher education from a variety of perspectives. Proposals are invited for papers, workshops, and poster sessions.

Proposals (250 words) should be sent to:
Conference on Teacher Education in Second Language Teaching
c/o Department of English
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong
Tat Chee Avenue
Kowloon
Hong Kong
Fax: (852) 7888894
Tel: (852) 7888859

ARE THESE ON YOUR READING LIST?

ISSN 0289-7938
全国語学教育学会
NOVEMBER 1988
VOL. XII, NO. 12
THE Language Teacher
THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS
JALT
¥350
JALT JOURNAL

Publications of

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

The Language Teacher
A monthly magazine with features, reviews, meeting announcements, employment opportunities, etc.

JALT Journal
A semi-annual journal featuring articles relevant to language teaching/learning in Japan and Asia

Annual Membership Fees (including subscriptions to both publications)
Domestic: Regular, ¥6,000, Joint, ¥10,000, Student, ¥4,000, Associate, ¥50,000
Overseas: sea mail, US$30, air mail, US$40
Send remittance by bankers draft in yen drawn on a Japanese bank, or dollars drawn on an American bank
The postal giro account may also be used by international subscribers
Postal furikae (giro) account: Kyoto 15892, "JALT"

JALT International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning
An annual event featuring over 300 lectures/workshops/demonstrations.
Over 2,000 participants yearly.

November 3–5, 1989 — Okayama
November 23–25, 1990 — Tokyo area
November 2–4, 1991 — To be announced

Send requests for further information and remittances to:
JALT, Lions Mansion Kawaramachi #111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-agaru
Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan. Tel.: (075) 361-5428; Fax: (075) 361-5429

Subscription form

RELC JOURNAL

A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and a subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is eighteen Singapore dollars (S$18.00) for subscription within SEAMEO countries and US$18.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and sent it to

The Publications Officer
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
RELC Building
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at S$7.00*/US$7.00 + per copy.

For the complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications Officer.

I enclose S$18.00*/US$18.00 + . Please send me the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for..

Name:..

Address: ....

....

....

* within SEAMEO countries
+ other countries

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Clarification:

The present members of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) are: Negara Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

GUIDELINES

A PERIODICAL FOR CLASSROOM LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Every issue of *Guidelines* is a unique collection of practical ideas that have direct usefulness for the classroom teacher. Articles are written in a simple, readable style.

• Vocabulary Teaching	June 1980	• Drama Activities	Dec. 1983
• Audio-Visual Aids	Dec. 1980	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No. 1)	June 1984
• Language Games	June 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No 2)	Dec. 1984
• Writing Activities	Dec. 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 1)	June 1985
• Study Skills	June 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 2)	Dec. 1985
• Group Activities	Dec. 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 8 No. 1)	June 1986
• Classrooms Tests	June 1983	• Classroom Interaction	Dec. 1986

From the June 1984 issues onwards each issue covers a variety of topics in its selection of articles.

Guidelines is published twice a year, in June and December.
Individual copies can be ordered for S$7.00/US$6.00. Reserve future copies with the detachable money-saving coupon below. The annual subscription is S$14.00 (within SEAMEO countries) and US$14.00 for other countries.

Please begin my subscription for Guidelines with the issue for

(month) ____________________ 19 ____________________.

Enclosed is S$/US$ .... (Bank draft/Money order)

Name .... (Block letters)

Address (in full) ....

....

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copy must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, e.g., the suffix*-s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text.

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221-222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14-16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, 221-254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

VOLUME 23 NUMBER 2 **December 1992**

Articles

Dr Patricia Johnson	**Cohesion and Coherence in Compositions in Malay and English**	1
Wu Hui Hua	**Towards a Contextual Lexico-grammar: An Application of Concordance Analysis EST Teaching**	18
Wu Yidi	**Analysis of Strategies on Higher Verbs & their Non-Finite Complements**	35
Ronald Sheen	**Problem solving brought to task**	44
John Flowerdew & Lindsay Miller	**Student Perceptions, Problems and Strategies in Second Language Lecture Comprehension**	60
Parick Blanche	**Bilingual Crosscultural Education in Western Europe: An Overview**	81

Book Reviews

Andrew Gonzalez	**Management in English Language teaching**	105
Harriet Wong	**Writing for Study Purposes: A Teacher's Guide to Developing Individual Writing Skills**	108
Leo Van Lier	**Crosscurrents in Second Language Acquisition & Linguistic Theories**	113
Publications Received		118

1126

PUBLISHED BY THE SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, SINGAPORE

Editorial Committee

Makhan L Tickoo *Editor*
Audrey Ambrose-Yeoh *Review Editor*
Andrea H Peñaflorida
Yolanda Beh
Melchor Tatlonghari
John Honeyfield
Joseph Foley
V K Bhatia

NOTES FOR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Asia.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$18.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$18.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal*, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of the respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Regional Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization.

(Notes for Subscribers continued on inside back cover)

© REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1991
ISSN 0033-6882

1127

RELC
JOURNAL

Volume 23

NUMBER 2

December 1992

RELC P400-92

1128

Cohesion and Coherence in Compositions in Malay and English

Dr. Patricia Johnson
The American University
Washington, D.C.

Abstract

Empirical studies on cohesion in written discourse of native and non-native speakers of English indicate that judgments of writing quality may depend on overall coherence in content, organization, and style rather than on the quantity of cohesion (Witt & Faigley, 1981; Connor, 1984; Lindsay, 1984; Scarcella, 1984; Schneider, 1985). However, the studies concerning non-native speakers of English have not included data from the first language nor controlled the language and cultural background of ESL writers.

This study examines cohesion in expository essays written in Malay and in English by native speakers of both languages and in ESL by Malaysian writers. Sample compositions evaluated holistically as "good" or "weak" in quality were submitted by Malaysian teachers of composition in Malay and by American teachers of native and non-native speakers of English. T-tests performed on the data obtained from a cohesion analysis of text (Halliday and Hasan, 1976) indicate no differences in the amount of cohesion between "good" and "weak" compositions written in Malay by native speakers (20) or in English by native (20) and Malay speakers (20).

"Good" compositions written in Malay have more intersentence semantic ties (e.g., reiteration and collocation) than "weak" compositions. However, "good" compositions written in English by native speakers have more intersentence syntactic ties (e.g., reference and conjunction) than "weak" compositions. The development of content in the compositions written in Malay in comparison to those written in English by native speakers indicate a crosscultural variance in conditions for quality. In addition, compositions in ESL demonstrate a developmental stage in the usage of syntactic cohesive links and the organization of material, reflecting previous writing experience in the Malay language.

The relationship between cohesion and coherence in a text has been an interesting question to researchers and teachers concerned with the writing process of native and non-native speakers of English. Scholars of written discourse (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Grimes, 1977; Dijk, 1977; Beaugrande, 1980) have all made theoretical distinctions between cohesion and coherence.

According to Halliday and Hasan's explanation of the concept of text (1976; 18–28), coherence is dependent on the cohesion within the text and the context of situation. Cohesion within the text concerns the intersentence relationships in the language, which are realized by the writer's choice of syntactic and semantic elements. The "context of situation" refers to the external factors which influence the writer's choice of language. These external factors may be the topic as well as the writer's perception of the potential reader of the text. Likewise, the coherence of a text for a reader depends on the perception of situational and linguistic cues chosen by the writer.

However, Halliday and Hasan (1976; 18–28) point out that a writer can construct a passage which is *coherent* in a situational and semantic sense for a reader, but lacks intersentence cohesion. A writer can also construct a cohesive passage which lacks continuity of meaning in situation and topic for a reader. Those readers who are not able to find an interpretation, either in the intersentence cohesive cues or in the situational elements, unconsciously construct a "context of situation" for the passage based on their own background knowledge of the topic.

If the reader is also evaluating a composition in the role of teacher, culturally determined knowledge about a situation provoked by the topic may have an effect on judgment of coherence. Research in reading comprehension has determined that a reader's past experiences seem to have an effect on the perception and retention of information from a written text. For example, in a crosscultural study of reading comprehension of native and non-native speakers of English, greater effects were found for the cultural context of the passages than for the language complexity for readers of two different cultural backgrounds (Johnson, 1981). Linguistic cues in the passage which were necessary to complete a culturally determined internal representation of the topic and situation were determined by readers to be salient and retained in memory. This internal representation of the topic and situation differs from reader to reader. Consequently, varying interpretations and evaluations of a text by readers in the role of teachers may result.

In addition teachers expectations of coherence in discourse may also reflect crosscultural differences in rhetorical forms. For example, after analyzing 600 compositions, Kaplan (1966) concluded that in expository writing "*each language and each culture has a paragraph order unique to itself*, and part of the learning of a particular language is the mastering of its logical system" (p. 256). Subsequent crosscultural studies in rhetoric have indicated that the internal logic and organization of a text may differ *considerably* across languages. Thus, rhetorical patterns seem to be determined by both the language and the culture. (See Kaplan, 1983, for a review of this literature.)

Culturally determined experiences in rhetoric may also have an effect on a teacher's evaluation of coherence in compositions. In a contrastive study of upper school essays and of teachers' evaluations of these essays, Clyne (1983) found that form (linearity, relevance, lack of redundancy) is of greater importance in the process of teaching rhetoric and in the evaluation of compositions in English-speaking than in German-speaking countries. In determining whether norms for judging literary quality are a product of the schooling system, Purves (1973) identified a national style particular to a culture in 14 different countries. Purves and Takala (1982) then examined typical essays written by students in these countries for achievement in writing and its relationship to a national style. The results of their study led to the claim (Purves, 1984) that instruction in composition is the acculturation of the student into the "rhetorical community" which has certain norms, expectations, and conventions with respect to writing.

In studies of cohesion in written discourse of native English speakers, both Hartnett (1980) and Witte and Faigley (1981) found that compositions (5) scored high holistically contain more cohesion than those (5) scored low. In addition, Witte and Faigley found that high rater essays contain more lexical collocation than do low rated essays where there is more lexical reiteration. In fact, two thirds of the cohesion in both low and high rated samples is lexical.

Although Hartnett (1980) concluded that there is no correlation between mode (persuasive and expository) and type or amount of cohesion in English, Tierney and Mosenthal (1981) found that the topic accounts for variation in types of cohesion per essay. Thus, the topic seems to affect the options a writer has for choice of cohesive items. It was also found that the teachers' ratings of coherence in essays is related to the amount of the writer's background knowledge on the topic, instead of cohesive patterning.

Schneider (1985) also examined the use of cohesive devices in essays (30) of native English speakers. Each essay was corrected for either sentence level errors (mechanical and grammatical) or cohesive errors or both. For the essays rated as failing (15), the mean score is significantly lower when the essay version with cohesive errors alone was corrected than when the essays were corrected for both cohesive and sentence level errors. No such differences were found between the holistic ratings of the different versions of the corrections of the essays rated as passing (15). In addition, more cohesion within sentences was found in the passing essays while more cohesion between sentences was found in the failing essays. In both passing and failing essays, reiteration (exact work) and reference (personal and possessive pronouns) make up approximately 50% of the total cohesive devices.

Even though conclusions on the relationship of cohesion and coherence have been contradictory, these studies of cohesion in compositions of native speakers of English seem to indicate that judgments of writing quality must concern overall coherence in content and organization rather than merely quantity of cohesion. Similar conclusions have been reached in the examination of cohesion in the compositions of ESL writers. However, interesting differences have been found in types of cohesion used by native and non-native speakers of English.

As in the cited studies of compositions of native speakers (Hartnett, 1980; Witte and Faigley, 1981), it has been found that compositions written by non-native speakers of English and holistically scored as high contain more cohesion than low scored papers. Lieber (1980) found that lexical cohesion occurs most often, followed by reference and conjunction to a lesser degree. Anderson (1980) found that there is a tendency to use lexical reiteration and not to use conjunction with little difference in the amount of reference in narratives (22), both written and oral. In a comparison of essays rated qualitatively as high or low of native speakers (2) and of ESL students (4), Connor (1984) found a relatively high frequency (76% to 86%) of lexical cohesion. Even though Connor's sample size was small, the essays of ESL students have high percentages of lexical reiteration with a small amount of lexical collocation and less reiteration. There is also more frequent conjunctive and referential cohesion in the essays of the ESL writers than in those of native speakers of English.

In contrast to the results of the preceding studies, Lindsay (1981) reported only 3% more cohesion in the essays rated qualitative high (5) than in those rated low (5) of native speakers of English. The ESL essays rated high in quality (5) contain 5.4% less cohesion than those rated low in quality (5) and 2% less cohesion than the essays rated high of the native speakers of English. Both native and non-native English speakers use more reference and conjunction than lexical reiteration. Similar to Connor's study (1984), the percentage of cohesion in essays rated low in quality show more conjunctive and referential cohesion than those rated high in quality for the non-native English speakers and for those rated both low and high in quality for native speakers of English.

Scarcella (1984) found no difference in the use of lexical and referential cohesion compositions written by native speakers of English who were high (15) or low (15) in language proficiency and for essays written by non-native English speakers who were at the advanced (40) or beginning (40) levels of English. In addition, native English speakers with low language proficiency used significantly more conjunctive cohesion than those with high language proficiency, although no such difference was found for non-native English speakers. Similar to Lindsay's findings (1984), the density of lexical cohesion in the four samples is about the same and much lower than that of conjunctive and referential cohesion.

Although Scarcella (1984) found that the proportion of cohesion varies significantly as a function of the non-native English speaker's first language background (Romance, Taiwanese, Japanese, Korean), no empirical studies on cohesion in written discourse of non-native English speakers include data from the first language (as in studies on contrastive rhetoric or coherence). Control of the language background of ESL writers might aid in comprehension of differences in the use of cohesive elements. Control of the cultural background of the ESL writers might aid in understanding the relationship between the type of cohesive elements and the coherence pattern of rhetorical style used.

For a better understanding of this relationship of cohesion and coherence in written discourse of learners of English, *the present study* was designed to examine these constructs in the compositions of students from a single language, Malay, and educational background. These compositions are compared with those written in Malay and in English by native speakers of both languages to determine the stage of development in composing in English of the Malay speakers, all learners of English. Thus, this study is guided by the following questions.

1. What is the relationship between the amount and type of cohesion and coherence patterns in compositions written in Malay and in English by native speakers of both languages?
2. Are the patterns of cohesion and coherence in compositions written in Malay and English by native speakers found in compositions written in English by Malaysian learners of English?

Data Collection

The questions of the study were investigated by an examination of three sample groups of compositions evaluated holistically as "good" or "weak" in quality by three groups of teachers: Malaysian teachers of the Malay language and American teachers of English to native and non-native speakers. The sixty compositions submitted by the three groups of teachers had been marked for errors in mechanics and grammar with comments on the organization of content. In order to determine whether the qualities of "good" and "weak" were viewed similarly, the three groups of teachers were asked to identify the most important elements of language and structure in relation to rhetorical forms. (See questionnaire, Appendix A.)

Although written in different languages and on different topics, the purpose for writing these compositions was the same: to meet the expectations of reader-teachers in an examination situation. All the sample compositions were written under pressure and supervision in a specified time length. The composition sample submitted by the Malaysian teachers consisted of ten "good" and ten "weak" compositions written in the Malay language as part of the final examination in a Malay language secondary school. Malaysian teachers first rated the quality of the compositions of students in their classes. The compositions were then pooled and spot rated by all teachers to obtain an overall comparative standing. The American teachers submitted two groups of compositions ten "good" and ten "weak" compositions written by Malaysian ESL students (with TOEFL score range of 500 to 525). These compositions were part of an examination to place students in college composition courses. A committee of instructors rated the compositions individually according to a present scale, and double checking was done in cases of questionable ratings.

Cohesion Analysis of Compositions

Method The analysis of cohesion, adapted from Halliday and Hasan (1976), is based on the concept of the text as a semantic unity which is dependent on the cohesion between its elements. In order to analyze a text in terms of its cohesive properties and give a systematic account of its patterns of cohesion, Halliday and Hasan (1976) use the term *tie* to refer to a single instance of a cohesive relation between intervening sentences. How cohesive elements build up a text across sentence boundaries is illustrated by *distance* or the number of intervening sentence separating the linguistic item from its referent. The following examples from students' compositions illustrate categories of cohesive ties: referential, conjunctive, and lexical.

With *reference*, the meaning of a linguistic item is specified and interpreted through its referent in the text. Where the interpretation involves identification with a referent, ties include pronouns and demonstratives. (Articles, defined as ties by Halliday and Hasan, were not counted in this study because of the Malaysian students' incorrect use of them in English). In the following example from a Malaysian ESL student's composition, the demonstrative underlined in the second sentence refers to the preceding sentence and is thus tied to this sentence semantically and syntactically.

Example 1. Living and studying in a foreign country might be frightening. *This* is true because a student will be far away from home.

In the case where interpretation of a linguistic item is through comparison with a referent, comparative and superlative forms of adjectives as well as other comparative items preceding nouns (e.g., *the same, a similar, another, a different* and equivalent forms in the Malay language) are counted as ties. The following example from a Malaysian student's composition illustrates a tie through comparison in which the item *another* refers to a difference pointed out previously in the composition.

Example 2. *Another* major difference between the two countries is in community development.

Conjunction is cohesive by its semantic relation between two events in a narrative, two steps in an argument, or two continuous passages of a text. Conjunctive ties are connecting words between sentences (e.g., *and, however, consequently, of course*, and equivalent forms in Malay). In the following example from a Malaysian ESL student's composition, the use of *for example* links the first two sentences semantically with the last two sentences.

Example 3. Studying in a foreign country is better than studying in one's own country. This statement is true for very good reasons. *For example*, the USA is well-known for its famous schools and universities. The standard of learning in those established schools is undoubtedly excellent due to the distinguished professors and brilliant students.

There are two aspects of lexical cohesion found in the preceding example: *reiteration* and *collocation*. Reiteration is either the repetition of the same item (*school*) or the use of a synonym or near-synonym in the context of reference (*foreign country* and *USA*). Collocation is the association of a word with another word in the preceding text (e.g., *schools, universities, learning, professors*, and *students* in the third and fourth sentences are all associated with *studying* in the first sentence).

Procedure. Ties or the cohesive relationships between sentences were first identified as referential, conjunctive, or lexical and then counted for each category. Distance or the number of intervening sentences between a linguistic item and its referent was calculated for each tie. This analysis of cohesion was done by three raters (two native English speakers and one native Malay speaker) for the compositions written in English and two raters (one native English speaker and one native Malay speaker) for the compositions written in Malay.

Statistical Analysis of Cohesion

T-tests were performed on the data obtained from the analysis of cohesion. These tests indicated that "good" compositions are not more cohesive than "weak" compositions, either in the number of cohesive items per sentence or per composition, for all three groups. There is also no difference in distance between cohesive items and referents (syntactics and semantic ties) for "good" and "weak" compositions in the three groups (Table 1, 2, 3).

When cohesive elements are broken down into syntactic ties (reference and conjunction) and semantic ties (reiteration and collocation), similarities are found for amount of density of ties. Semantic ties make up approximately three fourths of the total cohesive ties in both the "good" and "weak" com-

Table 1
Mean Frequency of Cohesive Ties Across Compositions in Malay Written by Malaysian Students

	"Good" Compositions (N = 10)		"Weak" Compositions (N=10)	
Cohesive Ties	*Mean*	*S.D.*	*Mean*	*S.D.*
Number per Composition	67.13	57.27	56.25	28.14
Syntactic Ties	14.12	10.94	13.65	11.97
Semantic Ties	*48.56	46.31	38.81	18.45
Reiteration	*45.75	45.43	36.88	18.10
Collocation	6.43	3.91	3.88	2.64
Number per Sentence	.42	.14	.38	.11
Number of Sentences between Cohesive Items and Referents	2.40	1.38	2.62	1.54

* $p<.05$

[a] Calculated from the total number of cohesive ties in each essay, which were then summed and averaged across all essays in each group.

Table 2
Mean Frequency of Cohesive Ties Across Compositions in English Written by American Students

	"Good" Compositions (N = 10)		"Weak" Compositions (N=10)	
Cohesive Ties	*Mean*	*S.D.*	*Mean*	*S.D.*
Number per Composition	43.70	16.65	31.00	16.62
Syntactic Ties	*9.88	4.39	4.93	2.32
Semantic Ties	29.45	14.87	22.25	12.52
Reiteration	26.50	15.08	19.40	11.21
Collocation	5.90	4.09	6.33	3.12
Number per Sentence	.37	.11	.42	.12
Number of Sentences between Cohesive Items and Referents	1.92	1.02	1.50	.59

*$p<.05$.

[a] Calculated from the total number of cohesive ties in each essay, which were then summed and averaged across all essays in each group.

Table 3
Mean Frequency of Cohesive Ties Across Compositions
in English Written by Malaysian Students

	"Good" Compositions (N = 10)		"Weak" Compositions (N=10)	
Cohesive Ties	*Mean*	*S.D.*	*Mean*	*S.D.*
Number per Composition	57.33	30.95	56.45	44.40
Syntactic Ties	9.65	5.64	10.78	11.53
Semantic Ties	41.22	23.83	41.32	31.09
Reiteration	37.56	23.02	38.36	28.51
Collocation	7.33	3.91	6.50	5.40
Number per Sentence	.43	.12	.59	.59
Number of Sentences between Cohesive Items and Referents	2.80	.67	1.90	1.33

[a] Calculated from the total number of cohesive ties in each essay, which were then summed and averaged across all essays in one group.

positions in all three sample groups (Tables 1, 2, 3). When types of semantic ties are considered, reiteration through the repetition of words or the use of synonyms is far greater than collocation through the association of words.

However, the type of cohesive item used varies between compositions written in Malay and those written in English by native speakers of both languages. "Good" compositions in the Malay language have more semantic ties through reiteration of words than "weak" compositions (Table 1). In contrast a greater use of syntactic ties (conjunction and reference) is found in "good" compositions than in "weak" compositions written in English by native speakers (Table 2). The use of syntactic ties also tends to be more prevalent in "good" than in "weak" compositions written in English by Malaysian ESL students (Table 3).

Discussion and Implications

Even though it is difficult to make strong generalizations from the analysis of data for such a small sample size, the theoretical distinction between cohesion and coherence in written discourse seems to be supported. The lack of difference in the quantity of cohesion for compositions evaluated as "good" or "weak" suggests that the coherence pattern or the organization of idea units must characterize quality. Variability in the use of types of cohesive items in compositions written in Malay and those written in English by native speakers also seems to be related to the coherence pattern.

As pointed out by Halliday and Hasan (1976: 18–28), coherence patterns tend to be dependent on the topic or "context of situation", the external factors which influence the writer to choose a certain style, vocabulary, and organization of content. The scale for the determination of quality of the compositions was not controlled for the three groups of Malaysian and American teachers. However, an investigation of teachers' comments on the questionnaire and on *the sample compositions compared with development of content points out* that both American and Malaysian teachers stress organization of material with a controlling idea or a thesis development. (See Figure 1).

However, topics for the compositions in Malay and in English seem to call for differences in the organization of content and in language use. (See lists of topics for the sample compositions, Appendix B).

Topics of the essays in the Malay language call for descriptive or persuasive writing in the analysis of the coherence pattern, descriptions and

Figure 1
Elements of "Good" Compositions

MALAYSIAN TEACHERS of MALAY (N = 5)	MALAYSIAN TEACHERS OF ENGLISH (N = 5)	AMERICAN TEACHERS OF ESL (N = 5)	AMERICAN TEACHERS OF ENGLISH (N = 5)
Rhetoric/Organization 1. logical development 2. sequence of ideas	*Rhetoric/Organization* 1. flow between sentences 2. paragraph level transitions 3. sequence of ideas 4. idea development	*Rhetoric/Organization* 1. sequence of ideas 2. paragraph development (intro, body, conclusion) 3. idea development 4. transitions 5. support statements	*Rhetoric/Organization* 1. clear organization 2. idea development 3. unity/continuity 4. examples, support details 5. paragraph development (intro, body, conclu
Semantics/Language use of appropriate language	*Semantics/Language* 1. varied ways of expression 2. direct language	*Semantics/Language* 1. stylistic variation/ complexity of structure 2. fluent expression 3. vocabulary usage	*Semantics/Lan* 1. languag 2. good di 3. stylist compl ure
Grammar/Mechanics grammatical/syntactic accuracy	*Grammar/Mechanics* grammatical/syntactic accuracy	*Grammar/Mechanics* grammatical/syntactic accuracy	*Grammar/Mechanics* grammatical/syntactic accuracy
Content topic accuracy	*Content*	*Content*	*Content* originality

Note: Elements are summarized from the teachers' responses to the questionnaire and listed in descending order of frequency.

arguments are developed with the use of opinions and abstract references to the writer's feelings and thoughts. "Good" compositions tend to end with an exaggeration, figurative language, or an exhortation of advice to the reader. (See composition abstracts, Appendix C). Cohesion analysis indicates that "good" descriptive and persuasive writing in the Malay language tends to demand a greater use of semantic cohesion than compositions evaluated as "weak" (Table 1). Thus, this use of semantic cohesive ties of reiteration and collocation seems to be linked to descriptive or persuasive writing.

Semantic reiteration seems to be primarily done through the use of *bahasa berbunga*. According to the Malaysian teachers, bahasa berbunga is a style used to convey a mood or to express feelings or to emphasize in essays of description and argumentation. The influence of bahasa berbunga on a Malaysian student's writing in English can be seen in the preceding example from the composition on the benefits of study in America. The writer exaggerates the quality of American universities through the use of such words as *famous* schools and universities, *distinguished* professors, and *brilliant* students.

Topics given by the American teachers elicit expository writing with the use of supporting details and concrete examples, as in the "good" compositions written by native speakers. The final general summary is a reiteration of ideas introduced at the beginning and/or a restatement of the thesis. (See composition abstracts, Appendix C). Analysis of cohesion in the essays written in English by native speakers indicates that "good" expository writing tends to call for a greater use of syntactic ties, conjunctive and referential, than "weak" compositions (Table 2). Thus, the use of syntactic cohesive ties of conjunction and reference seems to be linked to expository writing.

Compositions written in English by Malay speakers seem to exemplify a developmental stage in the use of language and in the organization of content. (See composition abstracts, Appendix C). Although the topics should have elicited expository writing, coherence patterns found in the "good" expository essays of native speakers of English and in the "good" descriptive essays in Malay can be identified in the essays written by the Malaysian learners of English. In the example "weak" compositions, the topic is not limited in the first paragraph, as in the "good" compositions written by native speakers of English and Malay. Although the topic should have elicited expository writing, there is a series of opinions without supporting details which develop the thesis statement with a final exhortation to the reader, as in the "good" compositions written in Malay. There is a greater density of semantic ties in these compositions, as in the compositions written in Malay, than in those written in English by native speakers. However, there is no difference in type of cohesive items for "good" and "weak" compositions (Table 3). Thus, these writers seem to be in transition from writing argumentative or descriptive compositions with a greater use of semantic ties in the Malay language to expository writing with a greater use of syntactic ties in English.

Aspects of the pedagogical situation must be considered in drawing conclusions about the relationship of cohesion and coherence in compositions written for academic purposes in different languages and cultures. Both Malaysian and American teachers stress the importance of a controlling idea or thesis development, as exemplified in "good" compositions in all three groups. However, the teaching of composition in the Malaysian school system seems to be oriented towards argumentative and descriptive writing and in American education, towards expository writing. This difference in educational goals was not only reflected in the teachers' choice of topic for composition and in the evaluations but also confirmed through interviews with Malaysian students. As the most frequent means for connecting sentences in all three sample groups of compositions is lexical cohesion, vocabulary development through the building of background knowledge to which these topics refer seems of primary importance in teaching composition.

Further research could confirm and extend the results of this exploratory study. The topic effect on cohesion and coherence patterns as indicated in this study could be revealed by an analysis of variance if the sample groups were larger. In addition, all subjects could be asked to write two compositions, one on a topic eliciting descriptive/persuasive writing and another on a topic eliciting expository writing. Then, notwithstanding the language in which the compositions were written, semantic ties may be found to be typical of descriptive/persuasive writing and syntactic ties typical of expository writing. Examination of essays in the Malay language of the learners of English in this study could have also indicated the existence of a rhetorical style or coherence patterns already developed in the Malay language and transferred to compositions in English. Further research could also determine if the developmental stage in expository writing of the language learners in this study is characteristic of all student writers, native or non-native speakers of English.

This study suggests that "good" compositions seem to depend on the demands of the topic which determines coherence or rhetorical organization and cohesion or language use. Thus, successful writing is determined by a reader-teacher who understands and evaluates a composition through a knowledge of the world to which the topic of the composition refers as well as a familiarity with the linguistic and rhetorical characteristics of "good" discourse learned through experiences in writing and teaching rhetoric.

References

Anderson, P. 1980 Cohesion as an index for written and oral compositions of ESL learners: U.S. ERIC Document Ed 198529.

Beaugrande, Robert de. 1980 *Text, Discourse, and Process: Toward a Multidisciplinary Science of Texts.* Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Company.

Clyne, M.G. 1983 Linguistic and written discourse in particular languages: Contrastive studies of English and German. In Robert Kaplan (ed) *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics.* Rowley, Mass: Newbury House Publishers.

Connor, U. 1984 A study of cohesion and coherence in English as a second language students' writing. *Papers in Linguistics: International Journal of Human Communication* 17/3: 301–316.

Dijk, T. van 1977 *Text and Context.* London: Longmans.

Grimes, J. 1975 *The Thread of Discourse.* The Hague: Mouton

Halliday, M.A.K. & R. Hasan. 1976 *Cohesion in English.* London: Longmans.

Hartnett, C. 1980 Cohesion and mental processes in writing competence. US ERIC Ed 202–028.

Johnson, P. 1981 Effects on reading comprehension of Language complexity and cultural background of a text. *TESOL Quarterly* 15/2: 169–181.

Kaplan, R. 1966 Cultural thought patterns in intercultural education *Language Learning.* 17/1–2: 1–20.

Kaplan, R. (ed.) 1983 *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics.* Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers.

Lieber, P. 1980 *Cohesion in ESL Students' Expository Writing.* Ph.D Dissertation, New York University.

Lindsay, D.B. 1985 *Cohesion in the Compositions of ESL and English students.* M.A. Thesis, University of California.

Purves, A.C. 1973 *Literature Education in Ten countries: International Studies in Education II.* Stockholm: Almavist and Wiknell.

Purves, A.C. & A.J. Takala. 1982 An international perspective on the evaluation of written composition. *Evaluation in Education: An International Review Series.* 5/3, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Purves, A.C. 1984 On the nature and formation of interpretive and rhetorical communities. Manuscript, University of Illinois.

Scarcella, M. 1984 *Cohesion in the Writing Development of Native and Non-native English Speakers.* Ph.D Dissertation, University of Southern California.

Schneider, M. 1985 *Levels of Cohesion: Distinguishing between Two groups of College Writers.* Ph.D Dissertation, Boston University.

Tierney, R. & J. Mosenthal. 1983 Cohesion and textual coherence. *Research in the Teaching of English.* 17/3: 215–229.

Witte, S.P. & L. Faigley. 1981 Coherence, cohesion and writing quality. *College Composition and Communication.* 22: 189–204.

Appendix A

Questionnaire for all three groups of teachers:

1. What kinds of rhetorical forms do you teach in composition?
2. What elements of structure or language are most important in communicating these rhetorical forms?

Could you please identify and mark these elements in the sample "good" and "weak" compositions of your students?

Appendix B

Topics for compositions written in the Malay language:

Argumentation-

Gambling is a bad habit.
The role of police.
The misuse of drugs.
The importance of magazines and newspapers as a way of life.
Interpretation of a proverb – If you are courageous, you are right. If you are scared, you are wrong.

Description of a situation-

You are on a bus and suddenly the bus stops and everyone is surprised.
Scenery by the seaside at dusk.

Topics for compositions written in the English language:

English for native speakers-

Definition – A problem in society that concerns you.
Classification – The easiest things for you to do.
Comparison/contrast – My life will be different from that of my parents.
Synthesis – The most important technological invention of the past two years.

English for non-native speakers-

Comparison/contrast – Differences or similarities between your country and the USA.
Analysis – Arguments for/against study in a foreign country.
Synthesis – My first day in the USA.

Appendix C

Abstracts of example compositions:

Abstract of a good composition written in the Malay language:

Topic: Gambling is a bad habit.

1. Thesis statement: Gambling is a bad habit which should be avoided by anyone who wants to succeed in life.
   a. negative elements
   b. examples of gambling
   c. practice in Malaysia

2. The role of parents in giving proper religious education.
   a. emphasis on values and adequate and responsible socialization of children
   b. bad habits occur when proper upbringing is neglected.

3. Effects of gambling as an increase of:
   a. instability in society
   b. domestic strife
   c. robberies
   d. extortion bids
   e. constant fear in life of citizens

4. Gambling is a waste in money, time, and energy which should be redirected to socially beneficial areas exemplified by saving money for investment and/or building mosques.

Abstract of a weak composition written in the Malay language:

Topic: Gambling is a bad habit.

1. Thesis statement: There are many bad habits practiced by Malaysians, such as victimizing the weak, extortion, alcoholism, womanizing and also gambling.
2. History of gambling.
3. Effects of gambling: degradation of moral and religious values.
4. The King's move to ban gambling among Moslems.

Abstract of a good composition written in the English language by a native speaker:

Topic: My life will be different from that of my parents.

1. Examples of qualities of the writer's parents.
   Thesis statement: However, I find myself differing from them in two distinct ways: religious practice and matters of money.
2. Differences in religious practice.
3. Differences in matters of money.
4. How wonderful my parents are, even though my life will be different.

Abstract of a weak composition written in English by a native speaker:

Topic: My life will be different from that of my parents.

1. Differences in parents educational level, occupations, and age of marriage contrasted with my desire for a higher level of education to guarantee career opportunity and financial security before marriage.
2. Desire to be a friend and counselor to my children and to assume responsibility for their welfare.

A good composition written in English by a Malay speaker:

I opened my eyes to the darkness of the early dawn. "I am in the US". I remembered quickly. It was only five o'clock but I could sleep no longer. My body was telling me it was not time to sleep. It was evening in my country halfway across the world. Later when the first rays of the sun, I could see the white snow falling down past my window. I could not believe that it was really cold outside, so I went out to the lawn without my winter jacket. That was the last time I was outside the without a jacket on. After what seemed to be a surprisingly common breakfast, I explored the house which was to be my home for the next 14 months. It was a pleasant, warm and simple home. I walked down the street to my new school. I couldn't help stopping to feel the pure white snow. It was a strange feeling to feel my feet sink into the snow as I walked. It was an entirely new and different experience when I had a snowball fight with my foster brother that evening. I was panting heavily by the time I escaped into the house from those hard and fast coming snowballs. When the sky turned dark that evening, I felt hungry. I began to wonder when supper time was until I discovered it was only four o'clock in the evening! That day was the beginning of a pleasant adventure in the beautiful land of America.

Abstract of a weak composition written in English by a Malay speaker:

Topic: Major differences between your country and the USA.

1. Malaysia, a democratic country.
   Thesis statement: There are many differences between Malaysia and the USA.
2. Description of location, size, and population of Malaysia.
3. Description of climate and weather of Malaysia.
4. Description of food in Malaysia.
5. Description of culture (dance, clothing, manners) in Malaysia.
6. Despite these differences, we must remember that Malaysia and the USA have many similarities which enable the two countries to live in peace with each other.

1144

Note:

This is a revised version of a paper presented at the conference of the Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquee (AILA) held in Sydney, Australia, in August, 1987.

Valuable assistance in the analysis of cohesion in the compositions was given by Noorahnis Othman and Mary Anne Novak-Froelich, Barbara Bielmeier and Azalina Ahmad. I would also like to acknowledge the Malaysian and American Teachers who participated in this research.

Towards a Contextual Lexico-grammar: An Application of Concordance Analysis in EST Teaching

Wu Hui Hua, Marian
Nanyang Technological University
Singapore

Abstract

The investigation reported in this paper is a small-scale but in-depth study branching from a comparative analysis of the lexico-grammatical behaviour of verbs in general English and engineering texts (Wu 1989). In order to confirm some of the interesting lexical and syntactic features of engineering discourse observed in the previous investigation, this study further examines the associated features that characterize engineering text to see whether they co-occur frequently enough to distinguish "engineering English" as a recognizable "genre". The discussion also explores the implications these findings have for ESP (English for Specific Purposes) teaching, especially in the area of teaching lexis.

The investigation

1. Corpus-based Concordance Analysis

The growing interest among applied linguists in text and discourse analysis and the increasing awareness of the distinction between the mechanics (the lexical and syntactic devices used to combine words into sentences and sentences into a text) on one hand, and their communicative values in a dynamic process of discourse (especially those related to scientific fields and various specializations) on the other has finally provided a link between genre-analysis and EST teaching. This is further promoted by the increasing amount of accessible corpus evidence available for linguistic analysis (Renouf 1986). The concordancer – a computer program which can research rapidly through a collection of texts for selected items and print out all the examples it can find with the contexts in which they appear for investigation (Johns 1987) – is a very good example.

2. The Present Study

Adopting a normative study based on analysis of concordances as the framework, the present investigation focuses on the typical lexico-grammatical behaviour of verbs in a genre-specific, i.e., engineering, context, so as to

(i) understand how lexis interacts with syntax (grammar) in engineering discourse, and

1146

(ii) identify typicality and collocational patternings based on frequency of occurrence.

Engineering text classified under the genre (Swales 1981:10) of scientific prose can be defined as writing conveying knowledge and information from a specialist to specialists/professionals in an expository, problem-solving discourse.

The data used for analysis are "authentic" in two aspects:

(i) they are extracted from a corpus of a specific subject area and learning context;

(ii) they are unsimplified; that is, naturally-occurring texts, displayed in a "Keyword in Context" (KWIC) format.

The Transportation & Highway Engineering Corpus consists of texts drawn from selected Technical Report, Highway Code, and conference papers comprising about 75,200 word tokens (Johns 1987). To facilitate a systematic and in-depth study, the citations of selected lexical items are aligned vertically with a fixed width of context printed on each side. In a line of 130 characters in width, there are approximately ten words on each side of the item under investigation (Keyword).

This chapter describes the method used to assign material.
The paper describes the statistical basis of the text.

As seen from these concordance lines, the main advantage of the KWIC format – the keyword in central position – is that it makes it easy for the investigator to scan rapidly to identify typical (collocational and fixed/semi-fixed) patternings.

The Findings

The findings of the investigation are analysed in the light of lexical functions, grammatical choices and discourse patterns.

1. Lexical Functions

Any written text is, in fact, an interactive discourse between the writer and his reader. This is particularly true with engineering texts – a typical example of TAVI (Text as Vehicle for Information) (Johns & Davies 1983). Readers' sensitivity to its interactive features, the rhetorical and organizational structures employed by the writer to bring across the content propositions and to facilitate understanding, is, therefore, crucial to effective reading. It is also

114

important that readers should be able to distinguish when a verb is used to perform a lexical function, e.g. to label a discourse act, rather than to convey its literal meaning.

> In choosing between options, engineers must consider two very important questions: . . . . . Let us consider . . .
>
> Three proposals are being considered. Consider firstly . . .

In the above two instances, the former "consider" (a lexical word) carries its literary meaning whereas the latter (a function word) labels a specific discourse act. When the verb performs a lexical function, its lexical content is greatly reduced.

What the findings show is that some general items like "describe" and "consider" are often used to perform special textual, rhetorical or discoursal functions such as signalling textual reference, labelling a discourse act, or providing evaluative information in engineering texts (Fig. 1–1). Before we take a detailed look at each, below is a good example of how various lexical functions are performed in engineering texts of expository discourse value.

> . . . three qualities of subgrade are considered as **described** in Table 5. To make a choice among the proposed options, we shall approach it by considering them according to their priority. Consider firstly . . .

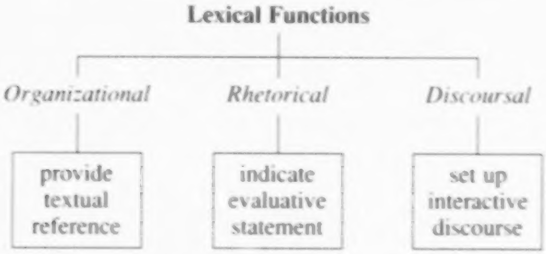

Lexical Functions
Organizational
Rhetorical
Discoursal
provide textual reference
indicate evaluative statement
set up interactive discourse

Figure 1–1. Lexical Functions in Engineering Texts

1.1 Lexical functions – as textual reference device

A text can be looked at as a collection of clauses and sentences grouped under a specific topic within the domain of a discipline and connected in such a way as to perform a specific discourse. In order to make the text cohesive and coherent – characteristic features of technical discourse, various devices are employed by the writer to facilitate readers' interaction with the interpretation of the on-going discussion/content propositions. The ways these elements function in relation to one another help to communicate patterns of integrated meaning. In the following instances, we can see how "describe" performs the function of recalling a piece of information from a previous place in the text to provide a specific frame of reference for interpretation, recalling some information already-mentioned which is relevant to the on-going discourse, or preparing the readers for what is coming. These examples show how discourse coherence depends on and is linked to textual cohesion.

(1) Using the pavement model described in Section 3.5.3, the Benkelman Beam delection was predicted.

(2) As described earlier, the most economic method of ground water control is . . .

(3) Its corrosive effects have been described in para 46.

(4) . . . rut depth. (The concept of a calibration factor has been described in Section 2.6(c)). The calibration rut depth was taken as . . .

(5) The procedure is described in the ensuing chapters.

(6) This application will be described in the ensuing chapters.

(7) . . . strategic planning. The VIPS system described by Hasselstrom (43) is an example of . . .

(8) The Tolo Highway in Hong Kong, described by Peter Fraekel & Partners, is designed to Hong Kong government . . .

In Examples 1 and 2, the writer recalls to the foreground (i.e. foregrounding) a specific piece of information for its current relevance to the on-going discussion. Its now-validity to the discourse can be seen in Examples 3 and 4 when the verb appears in its full form. Examples 5 and 6 illustrate how the writer, instead of fronting, postpones certain aspects for later discussion. It is also noted that the verb frequently occurs in **ed**-form within a nominalized structure while functioning as a textual reference device (Example 1), or a backgrounding device -identifying the source of a piece of information as in Examples 7 & 8. Nominalization as a common feature in engineering texts will be discussed in 2.4.

1.2 Lexical function – as discourse/discourse act signal

To understand a text, and its dynamic and communicative function as a discourse, readers must be aware of how some verbs, as discourse act signals, set up interactive relations between the writer and readers. In Examples 9 and 10, the writer sets up a particular discourse framework for the following proposition(s), whereas in Example 11, he signals to his reader the significance of the following statement; i.e., the writer's own evaluation as an indication how the statement should be interpreted.

(9) **Let us consider** these five benefits criteria and see how . . . these relate to the dynamic . . .

(10) For the second condition, **consider** the case of a reclaimed mix made with a 200 pen bitumen. This . . .

(11) Thus, in choosing between options, **it is very important to consider** the likely streams of . . .

It can be seen that interpretation of EST writing may require more than ordinary reading skills due to these interactive features of scientific (expository) discourse. Effective reading can, therefore, to a great extent, depend on the reader's recognition of these signals without mixing up the former "internal" (with statements in texts) and the latter "external" (between himself and Writer); of how various elements interact to achieve the dynamic communicative function of a text. The following are other good examples of how the writer adopts the role of primary knower trying to convey a body of knowledge/information to a specific readership with a need to know by making the information (Example 12) and its value (Example 13) clear.

(12) . . . and efficiency of, rejuvenating agents, it is important to consider whether or not such agents are required. Consider firstly the case of a reclaimed surfacing material produced.

(13) The Department of Transport considers it important to present the resulting information to the public.

(14) . . . rolled-method of compaction for the samples, **the author considers** this assumption to be dangerous.

(15) . . . rut depth have been made for two pavement sections. **It is considered that**, whilst the method shows promise, better character . . .

Reporting (Tadros 1985) refers to structures that signal the writer's detachment from the embedded propositions expressed as in Example 15. Whereas in Example 14, he adopts the role of Actor (in the Clause) to signal his commitment to the proposition.

1.3 Lexical function – as rhetoric organizer

Lexical signals are the writer's explicit signalling of the intended organization of the text (Hoey 1983). Advance-labelling refers to those structures in which the writer labels and thereby commits himself to perform a discourse act (Tadros 1985). In what way do these advance-labelling structures (textual signals) facilitate understanding (rhetoric) of the text?

Aiming at providing complete and reliable information to his readers, the writer tends to organize the information in such a way that it can be interpreted quickly and easily. By giving explicit signals of textual organization and setting up a predictive frame, the writer creates in his readers a knowledge/information gap to be later filled. This suggests that the more explicit the organization of the text, the easier for the readers to process and manipulate the technical information presented.

The following extracts from the corpus show how "consider", apart from signalling an interactive discourse act, is also used in engineering texts to fulfill a predictive function so as to facilitate understanding and proper interpretation of the content propositions and to activate or maintain the reader's constant interaction with the writer and text (see Fig. 1–2).

When a pavement is being examined, engineers have to consider two important questions: . . .

> The major factors are usually considered under the following headings: . . .
>
> This process can be considered at several levels, from the restoration of . . . to . . .
>
> We shall do this by considering a hierarchy of issues, starting from . . . to . . .

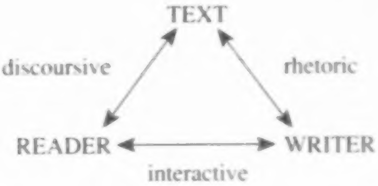


Figure 1–2.

2. Lexis as discourse pattern signal

2.1 Typical engineering relational discourse

If lexico-grammatical functions are exponents of concepts, clauses are exponents of propositions and text is an exponent of discourse. Discourse is goal-oriented; engineering discourse is predominantly problem-solving in aim. In a study to identify organization patterns and their explicit linguistic signals in written texts within the framework of the clause relational approach (Proctor 1988), it is found that communication usually takes place in a minimum of two clauses or two sentences as a single sequence, typically with explicit (tense) signals. In the following citation, the inter-clausal Cause-Effect relation is explicitly signalled by "results in", but that between the two sentences following is rather implicit.

> An increase in real incomes of the population results in an increasing demand for private car ownership. Individual projects need to be addressed with 'before & after' surveys, and studies are required of transport characteristics, impact and user preferences.

1151

In the same way as textual organization, the more explicit the discourse relation, the more accessible the propositional meaning.

> Where a semantic relation is made linguistically explicit, the particular way in which this explicitness is achieved will have important stylistic and informational implication. When we look at a particular discourse (for example, varieties of scientific report), we can see that an important aspect of the communicative dynamics of that discourse is a variety and distribution of relational types together with the various different ways in which each relational type is realized. (Crombie 1985:33)

Since such semantic relationships (especially those between sentences) can often be implicit as illustrated in the above example, readers' awareness of the relational discourse patterns typical to a genre is crucial to their understanding of the text.

2.2. Typical relational patterns

As also pointed out by Crombie, discourse value is determined largely with respect to the interaction between sentence meaning and context. Binary value refers to the significance attached to the specific type of relationship that units of language within spoken or written discourse bear to one another. The typical relational discourse patterns identified in the present study are listed in the following table.

Table 2–1
Relational Discourse & Lexical Signalling

Discourse relations	Lexical signal
Problem – Solution	occur
Cause – Effect	cause
Undesirable effects – Adjustment	affect
Means – Result	achieve
Purpose – Method	adopt
Need – Response	develop

These semantic relationship units (i.e. related concepts as a complete unit of discourse) can be explicitly signalled as in

> . . . occasionally where important water supply could be affected, then special measures must be taken to protect them.

or implicitly conveyed as in

> when a road does not directly cross such areas they may be affected if the view to or from a place is changed. Special measures must be taken . . .

1152

In a number of studies conducted to identify information structures in text based on topic types, topping the list of text types of educational potential identified and extensively tested in an educational context is Problem-Solution (Davies, Johns, Hoey 1983). This seems particularly applicable to the engineering genre, as shown in the following two citations.

> . . . and Shuldiner demonstrated the **problem** that this can cause, and classification analysis techniques were introduced to **overcome** them.
>
> . . . mentioned above are of little assistance in attempting to develop a technologically sound **solution** to the **problem** of recycling . . .

Assuming that a purpose of engineering discourse is, ideally, to pre-empt problems or undesirable effects, how is this role performed in context?

> The chosen design must cater for all the conditions expected to occur, if the design life is to be achieved.
>
> Embankment design and earthworks design generally will all be affected by hydrological studies. Alternative route must be . . .
>
> . . . decision have been made which are influenced by traffic flow forecasts. They will affect the number of traffic lanes required, the need for grade separation . . .

What is clearly indicated here is a predictive, thus preventive, discourse function. This recurrent and recognizable feature found in the corpus will come up again in later discussions.

2.3 Conception of relational units & their realization

Discourse coherence (e.g. causal analysis) depends on the establishment of relational/conceptual units (e.g. Cause-Effect), which are directly linked to textual cohesion (e.g. connectives/textual cohesive devices or anaphoric reference). The different ways in which such relations can be realized include

(i) **lexically** as in Example 2 by conjunction "so" – a typical lexical item whose function is to make explicit the binary relation between cause and effect in a discourse;

(ii) **structurally** as in Example 5 by using anaphoric reference "This";

(iii) **syntactically** as in Examples 7, 8 and 9 by means of "to-Infinitive structures" to express "purpose".

Let us take a detailed look at the structures that realize these relational units of concept in context. First, the examples:

(1) . . . the time of day when overloads are most likely to occur. An important new feature is the ability to store data . . .

(2) . . . changes, whether performed abruptly or more smoothly, always cause extra delays which can lose much of the benefit to be hoped for.

(3) A rise in temperature will cause the resilient modulus to decrease in size, **so** reducing the loads . . .

(4) . . . where important water supply sources could be affected, then special measures must be taken to protect them.

(5) . . . Vehicles can travel up to 2.5 mph. We need the written guidelines to obtain this objective. **This** is ideally achieved by a detailed Code of Practice.

(6) An effective method of achieving these requirements is to construct the highway on a low embankment . . .

(7) . . . and other approaches have been adopted **in order to** obtain improvements in accuracy and efficiency . . .

(8) . . . Ltd. illustrate how a comprehensive approach has been adopted in UK and other countries to improve highway maintenance, train . . .

(9) Recently (1985) TRRL has developed a computer model (10) to investigate this problem (Figure 6) . . .

(10) New surveys and analysis techniques have been developed in recent years to provide more relevant techniques for such . . .

How are these relational units typically realized in context? Four relational discourse patterns are prevalent in the corpus.

Problem-Solution (preventive). A quick glance through the concordances of **occur** indicates that the verb collocates very strongly with lexical items signalling Problem like "accidents", "failure" & "problems" and adverbials "likely" & "as expected", and is usually followed by a positive evaluation to complete the Problem-Solution pattern as in Example 1. This predictive implication predominant in the corpus also strongly suggests a preventive/pre-emptive function of engineering discourse. In other words, predictions tend to be made in order to prevent problems from happening or to have the "solution" ready in case a problem occurs – as problems do often occur as expected.

Cause-Effect (anticipated). The two verbs **cause** and **affect** are used specifically to mean "cause change(s)" – often undesirable changes that can be anticipated (Example 2), and, therefore, often signal a need for adjustment (Example 3). This semantic relation of Cause-Effect is predominantly realized in a transitive structure with both Subject (agent of change) and Object (direct result or party affected by the change) clearly specified. A further study of the typical environment of **affect** indicates: upward collocates (in Sinclair's terms 1987) include "to study how", "to know how much" – anticipation/assessing changes caused; downward collocates often signal certain responses being required as in Example 4, and the significance of the Response is often stressed by a modal structure to complete this Anticipated change-Required adjustment relationship.

Means-Result (intended). This Cause-Effect rhetoric is predominantly realized by the verb **achieve** in Means-Result/Intended effect patterns. It is found that the purpose intended to achieve and, more importantly, the method of achieving it, are the focus of the discourse as shown in Examples 5 and 6. This accounts for the common "agentless" passive structures (and prevalent present time reference) and lexical collocates "objectives", "results", "method", and "requirements".

Need-Response (positive). **Adopt** and **Develop** are two typical items found in Problem-Solution (positive) or Need-Response relational discourse. "Adopt" mainly answers the question "why" something has been/was adopted, i.e., the purpose/reason for a particular response, thus implying a choice made, and is usually followed by purpose structures like "in order to . . ." (Example 7), or simply **to-Infinitive** construction (Example 8). "Develop" answers the questions "what" (Example 9); "by whom" (e.g. by Weightwrite in 1973); "where" (in London and other UK cities), and "when" (e.g. in recent years). In Example 10, the Response member of the relation is placed in the initial position for emphasis – a good example of informational implication of grammatical choice. This point will be further discussed in 2.4 "Nominalization & Choice of Theme".

3. Discourse Type & Tense System

After identifying some recurring lexical functions and relational patterns specific to engineering discourse, we now see how the tense system works.

Table 3–1
Frequency of occurrence of Tense/Form in the verb

	Describe	Consider	Achieve	Cause	Affect	Occur	Adopt	Develop
Present								
Simple	**35**	**32**	**8**	9	6	15	2	1
Continuous	0	6	1	0	0	1	0	4
Perfect	5	8	2	2	0	1	3	**21**
Past								
Simple	0	13	3	3	0	7	4	9
Perfect	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Future								
Simple	3	1	0	2	**7**	**7**	0	2
Perfect	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Modals	3	28	3	**10**	5	5	4	5
to-Inf	3	10	**18**	1	2	7	6	10

The table on page 27 sums up the frequency of occurrence of different tenses/ forms of the verbs investigated, with the prominent choices highlighted.

In this quantitative analysis, regular correlations are observable between discourse type and the predominance of certain tense choices in the verb. Two initial observations made are (1) the present and future tense dominate engineering texts: the present is often used to perform a discourse function carrying no temporal meaning, while the future is typically used to express certainty without a future reference; (2) verbs signalling "problem" are predominantly realized in the future form while those signalling "solution" monopolize the present perfect. The findings are classified into four categories for further analysis.

Table 3–2
Rhetorical/Grammatical Functioning of Tense in Engineering Discourse

	Discourse Type	Tense
Category A	Discursive/expository	Present simple Present/to-Infinitive
Category B	Problem-solving, causal	Future; (Modal "can")
Category C	Evaluative (solution)	Present perfect
Category B+C	Pre-emptive problem-solving	Future/Modals -> Present Perfect -> Present

In Category A, the present form – the historical present (HP) – dominates for the current relevance of discourse. Expository text in the present deals with facts/factual information immediately relevant to the on-going discourse – in describing, stating, or evaluating, as distinguished by a sense of immediacy, or as put by Hüllen (1987), a sense of psychological nearness.

(1) The procedure is described in Section 3.4. (describing)
(2) This paper describes some of the procedures which are now common practice in . . .
(3) It is considered that, whilst the method shows promise, better character . . . (stating)
(4) The author considers this assumption dangerous. (evaluating)
(5) The designer considers that this will entail a risk of damage.

This predominant discourse function of the present tense in engineering texts can be illustrated in the following diagram:

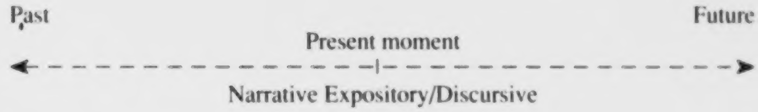


Figure 3–3. Rhetorical Function & Tense System

It is noted in Category B a regularity of occurrence of the future tense and modal structures in predictive statements about 'what always happens' or 'what often happens', as shown in the following instances:

(6) In reality, cracking will only occur in the vicinity of the wheel paths. (What always happens)

(7) Stress can cause a significant number of drivers to avoid heavily trafficked motorways. (what sometimes/often happens)

(8) . . . forecasts. They will affect the number of traffic lanes required. (what is predicted to happen)

And on what basis are these forecasts made?

(9) The hypothesis states that the failure will occur when D = 1.

(10) It is obvious that failure will occur when Di = 1.

The future form in Examples 9 and 10 carries a modal meaning conveying a sense of "certainty" rather than "futureness".

The predominant tense in Category C – signalling Solution – is identified as the Present Perfect for its "link" with present/current validity, as in:

> Recently (1985) TRRL has developed a computer model to investigate this problem (Figure 6).
>
> This illustrates how a comprehensive approach has been adopted in UK and other countries to improve highway maintenance.

Category B+C provides a good example of how the pre-emptive Problem-Solution pattern is realized in a specific verb tense sequence and patterning.

> The appearance of a new road **is studied** to show both how it **will affect** particular views and also how it will affect landscape generally. Many attempts **have been made** to find ways to . . .

It can be seen from the above instance how tense variations can serve as markers of shifting in events without a fixed referent point in time. Figure 3–4 proposes a genre-specific patterning illustrating how rhetorical functions determine the choice of tenses and how the tense system evolves in an ongoing discourse, which aims at predicting problems so as to pre-empt them – a positive role of technology.

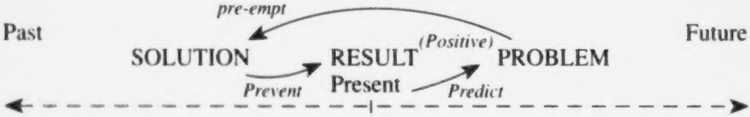


Figure 3–4. Pre-emptive Problem-solving Discourse & Tense System

4. Nominalization & Choice of Theme

Nominalization refers to any element or group of elements that take on the function of a nominal group in the clause, thus constituting a single element in the information structure. Theme is defined as the element which comes in first position in the clause (Halliday 1985). What usually occupies Theme position in the clause? A common feature identified in engineering texts is nominalized groups being used either as Subject, occupying Theme position as in

> *The approach adopted in many major countries* has been . . .

or as Object, as in

> These designs will be based on *the principles adopted in 1985.*

For effective communication of ideas, it is up to the writer to choose between alternative grammatical constructions when he organizes a piece of information in terms of ordering and focus. "Focus" refers to the act of selecting one aspect of a subject-matter that the writer considers important in a specific discourse and one which is most relevant (van Dijk 1981). The focus of scientific exposition/technical discourse, which is subject-or topic-oriented, is on the medium or goal of a process. To be informative, expository rhetoric must be clear, concise and correct – this may account for the choice of familiar (unmarked) clause structures (Subject- Verb- Object/Obj Complement) and high lexical density in a clause as in the following examples:

(1) *The approach adopted in many cities* has been a comprehensive series of . . .

(2) . . . in this project, *the two strain prediction models developed by Meyer et al.*, (71) are taken for the purpose.

(3) *A derivation of Comprehensive Transport Study (CTS) models developed in the mid 1970's and subsequently updated* was used to prepare . . .

Findings show that this kind of **technical nominalization** – a complex phenomenon being packed up into a single unit and made the Subject (the first element/Theme) of the clause – recurs frequently enough to be a recognizable feature of informative engineering writing. It is also shown that, on one hand, the more complex the nominal structure (can be short as six words as in Example 1 or long as sixteen words as in Example 3); on the other hand, the simpler the overall sentence construction.

In his brief survey of papers on rhetorical/grammatical analysis, Selinker (1988) sums up some early attempts to relate rhetorical organization of information in English for EST texts to specific grammatical choice. It is clearly seen that rhetorical considerations in technical writing do affect judgments concerning the order of the presentation within a clause/sentence for clarity and precision of exposition, and thus affect grammatical choices like influencing the grammatical decision to choose a pronominal construction rather than a phrasal one.

Among the four forms of the eight verbs investigated, **ed-** form has the highest frequency of occurrence. Most of them are found in nominalized constructions of various complexities. The following are typical nominalized structures in context.

> *New micro-technology developed in the UK* can be applied in other countries . . .
>
> *The overall costs and benefits to the different affected groups* are demonstrated in graphic terms for each option . . .
>
> *The payment models (1 & 2) as described in Section 3.5.3* have been used to estimate the future growth . . .
>
> *One very important factor considered by three authors* is the internal stability of the bitumen . . .
>
> . . . reduce vehicle delay, stops and congestion to below *the level achieved by the best fixed-time system*, and thus save time and fuel . . .
>
> These designs will be based on *the principles adopted in 1985 for flexible pavements.*

To conclude the discussion, the verbs (excluding "occur") are classified into four categories according to their frequency of occurrence in nominalized structures in the corpus.

Table 4–1
Nominalization & Frequency of Occurrence

High Frequency	Adopt 42% (15/36)	Affect 30% (10/33)
Medium Frequency	Develop 28% (20/72)	Describe 28% (20/72)
Low Frequency	Consider 4.5% (6/134)	Achieve 4% (2/47)
Nil	Cause (0/55)	

Implications for ESP Teaching

The teaching of ESP has been a rapidly developing area in the past twenty years, and the focus of syllabus design as well as materials production has shifted from needs analysis towards discourse analysis stressing "authenticity" and "communicative context". Accepting that our interest in language study, in particular discourse analysis, is to discover "regularities" and "tendencies" as well as "frequency" of language in use in order to describe them so that learners can be more sensitive to how language functions in context/discourse, what implications do the above findings have for ESP teaching?

1. Towards a Contextual Lexico-grammar

A lexical item only has meaning in context. It is also observed that a specific discipline tends to develop a language to suit its nature of discourse. Only when words are in their habitual environments, presented in their most frequent forms and their typical relational patterns and structures, can they be learnt effectively, interpreted properly and used appropriately.

In this study, we have identified lexical items which are used in specialized texts to perform specific discoursal and rhetorical functions. The teaching of this type of lexis to develop a sensitivity to various lexical functions is shown to be crucial to learners' ability to interpret, evaluate and make use of the information presented to them in their study.

We have also seen how the expression of time and the choice of tense in the verb tend to be related to the overall discourse type, and that there is often a distinction between the surface tense form and its functional interpretation. This strongly indicates the need to include the dimensions of lexis and context, while describing the grammar of tense in engineering texts. In other words, the expression of time may need to be interpreted taking into account the nature of text (engineering exposition) and type of discourse (problem-solving) in a wider context beyond the sentence.

2. Identification of "Chunks"

Most everyday words do not have an independent meaning, or meanings, but are components of a rich repertoire of multi-word patterns that make up text (Sinclair 1985) – a linguistic phenomenon becoming more and more obvious. Teaching pre-constructed/packaged phrases would mean economy of effort on the part of the learners since they will learn to interpret whole stretches of language at a time instead of individual lexical items.

Seeing that collocations (sequences of words that occur more than once in identical form and which are grammatically well-structured) are essential elements of English texts, and that those fixed and often fossilised building-blocks should be more at home in some types of text than in others (Kjellmer 1987), we can assume that collocational patternings, fixed/semi-fixed structures should be common features in informative/formal genre where familiarity rather than originality is preferred to facilitate understanding, whose writers tend to fall back on stereotypes and ready-made patterns. Good examples are the place-and time-adjuncts (e.g. in the vicinity of, at the stage of), which are identified as "chunks". These rather fixed internal constructions are often in the form of multi-word units (MWU) operating at the phrase level. Similar recurrent fixed structures include textual references like "as described in", "as follows" and discourse stems such as "It is on the assumption that". There are also lexical items which display almost 100% collocability (i.e. possibility of co-occurrence) such as "carry out a test", "achieve an objective", "adopt an approach", and "problems occur" (problems seldom happen and do not take place).

Pawley and Syder (1983) conclude that: To be fluent, speakers cannot generate new sentences all the time. It is found that native speakers rely on a store of lexicalized sentence stems to allow themselves more time to plan the overall discourse, thus achieving more fluency. It can reasonably be assumed that pre-constructed phrases common in technical writing and pre-packaged technical routines can be taught to ESP learners to store up ready for communication in appropriate context to achieve greater fluency as well as accuracy. Exposing them to typical structures that they can expect to encounter in their specific subject area should also simplify their reading process.

3. Classroom Concordancing

Concordance output provides authentic data to be incorporated into teaching materials. First, relevant examples are selected to illustrate particular teaching points (e.g. expressing method in a Cause-Effect relational discourse). Based on these stimulus materials, learning activities are devised to enable advanced learners to contribute to and concentrate on their own experience through small group discussion, class discussion or self-directed learning. In other words, learning is achieved by activating learners' acquired language competence and extending it by relating their previously acquired linguistic knowledge to meaningful realizations of the language system in (familiar) context of immediate relevance to their specialised field of studies.

References

Crombie, W. 1985. Discourse and Language Learning: A Relational Approach to Syllabus Design. Oxford University Press.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1985. An Introduction to Functional Grammar. Edward Arnold.

Hoey, M. 1983. On the Surface of Discourse. London: Allen & Unwin.

Hoey, M. 1991. Patterns of Lexis in Text. In Sinclair, J & Carter, R (eds.) *Describing English Language Series*. Oxford University Press.

Hullen, W. 1987. On Denoting Time in Discourse. In Monahan, J (ed.) *Grammar in the Construction of Text*.

Johns, T. 1987. Whence and whither classroom concordancing? In Wekker et al (eds.) *Computers in English Language Learning*. Amsterdam: Foris.

Johns, T. & Davies, F. 1983. Text as a Vehicle for Information: the Classroom Use of Written Texts in Teaching Reading as a Foreign Language. In *Reading in a Foreign Language 1*.

Kjellmer, G. 1987. Aspects of English Collocations. In Meijs, W (ed.) Corpus Linguistics and Beyond – Proceedings of the 7th Computerized Corpora. Rodopi B V, Amsterdam.

Pawley, A. & Syder, F.H. 1983. Two Puzzles for Linguistic Theory: Nativelike Selection and Nativelike Fluency. In Richards, J C & Schmidt, R M (eds.) *Language and Communication*: 119–225.

Proctor, M. 1988. Discourse Organization Patterns and Their Signals. In Turney, A (ed.) *Applied Text Linguistics* 13:23–54.

Renouf, A. 1986. The Exploitation of a Computerised Corpus of English Text. In Rivaz, M (ed.) Actes du VIIleme Colloque G. Eras. Universite de Paris – Dauphine.

Selinker, L. 1988. Using Research Methods in LSP: Two Approaches to Applied Discourse Analysis. In Tickoo, M L (ed.) *ESP: State of the Art*: 39–51. Anthology Series 21. SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Sinclair, J.M. 1985. Lexicographic Evidence. In R Ilson (ed.) English Language Document 120: *Dictionaries, Lexicography and Language Learning*. Oxford: Peragamon Press.

Sinclair, J.M. 1987. Collocation: a progress report. In Steel, R & Threadgold, T (eds.) *Language for Topics*. Amsterdam: John Banjamins.

Swales, J. 1981. Aspects of Article Introductions. Aston ESP Research Reports No. 1. The University of Aston in Birmingham.

Tadros, A. 1985. Prediction in Text. In *Discourse Analysis* Monographs No. 10. English Language Research, University of Birmingham.

van Dijk, J.D. 1981. Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse. London: Longman.

Wu, M.H. 1989. A Comparative Study of the Lexico-grammatical Behaviour of Verbs in General English and Engineering Text. (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Birmingham).

Analysis of Strategies on Higher Verbs and their Non-Finite Complements

Wu Yidi, Xiamen University, Xiamen
Fujian Province, People's Republic of China

Preface

English higher verbs impose constraints on the form of their non-finite complements (i.e., gerunds and infinitives) functioning as objects of the verbs. A number of linguists and grammarians have looked at the proposition and tried to identify a principle which can be used to account for the underlying semantic distinction. In disregard of the complexity arising from the surfaced logical subjects placed between the higher verbs and their non-finite complements, the current strategies are insufficient in explaining the occurrence of the non-finite complements following various higher verbs. Neither are they entirely feasible to express the subtleties of the phenomenon. The objective of this paper is to analyse strategies about higher verbs and their non-finite complements with submerged logical subjects and bring forward a tentative scheme in this respect.

Bolinger (1968) formulated the hypothesis that the infinitive very often expresses something "hypothetical, future, unfulfilled" (Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman, 1983:434). There is bound to be a(n) (im)possibility for any operation one wishes/resolves/promises/arranges to perform. It would thus appear to be acceptable to say that the infinitive marking the future applies to potential or hypothetical possibility. Things already done are "reified" (Bolinger's term), and things to be done, "unrealized." In response to semantic antithesis, verbs such as *remember (forget), try* and *regret* adopt corresponding syntactic versions:

1. a. The best house I clearly remember living in had an outdoor toilet. (Carver)
   b. Remember to go to the post office, won't you? (Swan)

"Memory" verbs include *remember, recall, recollect, forget,* etc. The choice of the "memory" verbs depends upon whether the action is realized or not: *remember, recall* and *recollect* occur with realized actions (appearing in -ing form) while *forget* and *remember* occur with unrealized actions (appearing in to-infinitive form). The former retrospect the earlier activities and the latter suggest the prospect. Therefore, the conception of forgetting a past event must be realized through the negation of *remember, recall,* and *recollect* (2.a.), and the notion of not/never forgetting a past event may be realized through the negation of *forget* (2.b.):

2. a. I *could not recall* (irreplaceable by *forget*) having heard anyone say that before. (Snow)
   b. I shall *never forget* (equal to *shall always remember*) seeing the Swiss Alps for the first time. (Eckersley)

The occurrence of "memory" verbs in relation to the reification of their complementizers may be indicated in the following diagram:

Diagram I

realized (in -ing form)	unrealized (in to-inf. form)
(remember	)
(not) (recall	) forget
(recollect	)
not forget	remember

We often find enjoyment in the past experience (3.a.). We can, nevertheless, raise other people's experience to the level of an abstract idea or belief, and be confident that we will also get enjoyment from the same experience (3.b.):

3. a. He enjoyed taking his sister for walks through the country lane. (White)
   b. I believe I shall enjoy swimming in the sea although I have never been in the sea before.

When talking about our impressions of a past event, we tend to regard it as an abstract experience. The gerundive complement following *enjoy*, therefore, is more of a timeless, abstract experience than of a realized incident. Otherwise, it would be impossible to account for the sentence in 3.b.. In the light of this knowledge, Bolinger's principle that a gerund expresses something "real, vivid, fulfilled" could be challenged. While explaining Bolinger's principle, Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman seem to go to extremes in saying "you can only enjoy things you've already directly experienced" (1983:435). Hudson's study on the aspect and time-reference of the non-finites (1971) helps us to establish the idea that a simple gerund is irrespective of time:

4. a. I distinctly remember accepting twenty candidates last year.
   b. I distinctly remember having accepted twenty candidates last year.

Hudson suggests that "last year" in 4.a. is not to be taken as a sufficient criterion for treating the non-perfect *accepting* as past. In referring to 4.a. and 4.b., Hudson concluded: "As I suggested in discussing these constructions, the answer towards which we are tending is to say these non-perfect and perfect clauses are respectively non-past and past." It is quite apparent that although

4.a. and 4.b. are a case of semantic compatability, the non-perfect gerundive complementizer after *remember* is looked upon as a simple historical fact that remains in the memory of the subject, hence free from time/space constraints, whereas the perfect gerundive complementizer serves as a flashback of the past event. It is because there is no difference in meaning between 4.a. and 4.b. that the perfect aspect occurring after "memory" verbs is frequently ignored.

A person's preferences can be classified as "general" (5.a.) and "specific" (5.b.). For example:

5. a. They prefer staying indoors when the weather is cold. (Hornby)
   b. He offered to drive us to St. Joseph, but we preferred to walk. (Davies)

Whether people "like" or "hate" to resort to a certain activity at a particular moment is a hypothetical notion. This idea is in agreement with Bolinger's principle of using the infinitival complement with "attitude" verbs such as *prefer, like, love*, and *hate* to mark unrealized possibilities. If we generalize a person's preference, then our statement would be an abstract induction – an incident irrespective of time. (Note: In referring to a general preference, *enjoy* and *like/love* overlap in terms of semantics and syntax, yet *enjoy* does not apply to potentiality.) It appears that Bolinger's idea that "gerundive complement applies to actualities" fails to interpret the syntactical construction of 5.a.

Wood (1965) observed: "The gerund denotes something more general, the infinitive something more specific." His analysis contradicts Bolinger's in terms of actualities and possibilities. It is, however, not a critical contradiction, but notes a difference in methods of observation. Ney (1981) provided a more complicated explanation by noting that Wood seems to feel that the very opposite of Bolinger's analysis is true.

In the following sentences, *dislike* and *would like* allow gerunds and infinitives to occur with them respectively, since *dislike* indicates only the general preference and *would like* demonstrates only what the subject wishes to do under specific conditions.

6. a. Most people dislike driving on icy roads, but he rather enjoys it. (Thomson)
   b. I'd like to go to the theatre if you'll go with me. (Hornby)

It may be argued that, when occurring with "attitude" verbs, the gerundive complement is the abstract form and the infinitival complement is the concrete form. In expressing an abstract idea, however, "attitude" verbs compromise and permit infinitives to co-exist simultaneously. In spite of this phenomenon, the difference in syntactical construction between 7.a. and 7.b. implies a potential, subtle, and almost imperceptible difference in meaning:

7. a. I love watching the trains go by. (Vallins)
   b. I love to watch the trains go by.

7.a. is a general statement of a habitual activity of the subject, while 7.b. describes the subject's general tendency to reify a certain activity under a particular condition – the so-called "generality resides in particularity." Wood looks upon the relationship between generality and particularity as a process of continuity: "It is true that a general sense may sometimes attach to the infinitive, but usually as a succession or recurrence of a specified fact or situation." (Ney, 1981:52)

Although Wood's scheme helps us solve the problem of distribution of the gerunds and infinitives occurring with "attitude" verbs, if we synthesize Wood's and Bolinger's analyses, and revise them somewhat, we could probably decode more problems.

Being "process" verbs, *begin/start* take both gerundive and infinitival complements. Since *begin/start* refer to the beginning of a situation, it appears that the infinitive expresses unfulfilled action. However, the gerund in 8.a. could by no means express fulfilled action nor general situation.

8. a. He began studying. (Pizzini)
   b. He began to study.

In explaining 8.a., both Bolinger's and Wood's principles receive challenge, as this is an irreversible trend dominated by the semantic features of *begin/start*.

Semantically, 8.a. and 8.b. are compatible without distinct interpretation. Different syntactic constructions, however, imply the movement of the action. Through the context he continued at the end of the sentences of 9.a. and 9.b. below, Palmer (1974) shows us that, when followed by a gerundive complement, *begin/start* suggests a tendency of continuation or conclusion of the action. But when followed by the infinitival complement, sentences emphasize the start of an action rather than implying its termination.

9. a. He started talking (and carried on for an hour).
   b. He started to talk (but was interrupted).

This may also be seen in the following example:

10. I had started writing the letter in the train, near Willesden, and finished it in the drawing-room. (Bennett).

When adopting the syntax of 9.a., we do not look upon *talking* as a dynamic verb such as *to talk* in 9.b. We tend to look upon *talking* as a static process or content in the same way *climbing mountains* (a gerundive phrase) in 11.a. and *mountain climbing* (a verbal noun) in 11.b. are used as static events of athletic sports:

11. a. I started climbing mountains when I was eighteen.
    b. I started mountain climbing when I was eighteen. (Swan)

It is conceivable that, when used with *begin/start*, momentary verbs do not possess the quality of continuity, unless they become a procedure (12.a.). On the other hand, all actions that are started unconsciously (including activities of sense and knowledge [12.b]), or actions in the process of starting (12.c.), tend to reflect a transient dynamic activity:

12. a. The villager had already begun shaking his head. (Hardy)
    b. He began to see its importance. (Mis)
    c. He was beginning to miss her. (Cronin)

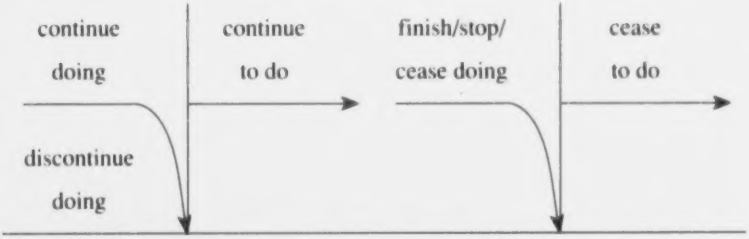
Once a process is started, there will be questions of whether to "continue", "discontinue", "finish", "stop", or "cease". It seems tempting to account for these phenomena through Bolinger's principle that the gerund expresses something "fulfilled", whereas the infinitive expresses something "unfulfilled", for, on the one hand, we can only "discontinue", "finish", or "stop" doing actions which have been realized, while on the other hand, we can not only "continue" or "cease" doing previous actions, but also "continue" or "cease" to do future actions.

(Note: The infinitive particle "to" after *stop* is equivalent to "in order to", denoting purpose. For example: The children would stop playing to listen for a moment. [Laurence]).

13. a. He (continued) working.
    (discontinued)
    (finished)
    (stopped)
    (ceased)
    b. He (continued) to work.
    (ceased)

13.a and 13.b. may be diagrammed as follows:

Diagram II



1167

When Bolinger's principle is used to explain "process" verbs, the missing link of *begin/start doing* mars an otherwise perfect chain.

In fact, we can interpret sentences like 14.a. and 14.b. in the same way we interpret 9.a. and 9.b.:

14. a. The buses have ceased running. (Eckersley)
b. The buses ceased to run.

As a static operational process, "running" in 14.a was ceased; therefore, "they have ceased running for today, but they will start again tomorrow." "To run" in 14.b. is a dynamic verb, but the semantic feature of *cease* determines that "they will not run again for a long time, perhaps never again." (Eckersley, 1961:247)

Obviously Bolinger's and Wood's strategies are effective for a successful explanation of the syntactic-semantic correlation between some higher verbs and their non-finite complements. However, they do not explain why some higher verbs take the gerundive complement or the infinitival complement and others take both.

Even though Bolinger's and Wood's analyses of the infinitive seem to be contrary in terms of abstract and reified form, the higher verb's controlling power over the infinitival complement is the least problematic area. This is because the infinitival complement exhibits future tendency without exception. Kilby (1984) suggests it is untenable to say that an infinitive occurring after "achievement" verbs such as *manage/contrive* is "unreal" or "unrealized". If Kilby's analysis is true, then does it follow that, when *manage* in 15.a. is replaced by "failure" verbs such as *fail/neglect*, the infinitivial complement occurring after them would be "realized" (15.b.)?

15. a. He managed to open the door. (Kilby)
b. He failed to open the door.

As a matter of fact, *manage, contrive, fail, neglect*, etc., can be categorized as "pseudo-achievement" or "quasi-achievement" verbs. Regardless of whether the subject "has made an effort", the infinitival complement expresses nothing but "the consequence of a vigorous/futile attempt". Therefore, before the action "to open the door", *manage* in 15.a. and *fail* in 15.b. are both "unrealized", or "semi-realized" at best.

Most people would probably correlate "intention" verbs such as *attempt, intend*, and *plan* with potential future actions (16.b.). There should be nothing wrong, however, if some people prefer to treat future actions as a plan or projection irrespective of concrete time (16.a.). (Note: Marcus [1980] states: "The notion of syntactic bias captures the idea that one syntactic analysis of a sentence might be preferable to another, even though both are grammatical."). This idea is reflected in the following Palmer examples:

16. a. I intend going tomorrow. (Palmer)
    b. I intend to go tomorrow.

As far as the occurrence of non-finite complements is concerned, it seems possible to regard verbs like *attempt*, *intend*, and *plan* as critical higher verbs, because their semantic effects remain constant no matter whether they are followed by the gerundive or the infinitival complement. When *mean* and *purpose* denote "intend", they accommodate their structures to the general preference (i.e., occurring with the infinitive [17]), but with deviation in meaning: the former means "involve", the latter, "suggest", and they do not take binary structures (i.e., occurring only with the gerund [18]). This is because they express some sort of static operational connotation or content without reference to time.

17. a. I mean to get to the top by sunrise. (Thomson)
    b. I propose to go to London on Tuesday. (Longman)

18. a. To raise wages means increasing purchasing power. (Pollitt)
    b. I propose resting for half an hour. (Longman)

Conclusion

It is apparent that once we cease looking upon some activity which we carry out as an operational tendency of another activity, we no longer use the infinitive of the verb as the complement of the other verb. When we look upon some activity as an operational connotation or content of another activity, we allow only the gerund of the verb to be the complement of the other verb, as seen below:

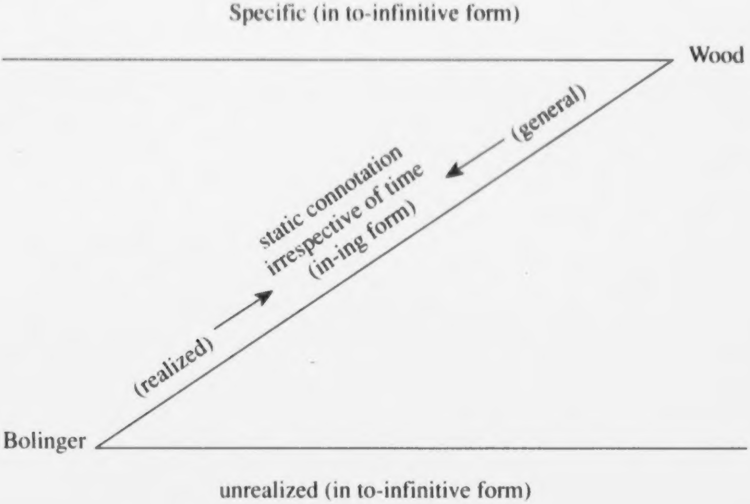
19. a. He wants shooting. (Kilby)
    b. He wants to shoot.

Want denoting "desire" expresses future operational tendency, and occurs only with the infinitive (19.b.). If "to shoot" in 19.b. is replaced by "shooting", then "shooting" will occur in the complement of *want* as its content. As a result, 19.a. can be interpreted only as "He needs shooting (to be shot)".

Bolinger feels that "realized" past action and "unrealized" future action can be established as the basis for predicting the occurrence of the gerundive and infinitival complements with these verbs. Wood feels that "general" activity and "specific" activity may be set up as a basis for the same purpose. If Bolinger's principle that the gerund suggests fulfillment of the action, and

Wood's principle that the gerund suggests generalization of the action, can be integrated into one comprehensive zigzag (as shown in Diagram III), we would be in a better position to use various higher verbs to predict the occurrence of non-finite complements:

Diagram III


Specific (in to-infinitive form)
Wood
(general)
static connotation
irrespective of time
(in-ing form)
(realized)
Bolinger
unrealized (in to-infinitive form)

References

Celce-Murcia, Marianne and Larsen-Freeman, Diane (1983). *The English Grammar Book*. Rowley: Newbury House.

Eckersley, C.E. and Eckersley, J.M. (1961). *A Comprehensive English Grammar*. London: Longman.

Hornby, A.S. (1975). *A Guide to Patterns and Usage in English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hudson, R.A. (1971). *English Complex Sentences*. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Kilby, David (1984). *Descriptive Syntax and the English Verb*. London: Croom Helm.

Marcus, Mitchell P. (1980). *A Theory of Syntactic Recognition for Natural Language*. Cambridge: The MIT.

Ney, James W. (1981). *Semantic Structures for the Syntax of Complements and Auxiliaries in English*. The Hague: Mouton.

1170

Palmer, F.R. (1974). *The English Verb*. London: Longman.

Swan, Michael (1980). *Practical English Usage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Thomson, A.J. and Martinet, A.V. (1980). *A Practical English Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vallins, G.H. (1971). *The Pattern of English*. London: Andre Deutsch.

Problem solving brought to task

Ronald Sheen
Tottori University, Tottori Japan

Abstract

The field of second and foreign language teaching has now matured to the point where a shift in approach or methodology no longer automatically entails the rejection of all that went before. The field still, however, manifests a marked tendency to propose and accept the implementation of new approaches without the necessary support of trialling and empirical evidence. A shift presently being mooted is related to consciousness raising. Although its advocates, Rutherford & Sharwood Smith (1988), have advised caution before the implementation of the principles thereof, Ellis (1991) has proposed that consciousness raising in the form of problem-solving should be used in the Japanese school system without offering any empirical support for the efficacy thereof. The study reported herein attempts to evaluate the efficacy of problem-solving as compared to an orthodox deductive approach. The results indicate that although both approaches enable the students to understand the grammatical rules, the time-consuming problem-solving procedure results in little time being available for practice and a consequent lack in oral proficiency. The implications of these findings are discussed.

Problem-solving brought to task

As the field of foreign and second language teaching has matured over recent decades, the shifts in orientation have become less extreme and, mercifully, a more balanced view of the relative advantages and disadvantages of alternative approaches and methods[1] has begun to prevail.

Despite this advance, however, a major failing of the field persists. This is the marked tendency for proposals for innovation to be accompanied by much hypothesising and speculation but left bereft of substantial evidence to demonstrate the efficacy of the innovation in the classroom situation for which it is proposed. One has only to look at the works of a number of prominent advocates of methodological innovation to establish the validity of this statement. (Widdowson 1989, Wilkins 1974, Marton 1989, Gattegno 1972, Lozonov 1978, Curran 1976.). Asher (1977), Krashen (1981) and Krashen & Terrell (1988) might be regarded as exceptions to this generalisation for they do cite the findings of empirical studies in support of their proposals. However, such studies do not demonstrate the relative superior efficacy of the proposed methods in normal educational establishments.

This failure to fully trial methods before proposing their implementation has been allowed to pass largely unscathed by critical comment in the literature. Notable exceptions to this are Hammerly (1989), Richards (1984) and Long (1988) who make the following succinct but apt comment:

> "Most teachers assumed that the people making the pronouncements had taken the trouble to test them, that we knew how people learned second languages in classrooms and how best to teach them. In fact, of course, this was, and still is, simply untrue." (p. 115).

A variety of reasons explain this failing to base,proposals on empirical evidence. Foremost among them is surely the major difficulties involved in carrying out large scale field research over an extended period. (see Garcia 1981, Beretta's 1986 comments on Smith and 1989 on the Bangalore Project in particular, and on field research, in general.) Furthermore, such research optimally entails a comparison of methods which, apart from major obstacles of research design, raise serious ethical problems. How in a normal educational institution is one to justify teaching some subset of students with one method whilst teaching another group with an entirely different method?[2] One can, of course, resort to research under laboratory conditions but as Beretta (1986:297) aptly points out, although such research may have the advantage of internal validity, its external validity, i.e. its generalisability, may be of doubtful value.

Clearly, these are daunting problems to the applied linguist who feels he has developed some new method more effective than those currently in use. So daunting, in fact, that he may prefer not to embark on the necessary long term project before advocating the implementation of his proposal. In self-justification, he may point to the lack of compelling evidence which has resulted from comparative studies in the recent past both of the field experimentation and laboratory types.

This appears, at first blush, a plausible reason for such studies have not always been convincing in their endeavors to provide some form of proof of the greater efficacy of one method over another. A theme characterising these studies has been the comparison of exponents of inductive and deductive approaches. Their findings have been inconsistent.[3] A number, (Von Elek & Oscarsson 1973, Smith 1970, Chastain & Woerdehoff 1968, Mueller 1971, McKinnon 1965, Levin 1972, Scott 1989, Sheen, 1990) have found in favour of a deductive approach in the form of grammar translation and/or cognitive code learning. Other studies (Scherer & Wertheimer 1964, Linbald 1969, Xiem 1969, Carlsson, 1969, Olsson 1969, Shaffer 1989) have demonstrated no significant overall difference in the effectiveness of either approach, indicating rather that emphasis on a particular modality by a method will produce superior performance in that modality over a method not characterised by such emphasis. In spite of the ambivalence of these latter studies, it is clear that the weight of evidence of this body of research taken as a whole is in favour of a deductive approach, particularly in teaching situations requiring preparation for formal examinations with intermediate and advanced learners.[4] Not suffi-

1173

cient weight perhaps to fully support the following statement of Von Elek & Oscarsson (1973:201):

> "The only safe conclusion one can draw is that, in the teaching of foreign language grammar to adults, such techniques as grammatical explanations, deductive presentation of the subject matter, translation, the use of the native language, and contrastive analysis are jointly superior to the combination of techniques constituting the implicit method."

but certainly sufficient to provoke a strong tendency to agree with it.

What has become clear in critical reviews of comparative studies (see Beretta 1986, Stern 1983) is the need for the rigorous control of variables. However, it is evident, given the nature of field research that no matter how rigorous, the control can never be total. This does not mean that comparative studies need necessarily be devalued as a research tool. What it does signify is that, given the great difficulty in the control of all the variables, one must be circumspect in the interpretation of findings. Furthermore, given this difficulty, it would appear that the way forward (Ochsner 1979, Beretta 1991) may be to compensate for the lack of total reliability of the studies by multiple replication, on the assumption that if a number of studies arrive at similar findings, albeit with some variation in the control of variables, one may have greater confidence in those findings.

It is with the above considerations in mind that the research which is the subject of this paper was embarked upon.

A shift currently in progress is marked by an increasing interest in a return to the explicit teaching of grammar, a development which, given the above remarks, I would clearly support. Dominant advocates thereof are Rutherford and Sharwood Smith 1988, the latter of whom has introduced the term "consciousness raising" (CR) to cover the explicit teaching and learning of grammar.[5] Wisely, these two applied linguists have warned against the premature implementation of their speculations. They suggest (p. 7) that at this time the idea of CR should be posed for the purpose of

> " . . . the stimulation of rational inquiry and not for the purpose of pushing premature decisions about how to teach languages."

Unfortunately, others in the field clearly do not agree with this cautious view. Ellis (1991) has proposed that a problem-solving methodology (also termed "grammar consciousness raising tasks" by Ellis (1990)) should be used in a CR approach in Japanese schools. His proposals have been criticized (cf. Sheen, forthcoming) for a variety of reasons one of which is related to the lack of evidential support he provides to demonstrate the efficacy of his proposals in the classroom.[6] It would appear that he regards the following (1991:124) as sufficient justification:

> "It is likely that teaching the kind of minimal communicative competence I have identified as the probable goal of language instruction in a school setting in Japan can best be achieved through problem-solving activities designed to raise learners' consciousness about linguistic and sociolinguistic features of English."

This can in no way be regarded as sufficient argument for the implementation of a strategy *for CR which has so far no convincing record of* successful school use. Problem-solving as a means of making students aware of grammatical rules is an off-shoot of the task-based syllabus. (Cf. Doff, Jones & Mitchell 1983, Hill & Lewis 1982, for examples thereof in the form of text books and Bourque, 1989, Ellis 1990, Hammerly, 1991 for more theoretical arguments). As such, it is an initially seductive hypothesis. I suppose we often feel intuitively that discovering for oneself is more effective than formal instruction. It was this aspect of the 1967 Plowden Report in England (Plowden 1991, Davidson and others 1992) which was latched upon and implemented in primary schools in the seventies and eighties with the resultant backlash becoming increasingly evident at the beginning of the nineties. This experience might be regarded as an object lesson in the dangers of confusing that which has intuitive appeal with that which is effective in the classroom.[7] It is surely incumbent upon educational theorisers to demonstrate the greater effectiveness of their proposals than alternatives. In the case of Ellis's proposal, one might at least expect a demonstration of the greater effectiveness of a PS approach over, say, the more direct and less-time consuming deductive approach for CR.

It is with the purpose of responding to this need that the following pilot research was undertaken. Its aim was to compare two forms of CR: explicit teaching of language(ET) and the problem-solving(PS) intended to lead to explicit knowledge of grammatical rules.[8] As far as this author is aware, it is the first of its type.[9] As such, and given the comments above on the difficulty of controlling all variables and the need for replication studies, it is clearly to be regarded as purely exploratory.

The Study

A group of ten second year Japanese university students were taught elementary French. The course was given by the teacher-investigator.[10] The same students[11] were taught with two different methods:

> ET and PS consecutively. The teaching covered a six-week period. The content taught, the method used and the time allotted to each are indicated in Appendix 1. English was used as the general means of communication between teacher and student and translation, realia and pictures were used in both methods as a means of explication and practice.

Description of methods:

ET In this method the students were simply told the meaning of new words and given the rules for the the grammar covered, using the blackboard and handouts as materials. There was then a period of oral use of new language which was followed by written exercises. This organization permitted approximately 75% of the time available to be devoted to both oral and written practice.

PS The PS activity was based on the following procedure in the order shown:

1. The students were given a handout with a list of sentences. Each sentence was accompanied by an English translation of its meaning. An example would be the sentence *Le sac rouge est sous la fenêtre* with the translation *The red bag is under the window.*
2. The students were first reminded of any relevant rule they had already learned. Thus, for example, when faced with the problem of color adjectives, brief mention was made of the rule they had learned for the regular pre-posed adjectives. Their attention was then directed to the new sentences. They were then asked to think individually about the examples and suggest rules for the form and order of these new words. After five minutes, they were divided into two groups of five students each to facilitate discussion and asked to reach a consensus on the nature of the rules. During the ensuing discussion, the teacher acted as observer.
3. After fifteen minutes, the two groups were brought together. They were then questioned as to their thoughts on the rules. The correct rules were then formulated with occasional prompting by the teacher and written on the blackboard. This took between ten to fifteen minutes.
4. There then followed a period of oral and written exercises for which there was no more than ten minutes available in any of the sessions.

In both methods, the oral practice was based on the use of realia or pictures. Thus, for example, a picture of a red bag on a window and a green one on a television would be used for the question, *Où est le sac rouge?* Or it might be used to elicit a complete sentence with a request to make a statement about the location of an object or person.

Testing Procedures

In the third and sixth weeks there were written and oral tests on the two respective methods. The two written tests consisted of twenty sentences in English to translate into French. The content of each test was maximally confined to the content of the method to be tested. This posed no problem in the case of the ET content for the students had been exposed to no other content. However, in the PS test, care had to be taken to minimise the ET content thereof to the articles and *est*. Furthermore, errors in these words were not penalised in the PS test.

In the oral test, each student was presented with a picture such as, for example, one of a green bag on a car and asked to make a statement about it including an adjective therein. Thus, for example, a picture with a man holding a red bag would ideally evoke the utterance, *L'homme a un sac rouge*, an example of the oral practice in the lessons. There were ten pictures for each of the two oral tests. Subsequently, each student was shown a picture of a living room containing objects and people related to the vocabulary covered permitting, therefore, such questions as *Où est le petit garcon*? and *Qui a le sac vert*? Each student was asked ten such questions and requested to respond in the form of a complete sentence.

Scoring of the two tests for both methods' contents were based on a percentage loss of points for errors made. A full point was deleted for a grammatical error such as *Le rouge sac* . . . and a half point for not knowing a vocabulary item. A quarter of a point was deleted for spelling errors in the written test.

Results

Table 1 gives the means and standard deviations for both tests and both methods.

	ET		PS	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Written	75.5	23.6	64.8	27.5
Oral	72.7	22.1	51.5	18.2

Table 1

In order to evaluate the relative efficacy of the two methods, the null hypothesis was posed and t-scores used to test it.

The differences in the scores on the written test did not reach significance, t(18) = .94, p>.05 although the mean for the ET content was higher than that of the PS. The oral scores are, however, significantly different, t(18) 2.34, p>.05

Discussion

These findings appear to answer two crucial questions, one related to competence and the other to performance. Both methods, by different means, resulted in the students' more or less equal understanding of the grammatical rules and the learning of the vocabulary (i.e. competence). This was evident in the classroom activities and in the results of the written tests. However, the longer period spent in the problem-solving tasks, resulted in a considerably shorter period of time being available for oral practice. As the degree of such practice is directly related to oral proficiency given the time-pressure factor, it is plausible that this lack of practice explains the significant difference in oral performance obtained by the two methods (This may be particularly applicable to Japanese students who appear to regard the written form as something of a security blanket even in oral situations.). If this is a valid assumption, one might conclude that a problem-solving method has little to offer in terms of an alternative to a straightforward deductive approach in terms of an overall methodology for the latter achieves as much if not more in terms of competence whilst providing substantially more time for practice.

There are, however, other factors to consider.

First is the question of stimulation of interest. In the particular case of this study, the students appeared to enjoy the PS activity, or at least, some did. This appears contrary to Stevick's point discussed in note 7. However, it is worthy of note that the grammatical rules presented were relatively easy partly because they were syntactic rather than semantic. It is of some interest that in the case where greater complexity was introduced as in the case of the difference between *Qui . . . , Que* and *Qu'est-ce qui*, the students experienced the most difficulty. One wonders what might the reaction be in the many cases where the rules are not easily accessible to the inductive process as in, for example, the relationship between the plural form for *the*, *les*, and the zero article in English, a particularly difficult problem for Japanese-speakers because of the lack of articles in Japanese. On a purely anecdotal level, I can report that it might be one of frustration. In teaching English, I have tried a PS activity in order to lead these same students to inducing the rule for the difference between the simple and prospective futures. None of the students discovered the essential difference between planned and spontaneous action. Furthermore, the less bright students were minimally involved as they had little to offer. In fact, this has to be a major consideration. PS is essentially intelligence-related. If a group of students are faced with difficult grammatical problems to solve, it is certain that in mixed ability groups, only a subset will be actively engaged in the activity. The others will, at best, be passive observers and will ultimately have to be instructed in the rule, thus defeating one of the purposes of PS. (see Sheen:1990 for a lengthier discussion of this point.).

A second factor concerns the language in which the PS is to be conducted. In the literature, it is claimed (see, for example, Nunan 1989, Prabhu 1987, Ellis 1990, Fotos & Poel 1991) that an advantage of task-based work is that of communicating in the target language. This is clearly not based on a realistic view of the foreign language classroom although I can imagine some second language classrooms where it might be feasible. University students in the USA is one which comes to mind. However, the foreign language classroom is an entirely different matter. I would suggest that the large majority of students in that situation, even after five or more years of study, would be unable to discuss the solution to a grammatical problem in the foreign language they are learning. It must, therefore, be concluded that the professed advantage of using the target language in discussion has little validity.

The third factor concerns retention. It is argued (Hammerly 1974) that discovering grammar for oneself will result in better retention. The nature of the present study has permitted only a partial response to this contention. In terms of short term memory, the findings reveal no difference in the effects of the two methods. However, it is long term memory which is crucial in language learning. This issue will clearly need to be addressed in future long-term research.[12]

A final factor concerns the relative difficulty of the contents of the two methods. It might be argued that the content of the PS was more difficult than that of the ET although on the face of it, this would not appear to be the case. However, as the PS sessions resulted in the students' discovering of the underlying grammatical rules with no major difficulty, this is not a relevant factor here.

Conclusion

The findings of this exploratory research and the discussion of the professed advantages of a PS methodology lead one to conclude that PS cannot be regarded as a viable alternative to a direct deductive approach in terms of an overall methodology. It may, however, in certain circumstances provide for a diverting and stimulating change of pace in terms of teaching strategy, particularly in cases where the solution to the problem is not rendered too opaque by semantic factors.

Clearly, given the small-scale nature of this study and the remarks concerning the need for multiple replication, the findings herein may only be regarded as substance for further hypotheses on the efficacy of PS which might be tested in larger scale research.

Notes

(1) I adopt here the useful differentiation of the terms approach and method proposed by Richards and Rodgers (1986:14–17).

(2) This is an acute problem in the extremely formal Japanese educational situation in which preparation for examinations at all levels is given priority. I have recently proposed to a group of teachers a comparative study at junior high school level. It was immediately obvious that it was a non-starter. Neither school nor parents would sanction such research involving students studying for the same examination being taught with different methods.

(3) Levin (1972), as part of the Goteborg-Undervisningsmetoder i Engelska (GUME) Project found that advanced students benefited most from a deductive approach.

(4) It is ironic that the period of most of these studies is the late sixties and early seventies, the very period when inductive approaches were beginning to gain dominance. As to why the field of applied linguistics, ostensibly devoted to the principle of rigor, should ignore the weight of empirical evidence is an intriguing and complex question. One factor among many may have been the bad press comparative studies have received, undeservedly, I would maintain. Take, for example, the following remark of Long (1980) with reference to such studies: "In most cases, it seemed, method A, B, or C made little or no difference.". This is certainly true of some studies but not of numerous others. The fact that Long's generalisation is contrary to the findings of many studies is perhaps explained by its being apparently based on only a small fraction of the studies reported in the literature.

(5) However, in a recent article, Sharwood Smith 1991, has now proposed that CR be replaced by the the term, input enhancement.

(6) As Ellis (1991), fails to provide empirical evidence to support his claim, one might at least have expected some reference to other research on PS.

It is surprising, for example, that he makes no mention of the work of Winitz and Reeds (1975) or Hammerly (1991) on PS as a means of internalising grammatical rules. They were prominent advocates thereof in the seventies and in the case of Hammerly, up to the present. The position of Winitz and Reeds on PS was that, "Problem-solving appears to be the most effective procedure for the internalization of grammatical rules." (p. 24). Unfortunately, as a precursor of Ellis's example, they failed to support "appearances" with hard empirical evidence. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that their proposal did not find any substantial support in the field and subsequently took its place in the limbo of lost causes in the late seventies and early eighties.

Of course, as one might expect, PS has been the subject of substantial research in the field of psychology. (Ernst & Newell 1969, Hutchins & Levin 1981, Miyake 1986.) However, as Ellis (1991) makes no reference to research within his own field, it is hardly remarkable that studies beyond it remain undisturbed.

1180

(7) Stevick (1980:289) makes an interesting point in this regard. He maintains that "There remains, I am afraid, a residue-not universal but widespread-a residue of resistance and resentment against being given opportunities instead of rules and vocabulary lists- against being invited to explore one's own potential and to grow rather than being immediately led to accrue some very specific communicative skills and repertoires for which one sees a practical need.". This is certainly compatible with the findings of Willing's (1988) research into the preferences of Australian adult immigrants.

(8) In terming PS an explicit method, the fact that there is an element of induction involved has not been ignored. However, as in normal inductive approaches, the purpose is to allow the student to experience the language and acquire the rules, it would be misleading to term PS inductive. Shaffer (1989) is interesting in this regard for she clearly brings in an element of PS which apparently, however, remains unconscious as in the PS of Winitz and Reeds (1975). I imagine that it is for this reason she terms it an inductive approach.

(9) Fotos & Poel (1991) have carried out a comparative study involving grammar consciousness raising tasks. However, they were compared with a communicative task based methodology.

(10) The fact that the teacher of the course is also the investigator raises problems such as the possibility of the lack of complete neutrality in terms of the relative merits of the methods involved. However, this is a problem which exists no matter who the teacher is. In fact, given the difficulty of actually knowing what transpires in the classroom (Beretta 1989, Long 1980, Swaffer and others, 1982) the teacher as investigator does have the advantage of being able to state with some certainty what occurred during his or her teaching. (Gass, personal communication).

(11) This is partly because of the empirical problem mentioned in the text and in note (2). It does, however, have the advantage of removing the difficulty of matching groups.

(12) On a purely anecdotal level, I have compared the effect of ET and PS on long term memory in two areas: the learning of Japanese and the learning of chord sequences for songs on the guitar. I have found no notable difference. I appear to be equally gifted in forgetting with either method.

References

Asher, J.J. 1977. Learning another language through actions: the complete teacher's guidebook. Los Gatos, CA.: Sky Oaks Productions, Inc.

Beretta, A. 1986. A case for field-experimentation in program evaluation. Language Learning 36:3. 295–309.

. . . . 1989 Attention to form or meaning? Error treatment in the Bangalore Project. TESOL Quarterly 23:2. 283–303.

. . . . 1991 Theory construction in SLA: complementarity and opposition." Studies in Second Language Acquisition 13 PAGES

Bourque, J. 1989. The grammar gap. English Teaching Forum, 27:3. 20–23.

Carlsson, I. 1969. Implicit and explicit: an experiment in applied psycholinguistics, assessing different methods of teaching grammatical structures in English as a foreign language. GUME Report No. 2, Gothenburg School of Education.

Chastain, K.D. & Woerdehoff, F.J.A. 1968. A methodological study comparing the audio-lingual habit theory and the cognitive code-learning theory – a continuation. Modern Language Journal 52. 268–279.

Curran, C. 1976. Counselling-learning in second language. Apple River Ill.: Apple River Press.

Davidson, J, Driscoll, M. & Hymas, C. (1992) The great betrayal. The Sunday Times No. 8736. p. 9.

Doff, A., Jones, C. & Mitchell, K. 1983. Meaning into words. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, R. 1990. The case for consciousness raising in grammar teaching. Paper presented at the Japanese Association of Language Teachers annual conference in Tokyo, Japan.

. . . . 1991. Communicative competence and the Japanese learner. JALT Journal 13:2. 103–130.

Ernst, G.W. & Newell, A. 1969. GPS: A case study in problem solving. New York: Academic Press.

Fotos, S. & Poel, C.J. 1991. Investigating grammar consciousness raising tasks. Paper given at the Japanese Association of Language Teachers annual conference in Kobe, Japan.

Garcia, P.A. 1981. Comprehension training in a high school setting. The comprehension approach to foreign language instruction, ed. by H. Winitz, 181–197. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Hammerly, H. 1974. The teaching of oral grammar. Second Language Training 74:172-193.

. . . . 1989. French immersion (Does it work?) and Development of Bilingual Proficiency report. The Canadian Modern Language Review 45:3.560–567.

. . . . 1991. Fluency and accuracy. Bristol, PA: Multilingual Matters.

Hill, J. & Lewis, M. 1982. Flexicourse. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Hutchins, E.L. & Levin, J.A. 1981. Point of view in problem solving. (Report CHIP). La Jolla, CA: Center for Human Information Processing.

Gattegno, C. 1972. The teaching of foreign languages in schools. New York: Educational Solutions.

Krashen, S. 1981. Second language acquisition and second language learning. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Krashen, S. & Terrell, T.D. 1983. The natural approach: Language acquisition in the classroom. Oxford: Pergamon.

Levin, L. 1972. Comparative studies in foreign language teaching. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell.

Linbald, T. 1969. Implicit and explicit: an experiment in applied psycholinguistics, assessing different methods of teaching grammatical structures in English as a foreign language. GUME Report No. 1, Gothenburg School of Education.

Long, M.H. 1980. Inside the "black box": Methodological issues in classroom research on language learning. Language Learning 30:1. 1–42.

. . . . 1988. Instructed interlanguage development. Issues in second language acquisition, ed. by L.M. Beebe. 115–141. New York: Newbury House.

Lozanov, G. 1978. Suggestology and outlines of suggestopoedy. New York: Gordon & Breach.

Marton, W. 1988. Methods in English language teaching: Frameworks and options. London: Prentice Hall International.

Miyake, N. 1986. Constructive interaction and the iterative process of understanding. Cognitive Science 10.

Mueller, T.H. 1971. The effectiveness of two learning models: the audio lingual theory and the cognitive code-learning theory. The psychology of second language learning. Ed. by P. Pimsleur and T. Quinn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nunan, D. 1989. Designing tasks for the Communicative Classroom. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Olsson, M. 1969. Implicit and explicit: an experiment in applied psycholinguistics, assessing different methods of teaching grammatical structures in English as a foreign language. GUME Report No. 3, Gothenburg School of Education, 1969.

Ochsner, R. 1979. A poetics of second language acquisition. Language Learning 29: 53–80.

Plowden, Lady. 1991. Three men in the same boat. Times Educational Supplement No. 3937. p. 17.

Prabhu, N.S. 1987. Second language Pedagogy. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Richards, J.C. 1984. The secret life of methods. TESOL Quarterly 18:1. 7–23.

Richards, J.C. & Rodgers, T.S. 1986. Approaches and methods in language teaching. Cambridge: CUP.

Rutherford, W. & Sharwood Smith, M. (Eds.) 1988. Grammar and second language teaching: a book of readings. New York: Harper & Row.

Scherer, G.A.C. & Wertheimer, M.A. 1964. A psycholinguistic experiment in language teaching. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Scott, V.M. 1989. An empirical study of explicit and implicit teaching strategies in French. Modern Language Journal 73:1. 14–21.

Shaffer, C. 1989. A comparison of inductive and deductive approaches to teaching foreign languages. Modern Language Journal 73:4. 395–402.

Sharwood Smith, M. 1991. Speaking to many minds: On the relevance of the different types of language information for the L2 learner. Second Language Research 7:2.

Sheen, R. 1990. The applied Linguistics gap. English Teaching Forum 28:3. 47–48.

. . . . 1990. The advantage of using mother tongue-related teaching materials. Nagoya University of Commerce and Business Administration Bulletin 30:1. 401–422.

. . . . (forthcoming) A response to Ellis. Japanese Association of Language Teachers Journal.

Smith. P.D. Jr. 1970. A comparison of the cognitive and audio-lingual approaches to foreign language instruction. The Pennsylvania foreign language project. Philadelphia: The Center for Curriculum Development.

Stern, H.H. 1983. Fundamental concepts of language teaching. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stevick, E.W. 1980. A way and ways. Cambridge, Mass: Newbury House.

Widdowson, H.G. 1989. Knowledge of language and ability to use. Applied Linguistics 10:2. 128–137.

Willing, K. 1988. Learning styles in adult migrant education. Adelaide: National Curriculum Resource Centre.

Wilkins, D.A. 1974. Second language learning and teaching. London: Edward Arnold.

Winitz, H & Reeds, J. 1975. Comprehension and problem solving as strategies for language training. Mouton: The Hague.

Von Elek, T. & Oskarsson, M. 1973. Teaching foreign language grammar to adults: a comparative study. Almquist & Wiksell: Stockholm.

Xiem, N.V. 1969. The role of explanation in the teaching of the grammar of a foreign language: an experimental study of two techniques. Unpublished thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.

Appendix 1

ET Content:

Week 1

(45 min.)
Qu'est-ce que c'est? C'est . . . ; un/une.
vocabulary: *livre, crayon, table, pupitre, stylo.*

(45 min)
Où est . . ?; le/la/; il/elle est.
prepositions: *sur, dans.*
regular adjectives: *petit, grand, joli, laid.*
vocabulary: *garçon, fille, boite, rue, ville.*

Week 2

(45 min)
Indicative and interrogative (with *est-ce que* only)
of present tense of *être*
definite article: *l'*
vocabulary: *école, étudiant(e), auto.*

(45 min)
Negative forms of *être*

Week 3

Written and oral tests for ET content.
PS Content.

Week 4

(45 min)
Adjectives of color: *bleu, rouge, vert, noir, jaune, gris.*
prepositions: *sous, près de.*
expression: *De quelle couleur.*
Irregular adjectives: *beau/belle, gros/grosse;*
Vocabulary: *sac, maison, porte, toit, fenêtre.*

(45 min)
Indicative and interrogative (inversion only) forms of present tense of *avoir.*
vocabulary: *vél, chien, chat, télévision, radio, homme, femme.*

Week 5

(45 min)
Interrogative pronouns *Qui, Que, Qu'est-ce-qui.*

(45 min)
Plural definite article: *les*.
Singular personal possessive adjectives.

Week 6
Written and oral tests for PS content.

Appendix 2

Written Test for ET:

1. Is the book on the table?
2. The little boy is not on the bicycle.
3. Is the pretty girl in the car?
4. I am not tall.
5. The small box is not in the desk.
6. Are you in the big car?
7. We are not on the car.
8. What is this? It's a table.
9. The school is not ugly.
10. They are not in the big box.
11. The small student is on the table.
12. The student is not big.
13. The students are not in the school.
14. A pretty girl is in the street.
15. Is the box in the car?
16. Are you big?
17. The school is in the town.
18. I am not in the small car.
19. Where are they
20. Where is the small pen?

Written Test for PS:

1. The house has a red roof.
2. Do you have a bicycle?
3. We have a beautiful house.
4. Who has a black dog?
5. What does he have?
6. The fat woman has a black cat.
7. Do they have a grey house?

8. What has a black door?
9. Do they have a car?
10. What do they have?
11. The books are near the television.
12. My house has a green door.
13. Do you have her cat?
14. Do we have your television?
15. The handsome man has our dog.
16. What colour is your car?
17. The cats are under the car.
18. Their house has a green window.
19. Does he have your black radio?
20. Who has her red bicycle?

Student Perceptions, Problems and Strategies in Second Language Lecture Comprehension[1]

John Flowerdew and Lindsay Miller
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong

Abstract

This paper adopts an ethnographic approach to the study of second language lecture comprehension. It studies a group of 30 1st year Hong Kong Chinese students listening to lectures in a B.A. TESL methods course.

Data was collected regarding the lecture comprehension experience of these students by means of questionnaires, diary studies, classroom observation, and in-depth interviews. The analysis of this data focuses on students' perceptions of the lecture experience (attitude, self-rating of comprehension level, what students look for in a lecture, etc.), their problems (speed of delivery, terminology and concepts, concentration, etc.) and the strategies they use to try to overcome these problems (pre- and post-lecture reading, peer or lecturer help, attempts to concentrate harder, note-taking, etc.).

As well as providing important information for the program in question, the results of this study, it is claimed, have wider implications for both lecturers to non-natives and ESL specialists preparing students to study through the medium of English.

The number of tertiary level students studying through the medium of English as a second language continues to increase worldwide. These students may be studying overseas, in English-speaking countries, or at home, in countries where English is a second language and is used as the medium of instruction. The lecture medium remains a major part of most university study (Benson, 1989). The ability to comprehend academic lectures is therefore an important part of the necessary proficiency of tertiary level students for whom English is a second language.

This paper reports on the findings of a study into the way university level students attending their first English medium lecture course generally perceived the experience, the problems they had and the strategies they employed for overcoming these problems. The research is based on the premise that the knowledge derived from this investigation will provide insights to support learning and teaching, as well as curriculum planning.

1188

Approaches to Research on Second Language Lecture Comprehension

Various approaches have been adopted in investigating second language lecture comprehension, with a view to informing learning, teaching and curriculum planning.

One approach is a discourse analysis one. The aim here is to describe the structure of lecture discourse so as to provide ESL professionals with models on which to base ESL instructional materials. A number of studies of this type have attempted to adapt the Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) model of classroom discourse to lectures (Cooke, 1975; Montgomery, 1977; Murphy and Candlin, 1979; Coulthard and Montgomery, 1981). Another study, that of DeCarrico and Nattinger (1988), has stressed how lectures are structured around what are referred to as "lexical phrases" (prefabricated patterns with a discourse marking function) and that instructional materials should focus on these discourse structuring devices. A further discourse based study is that of Olsen and Huckin (1990), who have emphasized the "point-driven" nature of Engineering lectures (how these lectures are structured around a series of main points or ideas) and have argued that instruction should take this phenomenon into account.

Another approach is a psycholinguistic one, the aim here being to test out hypotheses concerning language processing in relation to second language lecture comprehensiõn. One well known study of this type was conducted by Chaudron and Richards (1986) into the effect of discourse markers on the comprehension of lectures. Another study of this type is that of Griffiths (1990) into the effect of lecture delivery rate on comprehension.

A third approach to second language lecture comprehension research is what might be called a learner strategies approach. Here, data on the listening processes of effective and less effective listeners is elicited from experimental subjects by means of "think-aloud" or written "on-line" protocols. The results of learner strategy research can be used to train less effective listeners to use the strategies employed by the more effective listeners. Malley, Chamot and Kupper (1989) employed a think-aloud procedure to determine types of processing strategy and differences between strategies used by good and weak listeners in listening to academic language tasks. Rost (undated) used listener summaries of lectures to identify processes in effective and less effective listeners.

A final approach is an ethnographic one. Benson (1989) investigated the listening activities of one overseas student at a U.S. university over one course, examining his notebooks, together with interviews and recordings of the lectures. This procedure led to insights concerning the processes the subject was involved in in relation to the subject matter and the teacher. For example, the subject was more concerned with integrating new information with knowledge he already had and relating to the teacher's viewpoint than he was with acquiring new facts. The results of this research were used to refute the view of listening as an autonomous process in isolation from other knowledge and skills and to support an argument for preparatory listening programmes based on content subjects.

The Approach and Procedures Employed in this Study

As already mentioned, this study investigates the perceptions, problems and strategies of a group of listeners to lectures in a second language. As such, it has similar aims as the learner strategies approach described above, in that it investigates the processes used by effective listeners, with a view to encouraging the use of these strategies by the weaker listeners also.

However, there are two major limitations inherent in the learner strategies approach which the present study seeks to overcome. Both of these limitations relate to the in vitro procedure adopted in this approach. The first limitation is that the in vitro procedure cannot replicate an authentic lecture situation. This means that information can be obtained on only limited aspects of the lecture listening process, namely the cognitive processing of incoming linguistic data. More global information on listener behaviour in lectures, such as the way listeners relate to the lecturer, the way they relate to their peers, the way they use support materials, when and how they record information, etc. is outside the scope of this approach. The second limitation created by the in vitro procedure of the learner strategy approach is that lecture listening is treated as an autonomous activity, in isolation from background reading, note-taking, use of support materials such as hand-outs, etc.,. If listening is not autonomous (as Benson, 1989, argues convincingly), then there is a danger that data derived in vitro from autonomous listening tasks will not be a true reflection of the lecture listening process.

Given these limitations of the learner strategies approach, the present study is more ethnographic in nature, employing observation, questionnaires, diaries and interviews, based on an actual lecture course. Where the only ethnographic study on lectures reported above (Benson, 1989) focussed on one single subject, however, the present study takes a larger sample of subjects.

Subjects and Research Instruments

The subjects participating in the study were 30 Hong-Kong, Cantonese-speaking students (selected at random out of a class of 60) on a BA (TESL) course. The research focussed on a ten-week lecture course in the first term of the first year of the course on ESL teaching methods. The aim was to target subjects attending their first course of lectures in English.

Before the first lecture, subjects were asked to complete a questionnaire to provide background information on the amount and type of exposure they had previously had to English, their score on the Hong Kong Certificate in Education English listening paper, and their own evaluation of their overall listening ability in English. After the first lecture and again later in the course subjects rated their ability to comprehend lectures on a 9 point scale (see Appendix). After each lecture, subjects rated themselves on a percentage scale for level of comprehension of that lecture. After each lecture subjects also wrote a diary describing their perceptions of the lecture and their problems and strategies in comprehending it. On two occasions, once after 3 weeks and again after 8 weeks of the course, 8 of the 30 students, selected as representative of various levels of listening proficiency, were interviewed in depth about their experience in the lectures.

Results

Background of Subjects

Exposure to English

Hong Kong is a predominantly Cantonese speaking society, where English is little used in social intercourse. Subjects involved in the study would have had little exposure to English at home (Pennington, Balla, Detaramani, Poon, and Tam, 1992). The 30 native Cantonese speaker students completing the initial questionnaire had gone through the Hong Kong secondary system where instruction is usually carried out by means of a mixed mode of English and Cantonese, English being the language of the texts and examinations, but Cantonese being frequently used in oral presentation and discussion of the material (Guthrie, 1984; Johnson, 1984; Lin, 1990). As one student remarked in his interview:

> At school, classes were all in Cantonese. The name of the school is "Anglo", but I can tell you nearly ninety percent of the teaching is conducted in Chinese.

Although most instruction in Hong Kong secondary schools is mixed mode, the majority of subjects reported having had exposure to a non-Cantonese speaking teacher (who therefore used English all the time) at some point in their school career. In addition, all subjects had completed at least seven years of ESL classes, which form a part of the Hong Kong curriculum. In spite of their exposure to English, subjects had not had experience of the formal monologue lecture mode of listening, prior to the study.

Listening proficiency

Scores on the listening component of the Hong Kong Certificate of Education (HKCE) for the majority of students in the study was in the C ("satisfactory") and D ("pass") categories, although a few subjects scored A ("excellent") or B ("good"). An average grade C on the HKCE has been correlated with a score of 530–540 on the TOEFL test and an average grade D with a score of 498–503; a grade B has been correlated with a score of 550–560 (Hong Kong Department of Education, undated). Given that most U.S. universities require a TOEFL score of 550 as a demonstration of an applicant's proficiency in English for university studies, most of the students in the present study, it would appear, were a little below the level normally required of the average overseas student in the U.S.

In addition to collecting this objective measure of subjects' listening proficiency, subjects were also asked to self-rate their listening ability on a five point scale, glossed from "very weak", through "weak", "good", "very good" to "excellent". About three-quarters of the students rated themselves as "good" in listening, with the rest (with one exception, who rated himself as "very good") categorizing themselves as "weak".

Students Perceptions of the Lecture Experience

Contrast with school-based learning experience

Data on this topic come from the interview question, "How do the lectures differ from the lessons you had in school – English and content subjects?". Subjects remarked upon the following features of the school lessons which differed from the lectures. Classes were mixed mode Cantonese and English; groups were smaller; teachers were not native-speakers of English; content was based solely on what was in the set texts; there was more interaction between teacher and students.

Attitudes towards the lectures

Students were about equally divided as to whether they enjoyed the lecture experience or not. In answer to the interview question, "Do you enjoy attending the lectures", typical positive comments were:

> S9 (interview): yes, I like to learn something which I haven't learned before.
>
> S10 (interview): very much, I can know some more about teaching.

A neutral comment was:

> S4 (interview): when I concentrate on it I enjoy it

1192

Negative comments were:

S19 (interview): honestly speaking, not actually

S22 (interview): frankly speaking I don't

Self-rating of comprehension level in lectures

Students rated themselves quite highly in their ability to understand a lecture. As Table 1 shows, on the self-rating scale (see Appendix) administered after the first lecture, the majority of subjects rated themselves at point six or above, indicating that they had no real problems in understanding lectures (see Appendix for gloss); only 2 students rated themselves at point 5, indicating some problems in following a lecture; no students rated themselves below point 5. There was no significant change in self-rating, when the scale was administered again later in the course.

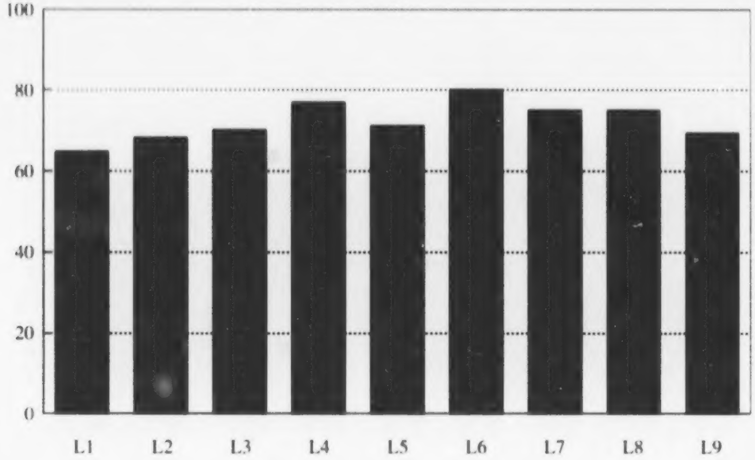
Table 1
Students' general self-rating of listening to lectures on a 1–9 scale

Rating	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2/1
No. of students	1	1	9	8	2	–	–	–

Although no significant improvement was noted on the self-rating scale just referred to, on the percentage self-rating measure of each individual lecture, subjects rated themselves as improving somewhat as the course progressed. The mean and standard deviations for self rating over the nine lectures are shown in Figure 1. As Figure 1 shows, the mean comprehension rating increased from 66% in lecture 1 to 75% in lecture 8, tailing off somewhat to 69% in lecture nine, the last lecture recorded, which was somewhat different in format. The mean ratings for lecture 4 and lecture 6, where there was a considerable increase in self rating, are worthy of comment. Lecture 4 was given by a different lecturer, the usual lecturer being absent. Many students commented in questionnaires and interviews that they found this lecturer more easily comprehensible because of his slower delivery rate. Lecture 6 followed a staff/student liaison meeting in which the lecturer received feedback and recommendations on his lecturing style. In interviews and questionnaires following this lecture students commented on noticing a change in lecturing style.

Perceived purpose of the lectures

Students had mixed views as to the purpose of the lectures. Of the students interviewed, in answer to the question, "What do you think the



MEAN = 71% S.D. = 1.3

Fig. 1. Students' self-rating of lectures 1–9.

purpose of the lectures is?", half felt the purpose to be to convey basic information:

> S9 (interview): to make more clear about the difficult contents of the book.
>
> S22 (interview): to give the important point.
>
> S4 (interview): to give us the information, this is the main purpose.

Others felt the lectures aimed to convey a broader picture:

> S10 (interview): give us a picture of approaches and theories of teaching.
>
> S15 (interview): the lectures give an overall framework rather than details of each method.

One interviewee had no idea of the purpose of the lectures, answering the question with a simple "I don't know" (S21). Another answered the question quite literally with, "To teach us" (S3)

When asked the more specific question, later in the interview, "Which is more important for you, understanding the facts or understanding the opinions of the lecturer", half the students felt the facts to be more important; some felt both facts and opinions to be important; only one student felt opinions to be more important than facts.

There was no appreciable change in students' view of the purpose of the lectures over the course, as indicated in the post-course interviews. This difficulty in understanding the purpose of the lectures may relate to the fact, as reported by subjects, that the school lessons they were used to were based solely on the contents of the set text.

Relation to previous knowledge

Students fell into three groups in answering the question, "Has your personal experience or knowledge of the subject helped you in understanding the lecture and understanding what is important?". First, there were those students who had previous formal knowledge of TESOL and who were able to relate the content of the lectures to this:

> S19 (interview): Yes, definitely. If I have already learned it before it's easier.

Second there were those who were able to relate lecture content to previous teaching experience:

> S10 (interview): I haven't heard of those theories before, but in fact I find I have used some of them and when I read about them or hear about them in the lecture I can grasp the idea.

Third, there were those respondents who had no knowledge or experience of TESOL and who were not able to relate the content of the lectures to previous knowledge:

> S9 (interview): No, I haven't done the subject before.
>
> S21 (interview): I haven't any experience in teaching methods.
>
> S4 (interview): I think I have no personal experience in this field.

Fourthly, one student, although having no previous knowledge or experience of TESOL, was perceptive enough to be able to relate the content of the lectures to his experience as a high school student:

> S22 (interview): I will just think of my teachers, their way of teaching us.

Perceptions of lecturers strategies

In their diaries and interviews, students demonstrated an awareness of a number of strategies used by the lecturer which they saw as positive.

One group of strategies students remarked upon as being beneficial concerned the way the lecturer structured his discourse. These strategies were remarked upon under the following headings.

Overall clarity of presentation

S12 (diary): The materials were presented systematically.

Systematic presentation of main points:

S12 (diary): The main points were very systematically presented on the whole.

Summary

S14 (diary): Main points are summarized in the form of a table. It's easier to understand.

Responding to specific questions:

S19 (diary): the lecturer is quite good to clarify some classmates' problems.

S18 (diary): Becoming more understanding . . . having a question and answer session.

Initiating interaction with the class:

S9 (diary): The lecturer gives some questions for us to discuss. I think it is good for us because we can have a chance to think, not just absorb from lectures.

S12 (diary): A few minutes of discussion on practices were allowed. This not only enabled us to absorb the materials presented previously more effectively, but also enabled us to listen to the following lecture more attentively.

S18 (diary): . . . becoming more understanding of two previous chapters as having a question and answer session.

Repetition

S15 (diary): He repeats everything he says.

S10 (diary): . . . he repeated some important points, then I could follow quite well.

Other discourse strategies remarked upon by subjects as being beneficial were the provision of examples and the indication of what was important to remember.

A set of strategies perceived by students as even more beneficial than discourse structuring concerned the use of visual support of various types:

> S2 (diary): the lecture was presented with more visual aids, such as tables and a video was shown so as the lecture could be followed more easily.
>
> S6 (diary): diagram is clear. A clear picture can teach us more than a mess of words.
>
> S10 (diary): he put down some key words on the board and used transparencies to illustrate ideas.

Particularly well received by students was the use of demonstrations by their peers:

> S4 (diary): The demonstration of silent way makes us easy to understand the concept.
>
> S13 (diary): With the demonstration of our classmates, I have a deep impression of the silent way now.
>
> S21 (diary): Lecturer invited some students to demonstrate "the silent way". The demonstration was funny and did a great help in illustrating the concept.

Many students noted the value of a break in the lecture when it was introduced in week six:

> S4 (diary): Today it is marvellous because there is a break.
>
> S14 (diary): The ten minute break is of great importance so as to retain attention in the second part of the lecture.
>
> S13 (diary): We were delighted to have a break as it could lessen our tension, give us time to reorganize the content and question the points we were not sure.

The following diary entry illustrates the combined value of a break and student participation in improving the atmosphere of the class:

> S21 (diary): The class atmosphere was highly improved in this lesson. Students were given a break. This was good for unlearning mood. Besides, many activities involved students' participation. We got chance to take part in this lesson. It became more interesting than before.

Problems Encountered by Students

Three main problems were identified by students in the lectures: speed of delivery, new terminology and concepts, difficulties in concentrating, and problems related to physical environment.

Speed of Delivery

Many diary entries refer to the speed of delivery of the lectures as a problem and in seven of the eight interviews, the response to the question "Do you think the lecturer speaks too fast?", was "yes". In addition, many students cited speed of delivery, in answer to the question, "What are the main problems you have in listening?". Reasons given for this difficulty with speed of delivery included unfamiliarity with listening to native speakers:

> S21 (diary): In my secondary school, all the English teachers are Chinese, there was no chance for me to talk with foreigners.

the need to translate into Chinese:

> S21 (interview): I have to translate his English into Chinese so it takes many time to catch his meaning.

and the need for time to process the information:

> S10 (interview): If the lecturer explains something too fast – especially theories which are rather abstract – then I need to have some time to think about it.

New Vocabulary and Concepts

Another major problem for student comprehension was vocabulary:

> S21 (interview): I am weak in listening because if there is a vocabulary I don't understand then I miss many main points.
>
> S9 (interview): (in answer to the question, "What are the main problems you have in listening?") . . . some difficult words and vocabulary, some terms . . .
>
> S22 (diary): some vocabulary may not be understood.

In addition to new vocabulary, students also expressed difficulty with new terminology and concepts. The nature of the subject matter of the course necessitated the introduction of a heavy load of new concepts e.g. "suggestopaedia", "total physical response", "community language learning", "communicative approach". Table 2, for example, shows the new concepts and potentially problematic vocabulary which occurred during a ten minute randomly selected segment of the lecture on suggestopaedia.

The following diary extracts are typical of the sort of comments made in relation to the problem presented by new concepts.

> S4 (diary): The concepts are difficult to understand.
>
> S12 (diary): I am still unable to comprehend the whole lecture. This is because some terms he talked about are quite technical, abstract and new to me.

Table 2
Concepts and Potentially Problematic Vocabulary from ten minutes of the lecture on suggestopedia

General lexical items and expressions	Content words and expressions
eliciting	* Approach design
corpus	* Counselling learning
capacity	* Interactional theory
sift through	* Interactional view of language
water it down	* Suggestopedia
whole person	* Psychology of suggestion
notion	* accelerated learning
counsellor	* ritual placebo system
chunks	* The Lozanov method
negotiation	* Infantilization
hypnosis	* Double-planedness
	* intonation, rhythm and concert pseudo-passiveness
	* Structural-situational language teaching
	* Communicative language teaching

Failure to comprehend certain concepts could have the cumulative effect of a total breakdown in comprehension from that point on:

> S2 (diary): The ideas are very difficult and I cannot concentrate because as I got lost in the first part of the lecture I could not follow the last part of the lecture.

In other cases the problems posed by new ideas could demotivate the student from even wanting to listen:

> S3 (diary): The ideas are very difficult and I have no interest to listen to it at all!

Reasons attributed to the problem with new terms and concepts were the complexity of the subject:

> S19 (interview): (in answer to the question "Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your experience of these lectures?") The lecturer may have some difficulty in expressing a very long history of methods in language teaching, maybe he should work out what is necessary for language teachers, it's too complicated and quite abstract.

and the fact that the subject was a new one for students and that they had limited background knowledge of the subject:

> S3 (diary): It is a new subject to me so I find it very difficult to cope with.

S15 (interview): (in answer to the question "Would you say you have more background knowledge which can help you?) What makes it difficult to learn is our weak foundation and we are not psychologically prepared for those abstract concepts.

Difficulties in Concentrating

A third area of difficulty for students was concentration:

S4 (diary): Because I did not concentrate too much I missed some points.

S19 (diary): I sometimes aware of myself in day-dreaming and I failed to catch up with the new teaching points.

Reasons given for difficulties in concentration were as follows:

Difficulty in maintaining concentration over a long period

S4 (diary): The first part is too long with no break, it makes me very difficult to concentrate in the two hour lesson.

Lack of alternative stimulus to monologue:

S19 (diary): It is hard to concentrate in the lesson with only one mode of stimulus i.e. lecturing.

Distraction

S4 (diary): Some classmates are always talking/chatting during the lecture. I am deeply disturbed by them so I cannot catch up with the lecturer sometimes.

Reasons related to physical well-being

S2 (diary): I understood the lecture not very well because I was sick and it was difficult to concentrate.

S2 (diary): I did not sleep well the night before so I cannot pay much attention in this lecture.

Strategies Adopted by Students

The diaries and interviews revealed a number of strategies that students used in overcoming their problems in comprehending the lectures.

Reading

In answer to the question, "How do you solve these (listening) problems?", a number of students identified pre- and/or post-reading of the prescribed text as helpful. Pre- and post-reading was also referred to by many students in their diaries:

> S2 (diary): I understood the lecture quite well because I did the reading before lecture.
>
> S8 (diary): After I have read the chapter after the lecture I totally understand the lecture now.

In addition, observation by the researchers of students in the lectures revealed a widespread practice of referring to the textbook during the lecture.

Peer help

Responses to various interview questions referred to peer help. To the question "How do you solve these (listening) problems?", for example, a number of students responded with answers such as, (S22) "Ask my neighbour", (S21) "I will ask my classmates". One diary entry indicated peer assistance was a systematic study strategy of that student:

> S4 (diary): I will ask my classmates. It is my habit.

Another student noted using peer help to make up for lapses in concentration:

> S7 (diary): I didn't concentrate too much, I missed some points. But after asking my classmates, it's then o.k.

Lecturer/tutor help

Only one of the students interviewed admitted to asking questions during the lectures. A reluctance to ask questions during the lectures was related by one student to the Chinese sensibility:

> S15 (diary): It's the Chinese style not to ask questions in public because they might be shy especially to speak in English in front of so many people.

Although students were reluctant to ask questions during a lecture, many students noted seeking help from their lecturer after the lecture, or from their tutor during the tutorials.

Lecturer/tutor help was given a lower priority than peer help, however:

> S9 (diary): I will ask my classmate, if I still have problems I will ask the tutor in the tutorial.

Attempts to concentrate harder

Concentration and the value of concentration were something the students were very much aware of. Although concentration was a problem for many students, they nevertheless tried to remedy this problem by concentrating harder, as the following quotations indicate:

> S12 (diary): I think the main strategy for listening to lectures in English is to be attentive.
>
> S10 (diary): Sometimes I might get lost if I did not concentrate so much.
>
> S22 (diary): try to listen harder . . . because we ourselves have a problem so we must try harder to listen.
>
> S19 (interview): When the lecture is too fast for me I try to concentrate harder. I am aware of such kind of mental process, wandering or day-dreaming in the lesson. I try to catch it up.

Ironically, concentration was noted as being easier when understanding was taking place:

> S4 (diary): I understand more so I concentrate more.

A high level of concentration was seen by one student as being fulfilling in itself:

> S4 (diary): When I concentrate on it I enjoy it.

Marking the book and note-taking

Observation of the students during the lectures revealed little note-taking. What students did instead was to use highlighting pens to mark up the relevant sections in the text book and to make jottings in the margin. These strategies were referred to in the diaries.

> S22 (diary): I make some notes between the lines of the book and mark down this is the important area and we have to be aware of it.
>
> S18 (diary): I underline in the book, especially when I cannot catch up in the lecture, so I can study it after.
>
> S10 (diary): I write in the textbook, I know where he is up to.

On the whole, while some students were aware of the potential value of note taking:

> S1 (diary): I took down notes as usual because I guessed that if I read them afterwards I would understand.

for most, note-taking was difficult:

> S21 (interview): (in answer to the question, "How would you solve these

> (listening) problems?") Make notes and mark the main points in the chapter, but it's very time-consuming.

if not impossible:

> S21 (interview): (In answer to the question, "Do you take notes?") No, because he's speaking too fast. I can't mark down anything.

For some students, note-taking was felt to be a distraction:

> S15 (interview): (In answer to the question, "Do you take notes?") I think active listening is more important than copying down things.

Summary of Results

Background of Subjects

1. In spite of considerable previous exposure to English while at school, subjects involved in this study had not had experience of the formal English lecture monologue.
2. Subjects' average level of general listening proficiency is estimated to be a little below what would be required at University level in the U.S..
3. Most students, however, self-rated their general listening proficiency level as "good".

Student Perceptions of the Lecture Experience

1. Subjects noted a number of contrasts between the lecture experience and the sort of exposure to English they were used to at school.
2. Attitudes towards the lecture experience were mixed, with some students enthusiastic about it and others more negative.
3. Subjects' self-rating of lecture comprehension ability was relatively high, whilst their self-rating of level of comprehension of the individual lectures improved somewhat as the course progressed.
4. There was some evidence that differences in lecturing style affected students' ability to understand.
5. Many of the subjects were confused as to the purpose of the lectures: to present basic facts, to put over the lecturer's point of view, or a combination of both.
6. Some of the students were able to bring background knowledge to the lecture situation, whilst others were not.
7. Subjects were aware of a variety of strategies adopted by the lecturer which enhanced understanding.

Problems Encountered by Students

1. Speed of delivery.
2. New terminology and concepts.
3. Difficulties in concentrating.

Strategies Adopted by Students

1. Pre- and post-reading.
2. Peer help.
3. Lecturer/tutor help.
4. Efforts to concentrate harder.
5. Marking the book and note-taking.

Conclusion

An ethnographic approach such as the one adopted in this study yields results which are useful in terms of needs analysis for the specific course under study. As such this paper represents a case study of how this sort of on-going needs analysis can be carried out. The findings of this study, however, also have wider implications within the context of lecturing in English to speakers of other languages.

The study has revealed a broad, rich picture of the perceptions, problems and strategies of students struggling to get to grips with a new situation, that of listening to lectures in a second language. The key finding is that listening to a lecture monologue is an extremely difficult task, for which second language students may well be inadequately prepared.

The results of the study provide a number of lessons for those involved with students having to cope with lectures in a second language. For content lecturers some of these lessons might be as follows:

- modify the language of presentation and keep new terms and concepts to a reasonable load for each lecture
- provide a glossary of the new terms and concepts for each lecture
- modify the speed of the lecture
- provide an outline or notes of the main points of the lecture
- reduce the lecture time or chunk the lecture into several sections and provide a break between each chunk
- provide more variety in presenting the lecture material,
- use those discourse strategies, visual aids, etc. which students referred to as positive in this study

- give overt explanations about the purpose of the lecture, indicate when the set text is being referred to and when the lecture is going outside the text, when basic facts are being presented and when personal opinions
- provide plenty of background knowledge and indicate to students how lecture content relates to their background knowledge
- encourage student participation
- get feedback from students on lecturing effectiveness

Although the lecturer is the main person responsible for presenting the information to the students, s/he can be assisted if there is some guidance in the course document about not only what should be in the course, but also how it should be taught. This study has lessons for course planners, therefore. When planning courses, study skills can be included along with content objectives. For example, the course document might include objectives such as:

- by the end of this course of lectures the students should be able to do the following:

  take notes from a five minute piece of monologue
  highlight the main propositions from their notes
  write a summary from notes
  ask and respond to questions

In this way, content lecturers would have to consider how best they could assist the students in achieving these goals and in the process examine their own lecturing style more closely.

For ESL professionals the clear lesson of this study is that they have an important potential role in helping students attending lectures in English for the first time. This help can be in the form of pre-sessional training or as an adjunct to an on-going lecture course. If pre-sessional, then a strong case can be made for a content-based model, in which students will be able to develop their lecture listening skills in an authentic context. As noted in the introduction to this paper, and borne out by the results of the study, listening is not an autonomous activity, but is related to all sorts of other skills such as note-taking, interacting with the lecturer and with peers, relating information to background knowledge, etc.. A content-based language course, which replicated a real lecture course, would provide an appropriate situation in which to develop these integrated skills.

If an adjunct model was preferred to a pre-sessional one, then language teachers would be well qualified to provide an environment in which they could apply the sorts of lessons listed above for content lecturers, as well as being able to advise the content lecturers on how to apply these same lessons.

Finally, this study has lessons for learners. The investigation demonstrated that some students were using appropriate strategies in trying to comprehend the lectures. Learners should be encouraged to apply and develop these strategies further by means of some sort of learner strategy training (O'Malley, and Chamot, 1990).

In conclusion, we would like to suggest that there should be closer integration between the content of courses and language/study skills. In this way, students similar to those in this study would be able to cope with the academic system of education faster and better, and lecturers would benefit by examining their teaching style and integrating their content with their methodology to become more effective lecturers.

Note

1. We should like to acknowledge the cooperation of the anonymous lecturer and the students involved in this study.

References

Benson, M.J. (1989) The academic listening task: a case study. *TESOL Quarterly* 23/3:421–445.

Chaudron, C. and Richards, J.C. (1986) The effect of discourse markers on the comprehension of lectures. *Applied Linguistics* 7/2:113–127.

Cook, J.R.S. (1975) A communicative approach to the analysis of extended monologue discourse and its relevance to the development of teaching materials for ESP. Unpublished M. Litt. thesis, University of Edinburgh.

Coulthard, M. and Montgomery, M. (1981) The structure of monologue. In M. Coulthard and M. Montgomery (eds.) *Studies in Discourse Analysis* pp. 31–39.

DeCarrico, J. and Nattinger, J.R. (1988) Lexical phrases and the comprehension of academic lectures. *English for Specific Purposes* 7:91–102.

Griffiths, R. (1990) Speech rate and NNS comprehension: a preliminary study in time-benefit analysis: *Language Learning* 40/3:311–336.

Guthrie, L.F. (1984) Contrasts in teachers' language use in a Chinese-English bilingual classroom. In Handscombe, J., Orem, F.A., and Taylor, B.P. (eds.) *On Tesol '83: The Question of Control*. Washington, D.C.: TESOL. pp. 39–42.

Hong Kong Department of Education (undated) Comparability Study between TOEFL and CE English Language (Syll.B).

Johnson, R.K. (1985) Report of the ELTU Study of the Oral Medium of Instruction in Anglo-Chinese Secondary School Classrooms. Hong Kong: Educational Research Establishment, Education Department.

Lin, A.M.Y. (1990) Teaching in two Tongues: Language Alternation in Foreign Language Classrooms. Research Report no. 3. Department of English: City Polytechnic of Hong Kong.

Malley, M.J. and Chamot, A.U. (1990) *Learning Strategies in Second Language Acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Montgomery, M. (1977) Some aspects of discourse structure and cohesion in selected science lectures. Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham.

Murphy, D.F. and Candlin, C.N. (1979) Engineering lecture discourse and listening comprehension. *Practical papers in Language Education* 2:1–79. Lancaster: University of Lancaster.

Olsen, L.A. and Huckin, T.N. (1990) Point-driven understanding in Engineering lecture comprehension. *English for Specific Purposes* 9:33–47.

O'Malley, J.M., Chamot, A.U. and Kupper, L. (1989) Listening comprehension strategies in second language acquisition. *Applied Linguistics* 10/4:418–437.

Pennington, M.C., Ball, J., Detaramani, C., Poon, A., and Tam, F. (1992) Towards a Model of Language Choice among Hong Kong Tertiary Students. Research Report no 18. Department of English. City Polytechnic of Hong Kong.

Sinclair, J. McH and Coulthard, R.M. (1975) *Towards an Analysis of Discourse: the English used by Teachers and Pupils*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Appendix

Self-Rating Listening Scale

Name: ....

Student No: ....

Using the scale below rate your ability to comprehend lectures in English. *Circle* one number only.

9 I understand everything. I am able to follow the lecture from beginning to end with no listening problems at all.

8 I understand almost everything. A few items of vocabulary confuse me, but I can usually guess their meaning.

7 I have no real problems in listening to lectures in English. Understand all the main points and most of the supporting details. There are usually only a few items of vocabulary or expressions I do not understand.

6 Although I understand most of the main points of a lecture in English, I occasionally get confused. I usually do not understand all the supporting details.

5 I am able to understand at least half of the main points and some of the supporting details of a lecture in English. There are usually many new words and expressions I do not understand. I also find it difficult to follow the lecturer's speed and pronunciation.

4 I often get confused with a lecture in English. I am unable to identify most of the main points and supporting details. I usually only understand about 30% of the lecture.

3 I understand very little of a lecture in English. I cannot identify the main points or supporting details. The parts I do understand are usually not related to the lecture, e.g. greetings, reference to page numbers etc.

2/1 I do not understand a lecture given in English.

Bilingual Crosscultural Education in Western Europe: An Overview

Parick Blanche
AMVIC Institute of Foreign Language Okayama, Japan

Introduction

"If you want to get ahead, get a theory"[1] is a common piece of advice these days. Yet in the field of bilingual crosscultural education the recommendation seems to have been largely ignored. As Banks notes, "Concepts such as multicultural education, multiculturalism, multi-ethnic education, ethnic education, ethnic studies, cultural pluralism, and ethnic pluralism are often used interchangeably or to convey different but highly ambiguous meanings".[2] Thus, "Some of the problems in multiethnic education result from conceptual and ideological confusion . . . These questions must be better clarified and resolved before we can design and implement more effective and justifiable programs related to ethnic diversity in America".[3] Likewise, Appleton writes, "The United States appears to be on the verge of embracing cultural pluralism as a social ideal . . . Unfortunately, at present the ideal of cultural pluralism . . . is plagued with ambiguity, generality and confusion, particularly in educational circles".[4]

It may be that bilingual educators and researchers in the United States have developed a limited view of their work from a failure to interact with and learn from colleagues in other parts of the world. The aim of this paper is to afford an overview of the international, political, and sociolinguistic contexts in which 21 Western European nations[5] are pursuing the goals of bilingual crosscultural education. Indeed the geopolitical dimension of these goals is underscored by the extreme diversity of Europe as a whole. In order to meet the various educational needs of their communities, the representatives of the Council of Europe have developed a theory of their own, the Intercultural Hypothesis. Some of its implications will be briefly discussed insofar as it parallels the cultural pluralist ideology that has been evolving in America.

The above considerations might sound too philosophical and remote to be of practical value. This writer does realize that the American bilingual education movement would very much want to have more information about such questions as how program exit/entry are determined, how literacy in the first and second language is introduced, and what training requirements there are for teachers in Europe. Regrettably, this type of information cannot possibly be presented in summary form. In addition, the author feels that, as Baptiste and Baptiste put it, "Multi-cultural education must be regarded as a philosophy, as a process which guides the total education enterprise".[6] Thus,

1209

the European perspective is probably worth a few words of explanation along those lines.

The Demographic and Geopolitical Dimensions

The problem of educating the "children of migrants"[7] has long been a difficult one and one of worldwide importance in four aspects – political, social, economic, and educational. This is especially true of Europe, which comprises both immigration and emigration countries and which, for well-known historical reasons, has not experienced the "melting pot" phenomenon[8] that is part of America's makeup.

Today millions of European children are involved in this situation, and the schools concerned are confronted with a massive difficulty. A recent survey among London children, for example, identified 131 home languages; 14% of all pupils, in fact, were bilingual.

Recent (im)migration trends in the EC are shown in Table 1.

The total "foreign" population of the 12 EC countries had exceeded 10 million by the 1970's. This figure does not include recently naturalized citizens in the respective "host states".[9]

In 1980, the total population of the United States was estimated at 226,547,000 by the U.S. Census Bureau – that of the EC was nearly 255 million. There were slightly more than 14 million foreign-born residents *including* naturalized citizens (6.15% of the population), but slightly less than 7 million *registered aliens* (3.08% of the population) in America. The corresponding number of registered aliens was in excess of 11 million (more than 4.4% of the population) in the EC.

In 1979, however, 7% of the population of France was made up of resident aliens. Belgium had 9.4%, and Luxemburg over 20%. Moreover, the immigrant population of each European country was extremely varied. In France it included large numbers of Portuguese, Algerians, and Moroccans. Germany had many Turks and Yugoslavs. The United Kingdom had Indians, Pakistanis, and West Indians.

The considerable increase in unemployment in all the industrial nations after 1973 has not made things easier for Europe, because it has reduced employment opportunities in the immigration countries without increasing them in the emigration countries. Even the aim of founding a new world economic order gives little hope for significant changes in the near future. Several countries have greatly reduced or even stopped the entry of foreign

Table I:

Alien Populations and Distribution of Alien Workers and Young Alien Persons under 14 (in Thousands of Persons) Throughout the EEC in 1979 and 1980 (Greece joined the EEC in 1981, Portugal and Spain in 1986). Totals in parentheses do not include figures for Italy, whose alien population is relatively low. Totals followed by a plus sign (+) stand for low estimates. Dots (. . .) stand for negligible or unavailable figures.

	Belgium	Denmark	Federal Republic of Germany	France	Ireland	Italy	Luxemburg	The Netherlands	United Kingtom	EEC Community as a Whole
Total Population in 1979	9,675	5,053	60,224	50,934	3,272	55,609	357	13,617	55,041	253,783
— Alien Population	906	79	3,967	3,559	71	. . .	77	459	2,191	(11,309)+
— Percentage of Total	9.4%	1.6%	6.6%	7%	2.2%	. . .	21.5%	3.4%	4%	(4.46%)+
Total Number of Young Persons under 14 in 1979	1,780	956	9,688	10,340	921	. . .	62	2,790	10,416	(36,953)
— Aliens	264	24	1,046	1,010	18	. . .	21	122	276	(2,781)
— Percentage of Total	14.8%	2.5%	10.8%	9.8%	2%	. . .	31.1%	4.4%	2.6%	(7.5%)
Registered Alien Employees in 1980	332.5	48	2,071.7	1,643	2.34	7.65	51.9	194	1,665	6,017
— Increase or Decrease since 1971, 1972, or 1973	+51%	+32%	–12%	–8%	+10%	–83%	+40%	+59%	–1%	–3.75%
Alien Employees from Other EEC Countries in 1980	172	14.4	453.7	242	. . .	2	33.1	57	632	1,607
Alien Employees from Non-EEC Countries in 1980	160.5	33.7	1,618	1,401	2.34	5.65	18.8	137	1,033	4,410
Turkey	.23	. . .	590.6	36.3	. . .	. . .	. . .	53.2	3	709
Portugal	6.25	. . .	58.8	385	. . .	. . .	13.7	4.2	10	478
Yogoslavia	3.1	. . .	357.4	43.1	. . .	1.2	.6	6.6	4	421
Algeria	3.2	. . .	1.6	361	. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	.6	367
Spain	32	. . .	86.6	184.5	. . .	. . .	2.3	10.4	37	354
Morocco	37.2	. . .	16.1	181.4	. . .	. . .	. . .	33.7	2	272
Greece	10.8	. . .	133	4	. . .	. . .	. . .	1.2	10	159
Tunisia	4.7	. . .	10	73.7	. . .	. . .	. . .	1.1	.2	90
Other Countries	40.2	. . .	364	131.8	. . .	. . .	2.2	27.3	966.2	1,560

Source: Warzée, L. (1983). *La scholarisation des enfants de travailleurs migrants* (pp. 69–72), Paris, France: Association Européenne des Enseignants.

Author's Note: According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the total population figure for the United States in 1980 was 226,547 (EEC: 253,783), with 14,080 (6.15%) foreign-born residents *including* naturalized citizens, but only 6,970 (3.08%) registered aliens (EEC: 4.46%+).

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

workers, yet the number of immigrant children of school age is often continuing to grow for the following reasons:

> Workers who had already settled in the receiving country before the laws limiting immigration were introduced were often there without their families; they are still entitled to have their spouses and children join them.
>
> The birthrate of immigrant populations is much higher than that of the receiving countries.
>
> Political events and humanitarian considerations have led to further unforeseen admissions of mostly Latin American and Asian refugees, as well as asylum seekers from the emerging nations of Africa.

The plight of Asian refugees, in particular, shows that (im)migration as seen from the point of view of its present regional and international consequences in Europe and America is actually a global problem largely depending on economic and political factors, which is encountered in various forms in all continents and whose impact is intercontinental.

The Public Policy Dimension

In November 1970, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe issued a non-binding resolution stating that: "Children of migrant workers should not lose their cultural and linguistic heritage and should also benefit from the culture of the receiving country". Following up on the work done in 1973 and 1974 for the *ad hoc* Conference on the Education of Migrants (Strasbourg, 1974), and on the basis of its recommendation adopted by the standing Conference of European Ministers of Education at Stockholm in 1975, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe adopted Recommendation 841, after debate, in September 1978. In this document, one can read:

> 1. "... The socio-cultural development of migrants' children is closely linked with that of the migrant family as a whole."
>
> 2. "... Any policy on migrant workers and their families must be based on an adequate knowledge of the phenomenon of migration."
>
> 6. "... States should promote the training of teachers with special responsibilities for the education of migrant children and young persons."

On July 15, 1977,[10] the Council[11] of the European Communities adopted Directive 77/486/EEC, which is reproduced in Appendix A. This time member states were *instructed* to support, *in coordination with normal education*, the teaching of the *mother tongue and culture* of the country of origin for *all the children* for whom school attendance was compulsory under the laws of the host state. Prior to that, there was no landmark court decision related to civil rights or bilingual education (such as the U.S. Supreme Court decisions in the *Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education* case in 1954 and the *Lau vs. Nichols* case in 1974), there were no outbreaks of urban violence (such as the riots which left Watts and other American "ghetto" areas in shambles in the 1960's), nor was there any urge to implement important civil rights legislation (such as the passing by the U.S. Congress of the Civil Rights Act of 1964).

In this writer's opinion, the fact that Directive 77/486/EEC was quietly issued by the *executive* branch of the European Communities, and the fact that this was not done in response to the kind of pressures that were prevailing in America at that particular time, are highly significant.

The Sociolinguistic Dimension

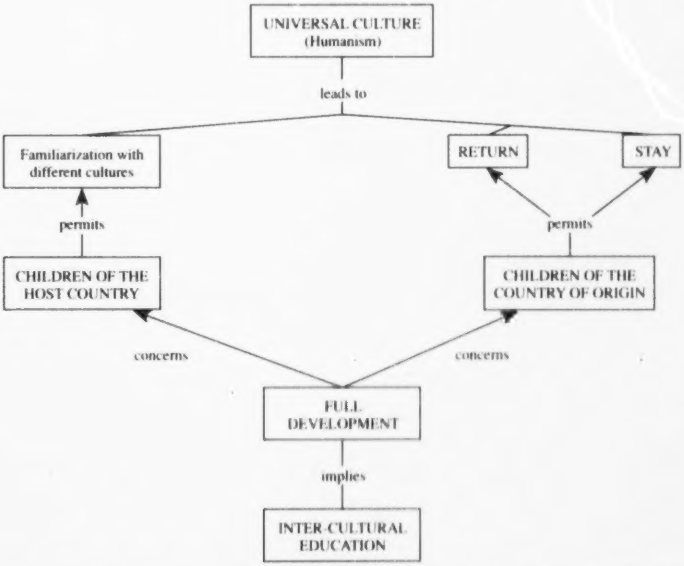
Linguistic phenomena are no longer regarded by European experts as having priority. European schools by the year 2000 will probably have well-developed programs for minority languages, but only as one aspect of immigrant culture enhancement. Nevertheless, sociolinguistics represents an instructional domain whose importance should continue to grow. Communication is increasingly being viewed by Europeans as a social practice which includes language, itself a social practice.

One of the purposes of minority language programs in Western Europe is to give students an opportunity to become *functionally* bilingual – i.e., to help them to develop an *active bilingualism* that will make them feel at home in at least two cultures so that they will be able, willing, and unafraid to use their home language(s) in various situations. Yet the most essential aim of such instruction should be to build up what linguists call "communication ability," because anyone who is unable to communicate adequately is going to be penalized by society. In terms of teacher training and curriculum planning, this implies further exploration of the relationships between (1) language, culture, and social structure, (2) language awareness and use, (3) identity formation, and, in the particular case of the bilingual child, (4) linguistic and conceptual development.

In addition, Europeans tend to look upon language as a plural, evolving phenomenon. It can change from the place where it is spoken – whether it be the language of the country of origin or the host country. For instance, a large number of people who have moved from southern to northern Europe come from the rural or semi-rural areas of their countries. They are, on the whole, rooted in their aboriginal culture. Thus in a Galician or Catholonian family the current means of communication is usually not Spanish. The Finnish dialects spoken in Sweden afford a different example. Whereas Finnish as spoken in Finland and in some parts of Sweden has undergone an intense process of evolution, the dialect used by the population of Tornedalen in the Swedish country of Norrbotten has retained an archaic structure (much like some of the Spanish dialects spoken in the south-west of the United States), and has gradually absorbed many Swedish words denoting new phenomena and concepts. Furthermore, there is an important Lapp community in Tornedalen, so the implications of special status for the Tornedal-Finnish vernacular cannot be explored without reference to, among other things, the teaching of Lappish as a native minority language.

The Intercultural Hypothesis

Linguistic diversity is a fact of life within the European Communities. It is also one of the underpinnings of the "intercultural" model advocated by the Council of Europe. So far as bilingual education is concerned, the model's underlying assumption derives from a pragma-linguistic and communicative approach to the teaching and methodology of the host country's language. What such an approach signifies to immigrant children is that when they become adults they must have the free choice to decide to what extent they wish to integrate into the host country's culture and/or to conserve that of their home country, *to which they may wish to go back*. This and the other implications of the intercultural hypothesis are shown in Figure 1.


UNIVERSAL CULTURE
(Humanism)
leads to
Familiarization with different cultures
RETURN
STAY
permits
permits
CHILDREN OF THE HOST COUNTRY
CHILDREN OF THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN
concerns
concerns
FULL DEVELOPMENT
implies
INTER-CULTURAL EDUCATION

Source: Porcher, L. (1979). *Second Council of Europe teachers' seminar on "The education of migrant children: Intercultural pedagogy in the field," Donaueschingen, West Germany, 24–28 September 1979* (Report No. DECS/EGT [79] 37, P. 26). Strasbourg, France, Council of Europe.

Figure 1: Educational Implications of the Intercultural Hypothesis

For the children of immigrants, intercultural education is an essential means of enhancing their own status, which includes, yet goes well beyond the linguistic dimension. As used in the Council of Europe, the term "multicultural" serves to describe phenomena (e.g., European societies are at present de facto multicultural), whereas "intercultural" implies an approach to action. Interculturalism asserts the need for interaction between the various components that make up European societies and constitutes not only a point of reference, but also a method and a perspective. It is a comprehensive sociological option. Therefore, it should be construed less as a relationship between cultures in the abstract sense than as a series of dynamic exchanges between individuals, groups, and sub-groups of people and institutions negotiating a reallocation of resources within a balance of power.[12] The various components of this model are presented in Figure 2.

The scope of interculturalism is at once international and local. Moreover, it encompasses both the present and the future. Consequently, the field of reference and action of intercultural education makes the bridging of genera-

way of being living lifestyle behavior ways of thinking knowing how to defend oneself knowing how to prepare oneself one's experience (one's own (gestures (those of (others	the past of the nation family individual history origins	general knowledge knowledge of languages cultural knowledge arts contemporary history war revolution literature painting music popular culture comic strips television radio mass media	rites customs mores beliefs traditions habits	religion	geography rural urban
	individual society country people social group social level	technology sciences	ideology	institutions	climate
			politics	moral values material values spiritual values aspect of ideas intolerance	economy ideas of progress

Source: Council of Europe. (Ed.). 1983. *Compendium of Information on intercultural education schemes in Europe* (p. 96). Strasbourg, France: Author

Figure 2: Components of the Intercultural Hypothesis

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

tion gaps just as desirable as the removal of institutional, social, and geographical barriers. For example, schools will in the future be increasingly attended by children who belong to the second or the third generations of immigrants. Even though their school and out-of-school problems will take on a different form, they will be influenced by today's attitudes.

Finally, the European model emphasizes the fact that immigration concerns not only immigrants themselves, but the whole community *in both the host country and the country of origin* – therefore, the school experience of the Pakistani children in Britain, the Moroccans in France, and the Turks in the Federal Republic of Germany should not be divorced from the economic reality of their parents' lives. In such a meeting between cultures, each culture is admittedly challenged, but is also enriched by the values of the other – provided that it is receptive to other forms of cultural expression. The two bilingual education projects summarized in Appendix B would illustrate this view.

The European Path: Positive Discrimination and Sociocultural Insertion

The idea of intercultural education that the Council of Europe is proposing entails a world-oriented approach to teaching conceived as an apprenticeship in mutual understanding and cross-fertilization. In prescribing such a formula as a dynamic process and as an objective of international collaboration, the Council of Europe wishes to recognize that all integration or assimilation into the structures of the host country concerns immigrants on a personal level and should reflect their own choices. Therefore, they should be enabled either to stay away from, or to go back to their countries of origin under the best possible conditions. In this regard, the terms "assimilation" or "integration" are ambiguous. Only "insertion" – in the sense of a balanced entry into new structures – seems to be fully compatible with the interculturalist philosophy.

According to this philosophy, the benefits of integration are inevitably offset by a loss of certain categories of original values. But while it is vital to maintain aboriginal cultures by associating the phenomenon of immigration with specific peoples, lands, and histories, the cultural complexity of immigration can hardly be reduced to such maintenance alone. For instance, the presentation of a changing society in the emigration country must be all the more updated as there will be a natural temptation to cling to past images. Equality of treatment is likewise not enough. To treat equally a child who, by birth and family environment is not the same as his native schoolmates, would ultimately become a cause of further inequality between immigrant children and those from the host country. That is why the governments of some

European nations, notably the Dutch government, have opted for the principle of "positive discrimination."

In the Netherlands, the assimilation theory has even been consciously rejected. Using the words of the former Minister of Education and Science, Mr. Van Kamenade, "The Dutch Government is trying everything possible to satisfy the legitimate claim of migrant parents to have access to a bicultural education." And it was soon agreed that in order to attain the desired level of bicultural education the immigrant child would have to be at least bilingual.

The problem certainly appears rather complex when one realizes that there were 48 different nationalities represented in the schools of Rotterdam in 1979. Furthermore, cultural diversity is not confined to the host state. It is also necessary to take into account the coexistence of different cultural expressions and the presence of in- and out-migration in several countries of origin. Increasing mobility between European nations, the return of a large number of immigrants to their homelands, and the interactions due to the contacts which many immigrants still have with their original communities further complicate the issue.

By choosing a relatively unknown path, in opposition to the widely established ideal of assimilation that was adopted in other parts of the world, Western European nations are showing that they do not fear difficulties. Their apparent resolve to abolish scholastic discrimination, coupled with the requirement that original cultures be officially recognized, often leads to delicately shaded and at the same time highly complex differences of outlook. Rights and treatments must be equal but not the same. In this respect, the centralized states are having the most problems in coordinating two simultaneous and often conflicting needs. Where curricula are identical for all children throughout the country, it is not easy to ensure both that special characteristics are preserved and that courses and examinations remain uniform.

Implications for America

So what does all this have to do with bilingual crosscultural education in the USA? It seems to this writer that a broader understanding of multicultural education as the necessary background for bilingual programs could be achieved by considering the differences, and also the similarities, between Europe and America. Five important differences will be reviewed first.

1. The larger European community represented by the Council of Europe comprises both emigration and immigration countries, many of which are former colonial powers. As a result, its immigrant population is relatively larger and may be even more heterogeneous and more mobile than that of the United States. In addition, more European immigrants are able to

manage close relationships with relatives and friends in their countries of origin. On the other hand, Table 1 shows that immigration to Europe as a whole slowed dramatically in the mid 1970's, which probably was not the case for immigration to America. Persistently high unemployment rates in most West European countries are partly responsible for this situation.

2. Bilingual crosscultural education in the United States is to a considerable extent an obligation deriving from a legal (i.e., a *judicial*) mandate[13] that came in response to extraordinary local pressures. By contrast, bilingual education guidelines for Western Europe are the product of a world vision. They were set by the highest representatives of the *executive* branches of the governments concerned, and this was done in a rather spontaneous and orderly fashion. In addition, official collaboration between European nations leads to *decisions with international force* deriving from the governments' general foreign policy and not merely from their respective educational policies. It is this type of cooperation that has brought about the generalized use of foreign teachers paid by the embassies of the countries of citizenship in bilingual classrooms throughout Europe – where some secondary schools have even recruited foreign counselors.
3. European interculturalism implies that immigrants should be able *either* to stay in the host state *or* to go back to their homelands *under the best possible conditions*. To the author's knowledge, such a sociocultural insertion model has not been promoted in America, not even along the Mexican border.
4. The scope of European interculturalism is international, while the advocates of "cultural pluralism" in the United States have pretty much restricted their ideology to the same country. According to Baptiste and Baptiste, "Cultural pluralism involves the natural exchange of culture within a state of equal co-existence in a mutually supportive system within the framework of one nation of diverse groups of people with significantly different patterns of belief, lifestyle, color, and language".[14] Appleton even writes, "Thus we do not think of the Common Market in Europe as cultural pluralism because each member is considered to be a separate and independent entity".[15] But then Appleton almost contradicts himself by stating that "If the spirit of pluralism is to be followed, we should expect to develop not one national model, but a number of regional and local models that meet the needs of various groups".[16]
5. A somewhat different view is expressed by Banks, who feels that cultural pluralists have been exaggerating the differences between and among ethnic groups in America. Banks cites Gordon, who wrote that "Structural pluralism . . . is the major key to understanding the ethnic makeup of American society, while cultural pluralism is the minor one . . ."[17]. This is interesting because the opposite of Gordon's belief would probably be true in Europe, although "cultural pluralism" and "interculturalism" are not synonymous.

Consequently, the general "cultural pluralist" theory evolved in the United States would not be out of place in Europe – but the particular "multiethnic ideology" that Banks proposes would seem to better suit America. As it turns out, several similarities between the European and the American situations would highlight the features which the multiethnic and cultural pluralist theories have in common. Three of these similarities are outlined below.

1. The most challenging implication of interculturalism for Europeans is likely to be the enhancement of a value climate more accepting of diversity. In education, this means making all children more aware of the ethnic variety of Western Europe, more appreciative of the intrinsic worth of all cultures, and more informed about the diverse origins of European society itself.[18] Interculturalism calls for the development of less ethnocratic school curricula, textbooks, and other resources. Therefore, educators will increasingly need to study the various political and social interpretations of "cultural pluralism" and related fields such as political and social anthropology, sociology, and economics – and this is something which the American proponents of both the multiethnic ideology and cultural pluralism would agree with. According to Banks, "Multiethnic education is designed for all students, of all races, ethnic groups, and social classes, and not just for schools that have racially and ethnically mixed populations".[19] It is needed as much if not more by the Anglo-American, middle-class, suburban child as it is by the Mexican-American who lives in the barrio. It is a very broad concept that entails total school reform. Likewise, Baptiste and Baptiste claim that "Anything less than a process conceptualization of multicultural education as an instructional delivery system designed to affect the total educative process, is prone to limited utility and rapid obsolescence".[20]
2. Thus, both in the United States and in Europe, bilingual crosscultural education is a comprehensive course of action going beyond (the fairly rare and often selective) spontaneous manifestations of openness towards other people, transcending the purely folklore level of pizzas and paellas and taking account of what actually gives different cultures their structures. This entire process must inevitably be guided by the basic principle of strict equality, regardless of actual relative positions of strength, between all cultures. Accordingly, its primary goal will be to preserve – or, to be more accurate, to create – unity of educational objectives and equality of opportunity for native and immigrant children. Where the objectives of bilingual crosscultural education are concerned, it follows that the specific content of one culture must not be evaluated with the criteria and values of the other, for this would be to regard the former as a lifeless object. And as crosscultural education is not only and perhaps not mainly a question of teaching and processing factual knowledge, the preferred form of instruction should be the project.

3. Moreover, the principle of positive discrimination adopted by the Dutch government has also been advocated in America. For instance, Gollnick and Chinn write, "It will no longer be possible to teach all students in the classroom equally because they are not the same. They have different needs and skills that must be recognized in developing educational programs. Each student is different because of physical and mental abilities, sex, ethnicity or national origin, religion, socioeconomic level, and age".[21]

Conclusion

The similarities and differences between the United States and the European Community can both be expressed more easily on a conceptual level. In practical terms, the similarities are likely to outweigh the differences. For example, the situation of Asian refugees in Europe may be a lot closer to the American situation than Europeans imagine. On balance, however, one gets the impression that Europeans have displayed more political will, set clearer goals for bilingual crosscultural education, and that we, in the United States, may have failed to capitalize on their vision even after Cummins[22] and others revealed the importance of the work being done in Sweden.

A few words of caution are in order at this point. American readers should not come away with the mistaken notion that Europe as a whole is well on its way towards being a culture practice as well. Within the European Communities, the Netherlands (like Sweden, which is not a member of the EC) may still be the exception rather than the rule. There is always some discrepancy, if not a marked difference, between the ideals expressed in the Intercultural Hypothesis and the school day reality of minority children in Western Europe. A gap remains to be bridged (to varying degrees), and a lot of work is yet to be done in each of the 21 nations represented in Strasbourg. While a number of countries did start several large-scale projects designed to facilitate multicultural education, others have been slow in implementing the policies needed to respond to the special needs of immigrant children.

So far as the EC is concerned, the official responses of member states to the directives issued by the Council of Ministers have not always been well-received. For example, Britain's initial reaction to the EC guidelines on bilingual education was widely labeled racist and assimilationist . . . in Britain itself. This illustrates the extent to which local interpretations of international directives can affect their outcome. Such directives are all too often difficult to enforce, and if it turned out that a significant number of children were denied the services guaranteed by the executive arm of the EC, the U.S. right to sue for enforcement of the Bilingual Education Act would take on a different dimension.

On the other hand, the legislative decisions reached in U.S. courts have frequently been time-consuming and costly. They can also be circumvented, or amended and partly reversed, especially if they do not appear to get the full and constant support of our bilingual educators who would be well-advised to look more often beyond their own borders.

Not all American educators are homebound. For instance, Banks writes, "The white race is a world minority . . . The school should present students . . . with cultural and ethnic alternatives, and teach them to live in a world society that is ethnically and racially diverse".[23] And yet, to this writer (who has lived and worked in six different countries), statements such as this one sound a bit too much like cries in the wilderness whenever they are made by residents of the United States.

Appendix A

Directive 77/486/EEC

Article 1. The Directive shall apply to children for whom school attendance is compulsory under the laws of the host State, who are dependents of any worker who is a national of another Member State, where such children are resident in the territory of the Member State in which that national carries on or has carried on an activity as an employed person.

Article 2. Member States shall, in accordance with their national circumstances and legal systems, take appropriate measures to ensure that free tuition to facilitate initial reception is offered in their territory to the children referred to in Article 1, including, in particular, the teaching – adapted to the specific needs of such children – of the official language or one of the official languages of the host State.

Member States shall take the measures necessary for the training and further training of the teachers who are to provide this tuition.

Article 3. Member States shall, in accordance with their national circumstances and legal systems, and in cooperation with States of origin, take appropriate measures to promote, in coordination with normal education, the teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin for the children referred to in Article 1.

Article 4. The member States shall take the necessary measures to comply with this Directive within four years of its notification and shall forthwith inform the Commission[11] thereof.

The Member States shall also inform the Commission of all laws, regulations and administrative and other provisions which they adopt in the field governed by this Directive.

Article 5. The Member States shall forward to the Commission within five years of the notification of this Direction, and subsequently at regular intervals at the request of the Commission, all relevant information to enable the Commission to report to the Council[11] on the application of this Directive.

Article 6. This Directive is addressed to the Member States.

Done at Brussels, 25 July, 1977[24]

Appendix B

Two Illustrations of the Interculturalist Approach

1. Mother tongue teaching in classes comprising two nationalities. An experiment in cooperation between Finnish and Swedish pupils in the town of Gustavberg,[25] Sweden.

In 1974, the idea was put forward that Finnish and Swedish pupils attending the Gustavberg primary school should be put together in one class to achieve a double goal: The Finnish pupils should receive most of their instruction in their mother tongue and, at the same time, the school should create the opportunity to increase understanding between the pupils from the two language groups. Half of the pupils in the class would be Finnish-speaking, the other half Swedish-speaking. This class would have two full-time teachers who would be with the pupils during their first six years in (primary and middle) school. The official aim for mother-tongue teaching in Gustavberg already was that the pupils should be helped to attain an active bilingualism.

The two-teacher system

Since then it has become possible to form such a composite class. One of the teachers in bilingual (and Finnish), the other only speaks English.

The progressive increase of Swedish

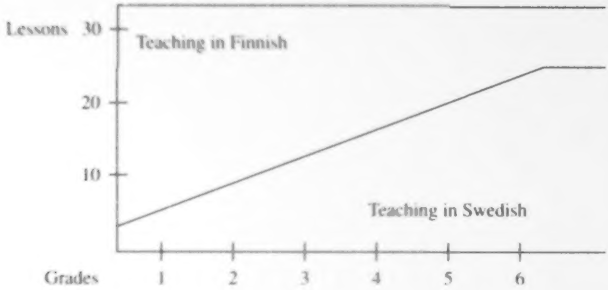
The teaching is conducted so that the Finnish pupils, during their first school year receive most of their instruction in Finnish and the teaching of, and in, Swedish is introduced and successively increased during the six years in primary and middle school. This means that, at first, the Finnish-speaking teacher is the class teacher for the Finnish pupils in almost all subjects. Swedish, however, is taught by the Swedish class teacher because the children should recognize the separate language identity of these two persons. Little by little, as the teaching in Swedish increases, the bilingual Finnish teacher may take on the responsibility for certain lessons with the Swedish pupils. This should occur in lessons which are not primarily based on oral presentation and in which the pupils' own work is the dominating feature.

The model can, in simplified form, be illustrated by Figure 3.

When the teaching in Swedish increases for the Finnish pupils it becomes possible to teach the Swedish and Finnish pupils in a heterogeneous group. The combined group teaching can be carried out by both of the teachers together or by either one of them.

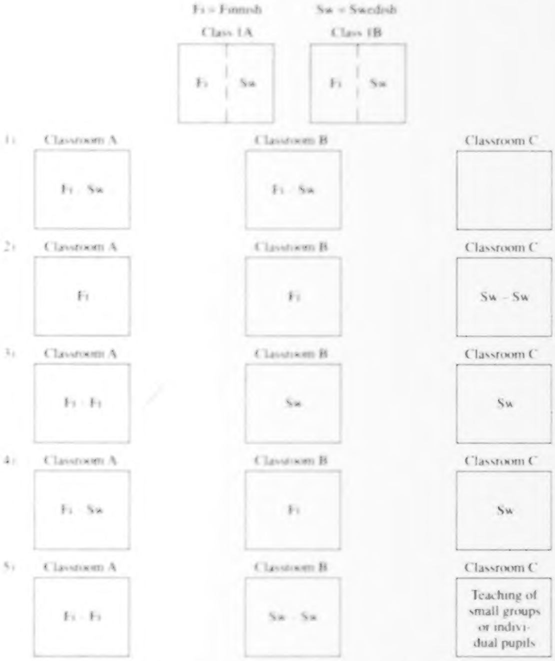
Teaching teams and classrooms

Since the number of the Finnish-speaking pupils has remained fairly stable at about 30, for each year's intake it has been possible to organize two complete classes



Source: Council of Europe. (Ed.). 1983. *Compendium of information on intercultural education schemes in Europe* (p. 39). Strasbourg, France: Author.

Figure 3: A Model for the Progressive Increase of Teaching in the Host Country's Language


Fi = Finnish
Sw = Swedish
Class 1A
Class 1B
Fi
Sw
Fi
Sw
1)
Classroom A
Fi - Sw
Classroom B
Fi - Sw
Classroom C
2)
Classroom A
Fi
Classroom B
Fi
Classroom C
Sw - Sw
3)
Classroom A
Fi - Fi
Classroom B
Sw
Classroom C
Sw
4)
Classroom A
Fi - Sw
Classroom B
Fi
Classroom C
Sw
5)
Classroom A
Fi - Fi
Classroom B
Sw - Sw
Classroom C
Teaching of small groups or individual pupils

Source: Council of Europe. (Ed.). 1983. *Compendium of information on intercultural education schemes in Europe* (p. 40). Strasbourg, France: Author.

Figure 4: A Model for a Composite, Multiple-Access Bilingual Classroom System

1224

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

in each grade. The model subsequently used in Gustavberg can be represented by the diagram in Figure 4. (See page 96)

The two classes each have two teachers. These two classes have three classrooms at their disposal. Given that the four teachers in a grade cooperate around their two composite classes, the following groupings are possible:

a. Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking pupils can be taught together in one or more of the three classrooms.
b. All the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking pupils can be grouped in one classroom, respectively.
c. The Swedish-speaking or Finnish-speaking group can be taken out and can be taught separately in the third classroom. This grouping can be arranged according to the needs of the moment. The groups do not need to be equal in size.
d. The teacher not primarily responsible for a particular group of pupils can either function as an auxiliary teacher in the classroom or can have special responsibility for one of a few selected children. In this arrangement there is, in practice, an auxiliary remedial resource built into the system.

Results, based on four years' experience of the system

By far the greatest benefit of this model has been the firm establishment of Finnish as the language of instruction for the immigrant children. Immigrant parents have accepted that the fundamental process of concept formation must occur in the mother tongue and very few parents of school beginners choose to send their children to an ordinary Swedish-speaking class even though the opportunity is, of course, available.

2. A seminar for Turkish immigrant children's host country teachers in Ankara, Turkey.

One of the major concerns of the Turkish government in recent years has been the education of Turkish emigrant workers' children, especially those in Europe. This concern is shared by the governments of European countries where such children reside.

In 1977, Turkey joined the Teacher Bursaries Scheme of the Council for Cultural Cooperation and Culture of the Council of Europe (CDCC)[26] which has been set up to foster closer relations between Member States. In 1980, administrators, educators, and teachers from the CDCC countries concerned with the education of Turkish migrant workers' children were invited by Turkey, through the Council of Europe, to attend a seven-day seminar in Ankara devoted to a study of the Turkish education system, together with an introduction to its socioeconomic and cultural background.

The seminar provided:

a. An introduction to the Turkish education system (kindergarten, primary and secondary schools, general and vocational high schools, etc.) by officials from the Ministry of Education, supported by documentation and followed by discussions.

b. A series of visits to a kindergarten, primary school, vocational school, town school, village school, scientific secondary school, teacher training college, and schools for handicapped children.

c. Invitations to several cultural events.

d. A useful exchange of views among the participants.

The school visits were particularly instructive, not only because of the opportunities for discussions with head teachers and staff members, but also because of the resulting direct contact with the students. The participants' first-hand experience of the social and educational milieu of students sharing a background very similar to the background of some of the children living in their countries made a significant and lasting impression. In a number of schools this was heightened by contact with repatriate children, thanks to whom they were able to identify and understand both the problems associated with the adaptation of the educational, social, and cultural values of the host country and the problems resulting from reintegration into the Turkish education system and Turkish society.

Notes

This overview is largely based on the information which its author obtained while being employed at the administrative headquarters of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France, from March to June 1984. The encouragement and advice that Dr. Barbara J. Merino (University of California, Department of Education) subsequently gave him are gratefully acknowledged.

Much the same article was due to appear in *NABE Journal*. Unfortunately, the publication of *NABE Journal* was suspended in 1989. The author apologizes for the fact that some of the information he is presenting is not as up-to-date as it could be, and also wishes to apologize for not being able to revise his original manuscript as thoroughly as he would have liked to in order to satisfy the pertinent comments of *NABE Journal*'s reviewers. The assistance request he sent to the Council of Europe from Japan 18 months ago did not have the effect he had expected.

In this article, the term "America" does not mean that other countries have been lumped together with the United States. "America" is always used in lieu of "the United States" (of America) in order to avoid cumbersome repetitions. Likewise, the term "Europeans" is often used only to name the representatives of the Council of Europe or the European Communities. Some Europeans, then, may well have opinions that differ considerably from those expressed by their representatives in Strasbourg or Brussels.

1. A. Karmiloff-Smith and B. Inhelder, "If You Want to Get Ahead, Get a Theory," *Cognition 3*, 1974/75, pp. 195–212.
2. J.A. Banks, "Pluralism and Educational Concepts: A Clarification," *Peabody Journal of Education*, January 1977, p. 73.
3. J.A. Banks, *Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice*, 1981, p. 61.
4. N. Appleton, *Cultural Pluralism in Education: Theoretical Foundations*, 1983, pp. 1–2.
5. The countries involved are the 21 democracies of the larger European community represented by the Council of Europe (CE countries). They include "the Twelve" member states of the European Communities organization (the EC, formerly known as the European Economic Community, the EEC, or the "Common Market:" Belgium, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, and the United Kingdom), *in addition* to Austria, Cyprus, Iceland, Liechenstein, Malta, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and Turkey (total population: approximately 400 million persons).

   The EC member states, whose combined population is about 320 million, are not to be confused with other CE countries. The EC is a more tightly knit community. It has an embryonic government with both an executive branch (the Commission of the European Communities, headquartered in

Brussels, Belgium) and a legislative branch (the European Parliament, which is part of the huge administrative complex originally built for the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France). Its economic and social commitments are relatively strong, and should be further strengthened by the well-publicized 1992 deadline which has been set for the complete economic integration of all member states. The current President of the EC Commission, Mr. Jacques Delors, worked for several years under this writer's father at the Paris headquarters of the Bank of France.

6. H.P. Baptiste, Jr. and M.L. Baptiste, *Developing the Multicultural Process in Classroom Instruction: Competencies for Teachers (Volume I: Cognitive Competencies)*, 1979, p. 15.
7. "The children for whom school attendance is compulsory under the laws of the host State, who are dependents of any worker who is a national of another Member State, where such children are resident in the territory of the Member State in which that national carries on or has carried on an activity as an employed person" as stated in Article 1 of the EEC Council Directive 77/486, which is reproduced in Appendix A.

   In Europe, the term "migrant" usually applies to immigrant workers who may at any time decide to return to their country of origin, although they may have settled down where they currently live and may not actually move about from place to place.
8. It would be possible to argue that such a phenomenon "only occurred on stage and in the mind" (Baptiste and Baptiste, op. cit., p. 11). However, "the American melting pot did achieve reality in some instances – initially for the white Western European immigrant and later for his East European counterpart" (J.A. Banks and W.W. Joyce, eds., *Teaching Social Studies to Culturally Different Children*, 1971, p. 352).

   More recently, a Washington Post columnist put it as follows. "The truth is that . . . a principal theme in the history of the United States is the gradual blurring of ethnic, racial, and cultural distinctions into a national character that may be predominantly Western but is most accurately called American. We may retain some of those distinctions as we enter the American mix, but it is the mix that matters most – and it is that those who insist on 'centrism' of any kind seek to repudiate" (J. Yardley, "Making U.S. Education of Mix of Voices, not Biases," The Japan Times, April 22, 1989, p. 18).
9. L. Porcher, *The Education of the Children of Migrant Workers in Europe: Interculturalism and Teacher Training*, 1981.
10. At about the same time as the *Rios vs. Read* U.S. District Court decision was rendered: "it is not enough simply to provide a program for disadvantaged children or even to staff the program with bilingual teachers . . . An inadequate program is as harmful to a child who does not speak English as no program at all" (H. Teitelbaum and R.J. Hiller, "Bilingual Education: The Legal Mandate," *Harvard Educational Review, 47*, 1977, p. 150).

11. The EC Commission makes proposals. The Council (of Ministers) takes decisions.
12. Porcher, op. cit.
13. H. Teitelbaum and R.J. Hiller, "Bilingual Education: The Legal Mandate," *Harvard Educational Review, 47*, pp. 138–170.
14. Baptiste and Baptiste, op. cit., p. 9.
15. Appleton, op. cit., pp. 21–22.
16. Ibid., p. 153.

    This opinion is in keeping with "No One Model American," the statement on multicultural education issued in November 1972 by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education in the aftermath of the Kent State and the Jackson State tragedies in which several students were killed.
17. Banks, 1981, op. cit., p. 67.
18. M. Rey-von Allman, *Colloquy on "Migrant Culture in a Changing Society: Multicultural Europe by the Year 2000," Strasbourg, France, 18–20 January 1983 (Report No. DECS/EGT (83) 10)*, 1983.
19. Banks, 1981, op. cit., p. 30.
20. Baptiste and Baptiste, op. cit., p. 27.
21. D.M. Gollnick and P.C. Chinn, *Multicultural Education in a Pluralistic Society*, 1983, p. 28.
22. J. Cummins, "The Construct of Language Proficiency in Bilingual Education," paper presented at the *Georgetown Roundtable on Languages and Linguistics*, 1980.
23. J.A. Banks, *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies*, 1979, p. 25.
24. One could contrast Directive 77/486EEC and the Bilingual Education Act of 1974 in which the United States Congress (only) described bilingual-education programs as those in which

    ". . . there is instruction given in, and study of, English and to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system, the native language of the children of limited English-speaking ability, and such instruction is given with appreciation for the cultural heritage of such children, and, with respect to elementary school instruction, such instruction shall, to the extent necessary, be in all courses or subjects of study which will allow a child to progress effectively through the educational system."
25. Gustavberg is the urban center for the municipal area of Värmdö (17,500 inhabitants), 15 miles east of Stockholm in the archipelago.
26. CDCC stands for "Conseil de Coopération Culturelle."

Bibliography

Appleton, N. (1983). *Cultural Pluralism in Education: Theoretical Foundations*. New York: Longman.

Banks, J.A. (1981). *Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Banks, J.A. (1979). *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Banks, J.A. (1977). Pluralism and educational concepts: a clarification. *Peabody Journal of education*, January issue.

Banks, J.A., and W.W. Joyce (Eds.). 1971. *Teaching Social Studies to culturally Different Children*. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Baptiste, Jr., H.P., and M.L. Baptiste. (1979). *Developing the Multicultural Process in Classroom Instruction: Competencies for Teachers (Volume I: Cognitive Competencies)*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America.

Commission of the European Communities. (1984). *Report from the Commission to the Council on the Implementation of Directive 77/486/EEC on the Education of the Children of Migrant Workers*. Brussels, Belgium: Author.

Commission on Migrants' Languages and Culture in School and Adult Education in Sweden (Swedish Ministry of education). (1984). *English Summary from the Main Report "Different Origins – Partnership in Sweden, Education for Linguistic and Cultural Diversity" (SOU 1983: 57)*. Stockholm, Sweden: Author.

Council of Europe. (1983). *Compendium of Information on Intercultural Educational Schemes in Europe*. Strasbourg, France: Author.

Council of Europe. (Ed.). (1979). *Dossiers for the Intercultural Training of Teachers*. Strasbourg, France: Author.

Council of Europe (Ed.). (1979). Socio-Cultural Situation of Migrants and Their Families. Strasbourg, France: Author.

Cummins, J. (1980). The construct of language proficiency in bilingual education. Paper presented at the *Georgetown Rountable on Languages and Linguistics*, Georgetown University.

Gollnick, D.M., and P.C. Chinn. (1983). *Multicultural Education in a Pluralistic Society*, St. Louis, Missouri: The C.V. Mosby Company.

Hohmann, M. (1981). *Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar on "The Education of Migrant Children," Donaueschingen, West Germany, 22–27 September 1980 (Report No. DECS/EGT (80) 81)*. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.

Jupp, T.C. (1982). *The Teaching of the National Language of the Host Country to Adult Immigrants (Report No. CDCC (81) 38)*. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.

Karmiloff-Smith, A., and B. Inhelder. (1974/75). If you want to get ahead, get a theory. *Cognition 3*: 195–212.

Liégeois, J.P. (1983). *Twentieth Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar on "The Education of Gypsy Children," Donaueschingen, West Germany, 20–25 June 1983 (Report No. DECS/EGT (83) 63).* Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.

Nemetz Robinson, G.L. (1985). *Crosscultural Understanding: Processes and Approaches for Foreign Language, English as a Second Language and Bilingual Educators.* New York: Pergamon Press.

Neilsen, J.S. (1981). *Thirteenth Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar on "The Training of Teachers of the Children of Migrant Workers: Cultural Values and Education in a Multicultural Society," Donaueschingen, West Germany, 19–24 October 1981 (Report No. DECS/EGT (81) 4).* Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.

Porcher, L. (1981). *The Education of the Children of Migrant Workers in Europe: Interculturalism and Teacher Training.* Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.

Porcher, L. (1979). *Second Council of Europe Teachers' Seminar on "The Education of Migrant Children: Intercultural Pedagogy in the Field," Donaueschingen, West Germany, 24–28 September 1979 (Report No. DECS/EGT (79) 37).* Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.

Rey-von Allman, M. (1983a). *Colloquy on "Migrant Culture in a Changing Society: Multicultural Europe by the Year 2000," Strasbourg, France, 18–20 January 1983 (Report No. DECS/EGT (83) 10).* Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.

Rey-von Allman, M. (1983b). *Symposium on "The Intercultural Training of teachers," L'Aquila, Italy, 10–14 May 1982 (Report No. DECS/EGT (83) 61).* Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe.

Rey-von Allman, M. (1979). L'education des enfants (de) migrants dans le canton de Genève: Vers une éducation interculturelle (The education of migrant(s') children in the country of Geneva: Toward an intercultural education), in Payot (Ed.), *Annuaire de l'instruction publique: Etudes pédagogigues (Public Education Directory: Pedagogical Studies).* Lausanne, Switzerland: Author.

Rey-von Allman, M. (Ed.). (1978). La scolarisation des enfants migrants: l'école et la coéducation d'enfants de différentes cultures (The schooling of migrant children: The coeducation of children from different cultures and the school). *Bulletin de GRETI*, special issue, *Technique d'instruction (Instruction Techniques).*

Teitelbaum, H., and R.J. Hiller. (1977). Bilingual education: The legal mandate. *Harvard Educational Review, 47*: 138–70.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1984). *Socioeconomic Characteristics of U.S. Foreign-born Population Detailed in Census Bureau Tabulations*

(Publication No. CB84–179). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce.

Warzée, L. (1983). *La scolarisation des enfants de travailleurs migrants (The Schooling of Migrant Workers' Children)*. Paris, France: Association Européenne des Enseignants (European Teachers' Association).

Yardley, J. (1989). Making U.S. education a mix of voices, not biases. *The Japan Times*, April 22 issue.

1232

BOOK REVIEWS

Management in English Language Teaching

White, Ron, Mervin Martin, Mike Stimson, and Robert Hodge. 1991. Cambridge University Press. iv. 348pp. Paperback.

Reviewed by
Andrew Gonzalez, FSC
De La Salle University Manila, Philippines

The purpose of this book is to provide the English Language Teacher (ELT)-turned-manager of a school with the basic concepts of management to help him administer a language school.

The book is divided into three unequal parts length-wise, authored by one or more of the writers according to their expertise and experience. Thus, the first section, the longest one, is on organizational theory and practice and contains such topics as organizational theory, staff selection, staff development, communication in schools (including counselling, conflict management, negotiation with a union), organizing resources and information, and managing curriculum development and innovation. This section was written by White and Stimson, both presently involved as directors of a language teaching center.

The second part, on marketing, covers such topics as the definition of marketing itself, the marketing mix, and developing and implementing a market plan; it was written by a non-language teacher (Martin) with a Master's degree in Business Administration who is presently a marketing coordinator of a network of language teaching schools. The third and final section, on finances, deals with financial records and statements, cash flow management and management accounting (including financial planning), and using financial information and budgeting. It was written by Hodge, who in the introduction is described as combining an ELT and training career.

The chapters begin with a numbered list of aims, go on to develop each topic systematically according to the outline, and end with follow-up activities consisting of questions to answer, tasks to do, and minicases to discuss. The most creative exercise is found on pages 152–65 in the first part, on organization, consisting of an "in-tray activity" where the principal of a language school has to prioritize the correspondence on her tray after an absence of one day. In addition to being an exercise

1233

in determining priorities, the individual problems brought up can be discussed as separate minicases in themselves.

The treatment of each chapter is competently done; obviously the whole first part is written by managers who have gone through the day-to-day tasks of academic management, this time, in a language school. The second part simplifies the usually complicated aspects of marketing for the beginning marketing student; and the third part, on reading and making use of financial statements. The explanations are clear and easy to understand. For an accountant or financial manager to do this successfully for a language teacher dipping his foot into the waters of accounting for the first time is a marvelous feat in itself.

The only limitation of the book, a basic one, is that it is really not specific to language programs even though every effort is made to use examples from the running of an ELT specialized school usually catering to foreigners and organized for profit by language educator-enterpreneurs. However, the materials presented, although ably discussed in clear and simple language and therefore useful to the beginning student of management, could have been written for any management manual dealing with the basics of organizational theory and behavior, marketing and financial management. In other words, while the book purports to be a book on the management of English language teaching institutions, the practical uses by way of examples are minimal. It is heavy on management, light on managing an English Language Teaching Program at a level lower than the institutional. It would have been more useful to approach the subject from the point of view of a program coordinator or a Chair of an ELT Department rather than the Director of a School. For example, in the first part, in the chapter on managing curriculum development and innovation, it would have been more interesting for the ELT teacher-turned-manager to read about actual curricular problems in ELT, using management problems connected with the production or selection of a syllabus and the myriad decisions that have to be made in connection with the content choices of a language teaching program. Moreover, under innovation in the same chapter, the discussion could have been centred on the introduction and dissemination of an innovative curriculum or program or procedure-technique in language teaching that could have been used to make the subject more relevant. Similarly in treating the other aspects of management, marketing and finance, discussions are at the school level, whereas it would have been u
to supplement school-wide pr
with problems of marketing
program or specialization i
partment or to finding the break-even point to make a new field of specialization financially viable. Admittedly, the point of reference in this comment assumes a department organized along the model of American education; it could very well be that in a British setting, majors or

fields of specialization (e.g., an MA program in TESOL, an MA program in ESP) might be organized differently.

The book is well-edited, with no typos. It has a subject and author index, and an excellent bibliography for basic management. The explanations even in the accounting section are quite clear except for the discussion on page 329 in section 12.5.1, where the percentage of 20% net profit is stated without enough basis for the figure cited; this is explained later, on the next page.

123

Arthur Brookes and Peter Grundy, 1990. *Writing for Study Purposes: A Teacher's Guide to Developing Individual Writing Skills*. First edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 162pp. Paperback.

Reviewed by
Harriet Wong,
Language Centre,
National University of Malaysia.

As indicated in the title of the book, it is essentially a teacher's resource book on the teaching of writing for academic purposes. It comprises two main parts – the first sets out the principles underlying the approach to the teaching of academic writing and the second, exercises to demonstrate the operationalization of these principles in the classroom. Speaking of the book as a whole, the authors state that it grew out of their own experience and that the "ideas in it have been tried out in different situations in Britain and Europe with a great deal of success" (Preface); and herein lies its greatest strength – classroom-tested materials based on contemporary ideas of the written language and language learning.

The *Introduction* to **Part 1** is especially relevant for it explains the theoretical underpinnings of the approach to the teaching of writing adopted by the authors. Basically, the approach can be illustrated diagrammatically as follows:

As shown in the diagram the authors have incorporated distinctive elements from two major language teaching methodologies into their approach and set writing firmly within what they call "a communicative approach using humanistic methodology". The approach is communicative insofar as it reflects features of communicative practice such as having something meaningful to say, developing audience and register awareness, working in small groups and writing collaboratively. As for humanistic methodology, its fundamental characteristic is the recognition of the learner as central to learning and as a resource person. This approach can be considered innovative in the sense that although notions like 'communicative', 'integrated' and 'humanistic' have been around for a while in ELT, they have rarely been combined and applied to

communicative practice + integrated approach + humanistic principles = a new approach to teaching writing the teaching of writing, let alone the teaching of writing for academic purposes in ESL settings.

In **Part 1 – Approach**, the authors demonstrate their familiarity with current thinking in the field, covering three broad conceptual areas, namely: the writing process, cultural assumptions about writing and preparing to teach writing. **Chapter 1** gives an overview of the writing process itself, focussing on five topics – purpose, spoken and written language, readership, process and product and genre analysis. Although the authors recognise the value of the written product as model and the contributions of genre analysis, the main thrust of their approach is that the teaching of academic writing should not be prescriptive. Instead, the writers advocate that content should emerge from what the learners really want to say and that form should develop from their struggle to express meaning. **Chapter 2** is especially interesting for in it the authors explore a relatively neglected aspect of academic writing – cultural assumptions about writing and their implications for teaching. It serves to remind teachers that in a culturally mixed class they must be aware of possible areas of cultural mismatch in their students' writing and "to bring to consciousness what are unconscious assumptions on the part of the students" (p. 38). In **Chapter 3** the authors move on to more practical matters. Here, they offer suggestions on how to draw up a negotiated syllabus between learners and teachers, paying particular attention to aspects such as awareness of learners' abilities and needs, selection of sub-skills for teaching and utilization of learner-input. In respect to evaluation of writing, the authors contend that self- and peer-correction with minimal teacher intervention at the process stage is more effective than the traditional practice of teacher correction of the final product.

Although much can be said in favour of self- and peer-correction, and rightly so; in the final analysis, teachers will still need to provide feedback to the students on their writing and to encourage subsequent redrafting and revision. Admittedly, individual consultations with students are very time consuming but the majority of ESL learners appreciate the time teachers invest in their written work. In fact, our students at the Language Centre are never quite satisfied until the teacher has evaluated their writing and they have repeatedly indicated that student-teacher consultation is one of their most valuable learning experiences. Therefore, in the teaching of academic writing, as teachers we should be interested in the product but this does not mean that the methodology cannot be process-oriented – focussing on learners' process of writing and identifying the problems they face as they struggle with academic writing. Product and process need not be mutually exclusive.

Part 2 contains 44 exercises dealing with various aspects of writing which the authors perceive to be problematic for ESL learners. These writing difficulties are then grouped under four major types of exercises as follows:

Exercise-Type	**Area of Writing Difficulty**
1. *Negotiation*	– knowing what to write about
2. *Organization*	– organizing the information to be conveyed – deciding on the relative prominence to be given to particular points – incorporating what one learns from listening and reading
3. *The sociology of writing*	– observing cultural constraints – writing for a purpose – readership awareness
4. *Techniques*	– expressing complex ideas – exactness – rewriting

Within each major exercise-type the authors provide exercises dealing with specific problems related to a broad area of writing difficulty. Each exercise is well-organised and easy to follow for it is set out clearly in four sub-sections:

Focus	– definition of aspect dealt with: the teaching points
Class Organization	– grouping of class for the exercise, time allocation and materials required
Exercise	– sequence of activities entailed in the exercise
Comments	– follow-up work and activities to help learners see the relevance of the exercise to future academic writing tasks

The authors claim that a humanistic, learner-centred methodology is particularly applicable to heterogeneous classes consisting of students from different academic disciplines, different cultural backgrounds and with varying language abilities. With a mixed group there will always be the problem of finding suitable academic topics but by making the learner the language resource, the problem of what to write largely disappears. As the authors explain, their particular circumstances have compelled them to use student "differences as a resource" and "to capitalize on students' interest in themselves and each other" (p. 1).

While it is recognized that a humanistic view of language learning with its emphasis on student-generated subject matter can, to an extent, solve the problem of what to write and make classes more enjoyable in the sense that it promotes greater student involvement, it is believed that the teaching of academic writing should not stop there. A humanistic methodology may be appropriate and even necessary, especially at the beginning stages of a writing course, for the purpose of sensitizing learners to important aspects of academic writing, for making the task of writing appear less formidable and for developing self-confidence but it is not sufficient to meet many of the higher-order demands of writing in an EAP context. If a writing course is to reflect more closely what students are expected to write on in their content courses, then they should also be required to write on cognitively more demanding topics even if they are deemed to be uninteresting so long as they are perceived to be relevant to their academic studies. Especially in the case of academic writing, if there should be a conflict between interest and relevance, perhaps the latter should be the overriding principle. In fact, after a while, students get impatient with person-related input such as hobbies, eating experiences and television preferences since it may be difficult for them to see the immediate relevance of such topics to what they are actually confronted with in their writing assignments. They want to proceed on to more intellectually challenging issues that are derived not from themselves or their peers but from lectures and academic readings. In general, while the humanistic view to language learning is the strength of this book, its almost total allegiance to one methodological orientation is also its major shortcoming. Academic writing is such a cognitively and linguistically demanding skill that it requires not just one methodological treatment but a right balance of various treatments.

Another limitation of the book is that although the 44 exercises do a good job of introducing students to the more common areas of writing difficulty, they seldom take them beyond writing lists of sentences or paragraphs. The authors' reasons for restricting the exercises to small, self-contained tasks that can be completed in one or two class hours are again related to their particular circumstances – limited class time, erratic attendance and heavy academic commitments of the students. While one can appreciate the practical constraints, it is felt that students should still be given the opportunity to be involved in more sustained writing. It is the limited extent to which students are engaged in extended writing that is the main shortcoming of the exercises in this book. It does not have enough activities of the kind which will give students the opportunity to demonstrate their mastery of the sub-skills not as separate entities but as an integral part of the whole process of writing on an academic subject. This is not to suggest, of course, that there is no place for the teaching of the sub-skills. Students definitely need instruction in the enabling skills of academic writing such as summarizing (as in Exercise 1), linking paragraphs (Ex. 4), generalizing (Ex. 5), supporting with examples (Ex. 6) and comparing and contrasting (Ex. 24). However, to be effective, these sub-skills should preferably be taught, at least at the later stages, in the context of an academic writing task and not as isolated activities. Students will then be able to recognize the interrelationships among these contributory skills and come to realise that the enabling activities contribute to the successful completion of a writing task in a real way.

In conclusion, although it may be necessary to supplement the exercises with extended writing tasks on topics resembling those that they have to work on in their academic studies, they provide an excellent focus for an academic writing course. They can constitute the core or framework of a course, especially for the beginning stages when the emphasis is on sensitizing students to the writing problems that they are most likely to encounter in their own writing. Furthermore, their adaptability to different levels and to different groups of students is certainly another of their strengths. As a teacher's resource, *Writing for Study Purposes* is well worth reading, its chief contributions to the field being the up-to-date review of pertinent issues related to the learning and teaching of writing in an EAP context and the impressive variety of exercises to teach this complex skill humanistically.

1240

Huebner, T. & Ferguson, C.A. (eds.). (1991). *Crosscurrents in second language acquisition and linguistic theories.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 435pp + viii. Price not known. Hard cover.

Reviewed by
Leo Van Lier

This book consists of a collection of 19 papers based on a conference held at Stanford University in 1987. In the preface the editors explain that the conference, though initially planned independently, came to be conceptualized as complementing and broadening the objectives of an earlier conference held at MIT in 1985 which resulted in Flynn & O'Neill (1988), an important collection many readers will be familiar with. In contrast to Flynn & O'Neill, which dealt primarily with studies in the parameter-setting aspects of government-binding theory and universal grammar, the current volume includes a much wider variety of linguistic theories and research methods. In addition, the book has two further goals: to explore ways in which SLA research can contribute to linguistic theories, and can at the same time be in certain respects independent of linguistic theory.

The papers are organized into three sections (plus a concluding section by Charles Ferguson):

- I Overview
- II From Theories to Hypothesis Testing
- III From Data to Model Building

I Overview

In the opening paper of the book Thom **Huebner** surveys the field of SLA over the last twenty-five years or so, examining concepts such as transfer, negative input, competence and performance, and research methods such as case studies and grammaticality judgments. He observes that "research in SLA would benefit from more focused observation and detailed analyses of what learners actually do in the process of acquisition within the context in which that acquisition occurs", and that this should form the basis for experimental designs. Peter **Sells** provides a brief account of some recent trends in syntactic theory, particularly those that subscribe to a modular view, in which several components interact. He expresses the hope that those who work in SLA will become more acquainted with current research in the syntactic domain. Although the aim of the conference is to show the relevance of SLA for theoretical linguistics (and, hence, a wish for syntacticians to become more acquainted with SLA would be more in tune with that aim), the advice is reasonable enough. Joseph **Greenberg's** typological approach, is harking back to the immense breadth of Roman Jakobson's work, and emphasizing the historical context in which all science operates, contrasts with the work reviewed by Sells, which stresses precision in the formulation of syntactic rules. Greenberg's brief paper can be read as a refutation of Chomsky's questionable distinction between E and I language (Chomsky 1986), even though Greenberg does not directly refer to Chomsky's work.

II From Theories to Hypothesis Testing

This section contains eight papers in which particular theories or models are advanced with a view to their applicability to SLA phenomena and, to a lesser extent, with a view to examining the value of SLA data for these theories.

Irene **Vogel** argues that L2 phonology can assist in the reconstruction of certain aspects of L1 phonology, especially in the area of prosodic constituents and the domains of application of particular rules, when crucial information is absent in L1. John **Bybee** points out the inadequacy of morpheme-based accounts and proposes a model which takes the word as the basic grammatical unit. Language acquisition involves the construction of paradigms and schemas, in which such features as markedness, lexical strength, and relatedness determine the order and strategies involved in the acquisition of paradigmatic structures. John **Myhill** examines tense/aspect marking in several Creoles and then systematically compares this with SLA data, noting several correspondences and suggesting that this weakens the claims for the uniqueness of Creoles made by, e.g., Bickerton. Carol **Rosen** provides an interesting application to SLA of relational grammar, a theory which has thus far received little attention in the US but which, as Rosen shows, can be of considerable interest to SLA. S. **Flynn** reports a study investigating parameter-setting. Tests consisting of elicited imitation of complex sentences containing preposed and post-posed subordinate clauses were used, and the performance of Spanish and Japanese speakers was compared. The results confirmed the predictive power of the parameter-setting model, though the concluding suggestion, that "L2 acquisition, like L1 acquisition, is a deductive grammar-driven process and not primarily an inductive data-driven one," may be considered unwarranted by some readers. Wolfgang **Klein** attributes a thoughtful paper on SLA theory (which, incidentally, might just as well have been placed in the "Overview" section). Wielding Occam's razor (which, incidentally, can cut two ways: it can cut unnecessary fat, but it can also cut vital creativity and imagination if applied too hastily!) examines a series of truisms in the field, and also takes an incisive look at the parameter-setting model. Klein's paper should find a place on many SLA reading lists. Ann **Cooreman** and Kerry **Kilborn** examine the actual and potential contributions of SLA to the diverse field of functional linguistics. The work of functionalists like Givon, Keenan,

1242

Lakoff, Langacker (cognitive grammar), and McWhinney & Bates (competition model) is included in their review, but the work of Halliday (systemic grammar) is not mentioned, nor is the critical linguistics of Fairclough, Kress, and others, which is influenced by thinkers like Bourdieu and Wittgenstein, and which adds a whole new dimension to the functional approach to language study. John **Rickford** explains the use of implicational scaling in studies of linguistic variation, first in the traditional domains of sociolinguistics, then in post-puberty acquisition.

III From Data to Model Building

This section is closest to central aims of the collection, since its title suggests that here we will be shown how SLA data can contribute to linguistic theories. In covering a wide range of data this section underscores the richness and variety of SLA research. James Emil **Flege** reports a series of experiments in the reception and production of speech sounds by native and non-native speakers. He then outlines a specific model of L2 phonological learning which yields a number of testable hypotheses. Ann **Cessaris** and Dwight **Bolinger** discuss the teaching of intonation and its potential value for intonational theory. They quote Pike as the prime example of such an orientation and review some current pronunciation texts. Although they mention the growing influence of British intonologists, they omit reference to such classics as O'Connor & Arnold (1973), as well as the more recent work of David Brazil and associates (see Knowles 1987 for an introduction). Cessaris and Bolinger make the important point that "the flow of information between theory and classroom practice is as much from practice to theory as the reverse" (p. 302). Roger **Anderson** studies the emergence of aspect marking in the acquisition of Spanish as a second language. It is interesting to compare Anderson's developmental sequences to the process of building paradigmatic structures proposed by Bybee (see above). A cursory inspection suggests broad compatibility. Carmen **Silva-Corvalán** examines attrition in cross-generational bilingualism, using data from Mexican-American bilinguals in east Los Angeles. Patterns of simplification and loss are divided into nine stages, which mirror (in reverse) to a large extent stages in creolization, as well as in first and second language acquisition (cf. the claims made by Myhill, see above). This study predates Cohen & Weltens 1989 which, somewhat surprisingly, does not mention Silva-Corvalán's work at all. Norbert **Dittmar** and Heiner **Terborg** discuss the development of modality in second language learning, providing along the way a useful survey of various classifications and conceptualizations of this very complex and crucial aspect of language use. Second language data can give theoretical linguists insights into modal structures and their relative importance in lexical, syntactic and pragmatic terms. Christiane **von Stutterheim** attempts to answer the question: "How are temporal categories expressed by speakers at different levels of language proficiency?" (p. 387). *Time* is taken as a conceptual domain which learners develop gradually in their linguistic system. This development is studied in a concept-oriented rather than form-oriented way. The data used were spontaneous conversations by Turkish workers living in Germany, and the analysis showed that temporal expression in discourse is achieved by the integration of lexical, grammatical, and discoursal devices, as well as by implicit reference. Cross-linguistic studies using this concept-oriented perspective could benefit language typologies more than purely form-oriented comparisons. Finally, Clive **Perdue** describes a context (the European Science Foundation Project) in which a number of cross-linguistic comparisons such as von Stutterheim's were carried out. As the results of that massive project become more generally accessible through conferences and volumes such as the one under review, they will continue to yield valuable information and stimulate much further research, just as the earlier German interlanguage projects did (see, e.g., Nicholas & Meisel 1983).

IV Conclusion

Charles Ferguson provides some general comments to the volume as a whole, and I will append my own conclusions to his. I agree with Ferguson that the volume succeeds in presenting a lively variety of theoretical viewpoints, research methods, and settings, and I also agree that this variety is a good thing since, as Ferguson puts it, "without an accumulation of careful, insightful SLA research of many kinds it will not be possible to do the linguistics of the future, to make a quantum leap to a deeper understanding of human language" (p. 434).

Does the volume achieve its goals? It is this reviewer's opinion that both goals mentioned at the beginning of the review have been achieved in a substantial way. SLA research provides data and analytical discussions that are of considerable interest to linguists, language acquisition researchers, cognitive scientists, social and cultural psychologists, and other researchers in related fields. Furthermore, there is sufficient critical mass in SLA to ensure the continued vitality of its theoretical pursuits, independent from (though not in isolation from) other, more established disciplines. Furthermore, SLA has a distinct advantage over theoretical linguistics in a world in which the perceived instrumentality (hence applicability) of science is directly related to its level of public and private funding. Now that linguistics (at least in the US) is in such dire straits that the Linguistics Society of America has deemed it necessary to set up a "Fund for the Future of Linguistics" (Pullum 1991, pp. 20–21), any way in which the study of language can be shown to be of importance for some specific human activity or set of problems will enhance the survival options for linguistics as an academic discipline.

Related to this last comment, I would suggest that "pure" linguists and SLA researchers alike would be well-advised to make room for a brand of theorizing in which, as Cessaris and Bolinger suggest (see above), information flows from practice to theory. We might do well to heed the words of Pierre Bourdieu, who says that sociology "... would perhaps not be worth an hour's trouble if it solely had as its end the intention of exposing the wires which activate the individuals it observes – if ... it did not give itself the task of restoring to men the meanings of their actions." (Robbins 1991, p. 37). The volume leaves this aspect of research and theory largely unaddressed, but perhaps in due time a third volume (if we regard Flynn and O'Neill as the first one) will appear which takes this next step, one which may well be crucial for the future of both linguistics and SLA.

To summarize, the volume is a valuable collection of papers, quite heterogeneous in many respects, but for that very reason of considerable interest. It would have been helpful if the editors had traced connections, trends and directions across the different papers in some more detail, but other than that the book is well edited and produced. It deserves to be studied carefully by linguists and SLA researchers of all persuasions.

References

Cohen, A.D. & Weltens, B. (eds.). 1989. Language attrition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 11, 2, June 1989 (thematic issue).

Flynn , S. & O'Neill, W. 1988. *Linguistic theory in second language acquisition*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Knowles, G. 1987. *Patterns of spoken English*. London: Longman.

Nicholas, H. & Meisel, J. 1983. Second language acquisition: The state of the art, In Felix, S. & Wode, H. (eds.) *Language development on the Crossroads*, pp. 63–89. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

O'Connor, J.D. & Arnold, G.F. 1973. *Intonation of colloquial English*. London: Longman.

Pullum, J.K. 1991. *The great Eskimo vocabulary hoax and other irreverent essays on the study of language*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Robbins, D. 1991. *The work of Pierre Bourdieu*. Boulder: Westview Press.

RELC

ANNOUNCEMENT

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

Language for Specific Purposes: Problems and Prospects

Singapore, 19-21 April 1993

For more information, please contact:

CHAIRMAN,
SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE,
SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
30 ORANGE GROVE ROAD
SINGAPORE 1025
TEL. (65) 7379044
FAX. (65) 7342753

TESOL 1993 Annual Convention

Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL)
27th Annual Convention and Exposition
"Designing Our World", April 13 to 17, 1993
Atlanta Hilton, Atlanta, Georgia

For more information, contact TESOL,
1600 Cameron St., Suite 300, Alexandria, VA 22314
Tel: 703-836-0774. Fax 703-836-7864

CALL for Papers

Adult Language Learning

AILA 1993

The 10th AILA World Congress (Association Internationale de Linguistique Appliquée) will be held in Amsterdam from August 8th to August 15th, 1993. In this context, the Section ADULT LANGUAGE LEARNING will organize a series of papers and discussions.

In addition to the section on ADULT LANGUAGE LEARNING, a *symposium* is to be held on the specific problem of "the Acquisition of Foreign Language for Professional Purposes: Needs analysis and objectives (Presentation of new research results)."

Would those interested please contact the Convenor of the AILA Scientific Commission "ADULT LANGUAGE LEARNING". Prof. Dr. A. Raasch, Romanistisches Institut, Universität des Saarlandes, D-6600 Saarbrucken. Tel: 0681/302-3243, FAX 0681/302-4588.

PROSPECT

THE JOURNAL OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Prospect is the national professional journal of the Australian Adult Migrant (Immigrant) Educational Program (AMEP). This Commonwealth-funded program offers English as a Second Language and Orientation tuition to approximately 100,000 adult immigrants to Australia from all over the world each year.

Jill Burton, Editor

Reference Panel includes
Professor J. Anderson
Flinders University of S.A.
Professor H. Holec
Universite de Nancy 11
Dr. D. Ingram
Brisbane College of Advanced Education
Mr. H. Nicholas
La Trobe University
Dr. M. Pieneman
University of Sydney
Professor J. Richards
University of Hawaii

It publishes articles, notes, reports and reviews on applied linguistic and teaching concerns related to the adult E.S.L. field. Prospect is published three times a year by the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research. Information about subscription rates and advertisements can be obtained from:

GERD S. STABLER
SALES AND MARKETING MANAGER
NCELTR ◆ SCHOOL of ENGLISH and LINGUISTIS ◆ MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY ◆
SYDNEY ◆ NEW SOUTH WALES 2109 ◆ AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE (02) 805 7673 TELEX MACUNI AA122377 FACSIMILE (02) 805 7849

CROSS CURRENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

***Cross Currents* is a semi-annual publication of the Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) which provides a forum for the interdisciplinary exchange of ideas within the areas of cross-cultural communication and language skill acquisition and instruction. At *Cross Currents*, we are particularly committed to issues concerning both the theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, English language teaching as it applies to Japan, and English as an International Language.**

Recent contributors to *Cross Currents* include:

Robert O'Neill
Braj Kachru
Alan Maley
Walter Hirtle
Richard Via
Larry Smith
Paul LaForge

SUBSCRIPTIONS	Single issue	1 year	2 years
Inside Japan*	¥1,300	¥2,600	¥5,150
Outside Japan — Individual Subscription	$8.00	$15.00	$25.00
Outside Japan — Institutional Rate		$19.50	$35.00

* *Special rates available for JALT members. (See postal form in the Language Teacher.)*

- ***Japan Subscriptions*:**
School Book Service
FI Building 4F
1-26-5 Takadanobaba
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
03-200-4531
(By postal transfer to Tokyo postal account No 9-86192, or cash delivery - Genkin Kakitome.)

- Current Issues are also available in major Japanese bookstores through **YOHAN** in Japan.

- Back Issues are available from Cross Currents.

- ***Outside Japan*:**
Cross Currents
Language Institute
of Japan
4-14-1 Shiroyama
Odawara, Kanagawa 250
Japan
(Make checks payable to *Cross Currents* (LIOJ) drawn on a U.S. bank.)

NOW AVAILABLE

Perspectives on Second Language Teacher Education

This book contains a selection of the papers presented at the International Conference on Teacher Education, held at City Polytechnic of Hong Kong in April 1991.

CONTENTS

- 19 papers on TESL teacher education, by international specialists
- theory papers and case studies
- papers on teacher decision making, research, program design, innovation and change, journals, action research
- contributors include Donald Freeman, Nina Spada, Martha Pennington, David Nunan, Tony Wright, Andrew Cohen, Kathleen Bailey, and Diane Larsen-Freeman

HOW TO ORDER

Complete the order form below and enclose a bank draft/cheque in US dollars or HK dollars made out to City Polytechnic of Hong Kong. The price is HK$95 or US$15. Surface mail postage is included.

To: Department of English
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong
83 Tat Chee Avenue
Kowloon
Hong Kong

Please send copy/copies of ***Perspectives on Second Language Teacher Education.***

Amount enclosed

Send to
Name

Address

香港城市理工學院
City Polytechnic
of Hong Kong

香港城市理工學院
City Polytechnic
of Hong Kong

Call for Papers

Second International Conference on Teacher Education in Second Language Teaching

March 24, 25, 26, 1993
Organized by Department of English
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong

Deadline for proposals: November 30, 1992

The goals of the conference are to examine research and practice in L2 teacher education from a variety of perspectives. Proposals are invited for papers, workshops, and poster sessions.

Proposals (250 words) should be sent to:
Conference on Teacher Education in Second Language Teaching
c/o Department of English
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong
Tat Chee Avenue
Kowloon
Hong Kong
Fax: (852) 7888894
Tel: (852) 7888859

ARE THESE ON YOUR READING LIST?

ISSN 0289-7938
全国語学教育学会
NOVEMBER 1988
VOL. XII, NO. 12
THE Language Teacher
THE JAPAN
ASSOCIATION OF
LANGUAGE TEACHERS ¥350
JALT
JALT JOURNAL

Publications of

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

The Language Teacher
A monthly magazine with features, reviews, meeting announcements, employment opportunities, etc.

JALT Journal
A semi-annual journal featuring articles relevant to language teaching/learning in Japan and Asia

Annual Membership Fees (including subscriptions to both publications)
Domestic: Regular, ¥6,000; Joint, ¥10,000; Student, ¥4,000; Associate, ¥50,000
Overseas: sea mail, US$30; air mail, US$40
Send remittance by bankers draft in yen drawn on a Japanese bank, or dollars drawn on an American bank.
The postal giro account may also be used by international subscribers.
Postal furikae (giro) account: Kyoto 15892, "JALT"

JALT International Conference on Language Teaching/Learning
An annual event featuring over 300 lectures/workshops/demonstrations
Over 2,000 participants yearly.

November 3–5, 1989 — Okayama
November 23–25, 1990 — Tokyo area
November 2–4, 1991 — To be announced

Send requests for further information and remittances to:
JALT, Lions Mansion Kawaramachi #111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-agaru
Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan. Tel.: (075) 361-5428; Fax: (075) 361-5429

Subscription form

RELC JOURNAL

A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and a subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is eighteen Singapore dollars (S$18.00) for subscription within SEAMEO countries and US$18.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and sent it to

The Publications Officer
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
RELC Building
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at S$7.00*/US$7.00+ per copy.

For the complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications Officer.

I enclose S$18.00*/US$18.00+. Please send me the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for..

Name:..

Address:..

....

....

* within SEAMEO countries
+ other countries

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Clarification:

The present members of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) are: Negara Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

GUIDELINES

A PERIODICAL FOR CLASSROOM LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Every issue of *Guidelines* is a unique collection of practical ideas that have direct usefulness for the classroom teacher. Articles are written in a simple, readable style.

• Vocabulary Teaching	June 1980	• Drama Activities	Dec. 1983
• Audio-Visual Aids	Dec. 1980	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No. 1)	June 1984
• Language Games	June 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 6 No 2)	Dec. 1984
• Writing Activities	Dec. 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 1)	June 1985
• Study Skills	June 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 7 No 2)	Dec. 1985
• Group Activities	Dec. 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 8 No. 1)	June 1986
• Classrooms Tests	June 1983	• Classroom Interaction	Dec. 1986

From the June 1984 issues onwards each issue covers a variety of topics in its selection of articles.

Guidelines is published twice a year, in June and December.
Individual copies can be ordered for S$7.00/US$6.00. Reserve future copies with the detachable money-saving coupon below. The annual subscription is S$14.00 (within SEAMEO countries) and US$14.00 for other countries.

Please begin my subscription for Guidelines with the issue for

(month) ____________________ 19 ____________________.

Enclosed is S$/US$ .... (Bank draft/Money order)

Name .... (Block letters)

Address (in full) ....

....

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copy must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, e.g., the suffix-*s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text.

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221-222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14-16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, 221-254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC PUBLICATIONS

Monograph Series
An Introduction to Linguistics for the Language Teacher
Cultural Components of Reading
The Testing of Listening Comprehension
Problems of Learning English as a Second Language in Malaysia
Strategies for Communication between Teachers and Pupils in a Rural Malaysian School
Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in Multilingual Societies
An Historical Study of Language Planning

Anthology Series
(1) Reading: Insights and Approaches
(2) Teaching English for Science and Technology
(3) Curriculum Development and Syllabus Design for English Teaching
(4) Language Education in Multilingual Societies
(5) Papers on Southeast Asian Languages
(6) Applications of Linguistics to Language Teaching
(7) Bilingual Education
(8) Patterns of Bilingualism
(9) Language Testing
(10) Language Teaching Issues in Multilingual Environments in Southeast Asia
(11) Varieties of English in Southeast Asia
(12) Transfer and Translation in Language Learning and Teaching
(13) Trends in Language Syllabus Design
(14) Communicative Language Teaching
(15) Language Across the Curriculum
(16) Language in Learning

Occasional Papers Series
(2) Research Proposals for Studies in Language Learning
(3) Controlled and Guided Composition
(5) Group Activities for Language Learning
(6) A Handbook of Communication Activities for Young Learners
(7) Form and Function in Second Language Learning
(8) New Varieties of English: Issues and Approaches
(9) Papers on Variation in English
(10) Error Analysis and Error Correction in Language Teaching
(11) Studies in Second Language Acquisition
(12) Developing Awareness Skills for Interethnic Communication
(13) Trends in Language Teaching and Bilingual Education
(14) Approaches to Communicative Competence
(15) Contrastive Instructional Materials Development
(16) An Error Analysis of English Compositions by Thai Students
(18) Papers on Language Testing
(19) Measuring Affective Factors in Language Learning
(20) Studies in Classroom Interaction
(21) Ten Papers on Translation
(22) A Study of Hokkien-Mandarin Phonological Correspondences
(23) What Is Standard English
(24) Techniques and Approaches for Advanced ESL Students
(25) On Conversation
(26) Psycholinguistic Dimensions of Language Teaching and Bilingualism
(27) Papers on Team Teaching and Syllabus Design
(28) Papers on Translation: Aspects, Concepts, Implications
(29) Varieties of English and Their Implications for ELT in South-east Asia
(30) Concepts and Functions in Current Syllabuses
(31) Case Studies in Syllabus and Course Design
(32) Language, Identity and Socio-Economic Development
(33) Interlanguage of Learners of English as a Foreign Language
(34) On Composition
(35) Minidictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes
(36) A Quantitative approach to the Study of Sociolinguistic Situations in Multilingual Societies
(38) Studies on Sociocultural Factors Affecting Language Education
(39) Studies in Philippine English
(40) Language Attitudes
(41) Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning

Guidelines. A Periodical for Classroom Language Teachers
June 1979 No. 1 Communication Activities
Dec 1979 No. 2 Teaching Reading Skills
June 1980 No. 3 Vocabulary Teaching
Dec 1980 No. 4 Audio-Visual Aids in Language-Teaching
June 1981 No. 5 Language Games
Dec 1981 No. 6 Writing Activities
June 1982 Vol. 4 No. 1 Study Skills
Dec 1982 Vol. 4 No. 2 Group Activities
June 1983 Vol. 5 No. 1 Classroom Tests
Dec 1983 Vol. 5 No. 2 Drama Activities
1984–1986 A Periodical for classroom Language Teachers

RELC Newsletter. This publication is mailed quarterly to over 3,500 readers within and outside Southeast Asia. Each issue reports on the Centre's recent activities.

Printed by Fong & Sons Printers Pte.

A Journal Of Language Teaching And Research In Southeast Asia

SILVER JUBILEE ISSUE 1968-1993

VOL: 24 NUMBER 1 JUNE 1993

PUBLISHED BY SEAMEO RELC SINGAPORE

1257

RELC JOURNAL

Volume 24

Number 1

June 1993

RELC P407-93

1258

Editorial Committee

Makhan L Tickoo *Editor*
Audrey Ambrose-Yeoh *Review Editor*
Andrea H Peñaflorida
Yolanda Beh
Melchor Tatlonghari
Joseph Foley
V K Bhatia

NOTES FOR SUBSCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Asia.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$18.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$18.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal*, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of the respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Regional Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization.

(Notes for Subscribers continued on inside back cover)

RELC

1253

© REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1993.
ISSN 0033-6882

NTENTS

Beyond the Text Book: The Role of Commercial Materials in Language teaching 1

Assessment of Oral Skills: A Comparison of Scores obtained through Audio Recording to those obtained through Face-To-Face Evaluation 15

Verbal-Report Data and Introspective Methods in Second Language Research: State of the Art 32

Analytical Assessments of Foreign Students' Writing 61

High Cognitive Questions in NNS Group Classroom Discussion: Do they Facilitate Comprehension and Production of the Foreign Language? 73

The English Language Needs of Thai Computing Professionals 86

The Effects of Bilingualism on Examination Scores: A Different Setting 109

Current Research in Southeast Asia 118

Language in Action: An Introduction to Modern Linguistics 125

The Other Tongue 130

Training Foreign Language teachers: A Reflective Approach 137

Study Speaking: A Course in Spoken English for Academic Purposes 141

145

BEYOND THE TEXT BOOK: THE ROLE OF COMMERCIAL MATERIALS IN LANGUAGE TEACHING

JACK C RICHARDS
Department of English
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong

Abstract

In many schools and language programs, the textbooks used in the ESL program *are* the curriculum. If we wish to determine what the objectives of the ESL course are, the kind of syllabus being used, the content which the students will study, and the assumptions about teaching and learning that the course embodies, we need look no further than the textbooks used in the program itself. Textbooks and other commercial materials in many situations represent the hidden curriculum of the ESL course. Textbooks thus play a significant part in the professional lives of teachers. But what are the benefits and costs of the impact of textbooks on teaching? This paper seeks to answer this question by examining the role commercial textbooks play in instruction, why they have achieved their present status, and what the consequences are.

1. The present situation

It hardly needs to be said that ESL teachers today are extremely well served by publishers. An enormous diversity of commercial textbooks are available to support practically every kind of ESL program. Today's textbooks are visually appealing, with full color art and sophisticated magazine-like design, printed on high quality paper and supported by an assortment of supplementary resources, such as workbooks, cassettes, and videos. For any one course the teacher can often choose between 10 or more competing textbooks, offering a variety of approaches and activities designed to make teaching easier and learning more interesting. And all this has come about in the last twenty or thirty years. A generation ago teachers had a far more limited range of textbooks to choose from and the quality of textbooks on the market was much less impressive than commercial materials available today.

It is not surprising that given such resources, teachers make good use of them, and that for many teachers the commercial textbook is the primary source of teaching ideas and materials in their teaching. Indeed, the extent of English language teaching activities worldwide could hardly be sustained without the kind of teacher-proof textbooks currently available. In many parts of the world, much ESL teaching goes on outside the state school sector in private language schools. Many of the teachers in these schools are native speakers of English but have little or no formal teacher training. The textbook and the teacher's manual are their primary teaching resources.

Even in state school systems where teachers with a better level of training are employed, commercial textbooks are often the major teaching resources used. For example, in a survey of ESL teachers in Hong Kong secondary schools (N=249), the teachers reported that their primary teaching resources were textbooks, supplementary materials, and audio tapes. The primary functions of the textbook were to provide practice activities (64%), to provide a structured language program for teachers to follow (56%), to provide language models (55%), and to provide information about the language (50%). Most teachers reported that they do not rely on a single textbook (83%), many using a separate textbook for listening (86%), reading practice (66%), and writing (56%). Only 28% of the teachers reported that they made a significant use of exercises and materials which they prepare themselves (Richards, Tung and Ng 1992).

The dominant role of textbooks within school systems is similarly reflected in the bureaucratic apparatus which has evolved in many situations to place and maintain textbooks in the schools, often with minimal input from classroom teachers themselves. Thus, in many countries a chain of events takes place in which the ministry of education produces test formats or guidelines, publishers produce textbooks to match the guidelines, school districts set in place procedures by which textbooks are reviewed and adopted, lists of approved textbooks are published, and teachers (or their supervisors) then select the books they will use. Apple and Jungck (1990, p.231) view this situation with alarm, since they see teachers as having a very limited role in this process.

> Yet although curriculum planning and determination are now more *formally* democratic in most areas of the curriculum, there are forces now acting on the school that may make such choices nearly meaningless. At the local, state, and national levels, movements for strict accountability systems, competency-based education and testing, systems management, a truncated vision of the "basics", mandated curricular content and goals, and so on are clear and growing. Increasingly, teaching methods, texts, tests, and outcomes are being taken out of the hands of the people who must put them into practice.

2. Reasons for the dominance of commercial textbooks

There are many reasons why commercial textbooks have assumed the role they play today in teaching, including practical factors as well as ideological ones.

2.1 *Practical Factors*

The most obvious reasons for the widespread use of commercial textbooks are practical ones. There are time and cost benefits to teachers and schools in the use of commercial materials. If teachers were not allowed to use textbooks, they would need additional training in the preparation of materials. Schools (or teacher training institutions) would have to plan for such training, and in addition, if material preparation was to be an ongoing and central aspect of a teacher's work, there would be considerable resourcing implications. Teachers would have to have reduced teaching loads in order to take on these additional responsibilities. Even if such allowances were made, school-produced materials can rarely compare qualitatively with commercial materials, which often reflect huge budgets for development and production. In addition, commercial materials offer teachers a considerable variety of teaching resources to choose from, and since they have not invested any personal time in producing them, they can be replaced easily if a more interesting textbook comes along.

While these kind of practical issues would seem to satisfy our common-sense hunches as to why commercial textbooks are so extensively used in ESL teaching today, there are also more subtle factors involved. These relate to beliefs that teachers and others often hold about commercial materials, which serve to reinforce the status of textbooks in teaching.

2.2 *Ideological factors*

The dominance of commercial textbooks in education generally in the last 50 years has been supported by a convergence of assumptions and interests involving educators, teachers, and publishers. One point of view in the educational establishment has been that improvement in the quality of teaching will come about through the use of instructional materials that are based on findings of current theory and research. Teachers themselves, it is argued, are likely to be unaware of current research and theory. Publishers, academics and textbooks writers, it seems, are, and hence can incorporate these findings in materials. Publishers can also play a role in bringing new theories and approaches to teachers

1263

by setting up writing teams to write materials based on currently approved pedagogical models (e.g. Communicative Language Teaching, or a Whole Language Approach). Good teaching will then result from the use of scientifically based textbooks or those based on a "principled" approach and which are developed by experts. This idea was stated over fifty years ago with respect to reading materials:

> One of the most potent factors in the spreading of the results of research is through a well prepared set of readers and their manuals.

Donovan 1928, 106. Cited in Shannon, 1987.

Current language teaching approaches such as Communicative Language Teaching attribute a primary role to instructional materials. Materials are seen as an essential component of instructional design and are often viewed as a way of influencing the quality of classroom interaction and language use. There is an active and ongoing literature on task design in Communicative Language Teaching (e.g. Nunan 1989), which looks into the nature of pedagogic tasks, the kinds of interactions they promote, and the kinds of learning that is thought to result from them. This literature sometimes makes no mention of teachers whatsoever. Their role is seen primarily as consumers of materials produced and validated by others. (e.g. see Long and Crookes 1992)

Another idea that has had a long history in education and which has been used to support the use of textbooks, is that commercial materials are technically superior to teacher-made materials. This is because they are based on a more systematic and carefully developed syllabus.

> [Commercially] prepared materials are, as a rule, more skillfully organized and are technically superior to those developed daily in classrooms. Because they follow a sequential plan, the chance for so called 'gaps in learning' is greatly reduced.

Gray 1936, 90-91. Cited in Shannon, 1987.

A related assumption that is sometimes held is that the materials (rather than the teacher) do the teaching, and that the materials together with the teachers' manual can train the teacher how to teach. The textbook hence both teaches and serves as a medium for teacher training. The teacher is a kind of imperfect delivery system. Provided he or she follows the book and the teacher's manual, quality teaching and learning will be achieved. Shannon (1987, 313) points out:

> ... school personnel's belief that commercial reading materials can teach is really deeply ingrained in the fabric of American culture.

This leads to the notion of "teacher-proofing" commercial materials. The underlying assumption here is that teachers cannot generally be trusted to teach well. Left to their own devices, teachers will invariably make a mess of things. A textbook, however, because it is based on sound theories and organized along scientific principles, provides a system, a predetermined content and set of instructional tasks, and can therefore compensate for the variations that are found in individual teaching skill in the real world.

These beliefs about the role of textbooks are further reinforced by the prevailing philosophy of what has been called "reconstructionism" in education. This emphasizes the importance of planning, efficiency and rationalization and stresses the practical benefits of education. In second language teaching it emphasizes the promotion of practical skills, makes use of objectives or competencies to guide and assess learning and teaching, and advocates a systematic approach to needs analysis, program development, and materials' design (Clark 1987). This process of rationalization leads to the organization and management of schools along businesslike lines. Teachers are responsible for implementing and managing the process of instruction in a maximally efficient manner with demonstratable outcomes. Textbooks, because they package learning content effectively, are seen as an efficient way of achieving learning. (Shannon 1987).

3. The impact of textbooks on teachers and teaching

Despite the somewhat pessimistic scenario described above, textbooks can have a positive impact on teachers and on teaching. The practical benefits teachers gain from using textbooks in terms of time benefits and access to a varied choice of professionally produced resource was noted above. Harmer similarly (1991, 257) observes:

> Where a textbook is involved there are obvious advantages for both teacher and students. Good textbooks often contain lively and interesting materials; they provide a sensible progression of language items, clearly showing what has to be learnt and in some cases summarizing what has been studied so that students can revise grammatical and functional points that they have been concentrating on. Textbooks can be systematic about the amount of vocabulary

presented to the student and allow students to study on their own outside the class. Good textbooks also relieve the teacher from the pressure of having to think of original material for every class.

Students too often appreciate studying from an attractively produced class text, since they feel it is an authoritative and accessible tool which can both facilitate learning and make it more enjoyable. This review is reflected in the following comments from teachers on their reactions to a commercial textbook they are using:

> My students really enjoy coming to class. The book has made learning much more fun for them.
>
> This book has totally turned around the listening program in our school. We really didn't know what to do with listening before, and the book we were using didn't help. Now we have a great program which both teachers and students like.
>
> The students love the topics and the art. They don't feel as if they are learning English but just having fun.

However the possible negative impact of using commercial textbooks also needs to be considered.

3.1 *Lack of focus on student needs*

Since commercial materials are generally intended for a wide audience, they typically focus on very general needs and cannot address the specific needs of individual learners. A teacher who relies primarily on the textbook and thorough coverage of its content is liable to ignore content that is not covered by the book, or give it a lower priority.

3.2 *Lack of local content*

In preparing materials for a wide audience, one that is culturally heterogeneous and geographically diverse, the qualities which give teacher-made and audience-specific materials their authenticity and relevance are usually removed. As Ariew (1982) observes, this leads to a homogenizing process which results in textbooks looking very similar to each other and containing the same kind of content.

3.3 *Reification of textbooks*

Reification refers to the unjustifiable attribution of qualities of excellence, authority and validity to published textbooks. We noted above that in promoting their products, publishers often support the idea that their books represent the theories of experts or the most recent scientific research. With or without publishers' efforts however, there is the general expectation among teachers that textbooks have been carefully developed through consultation with teachers and specialists and through field testing, and that the exercises and activities they contain will achieve what they set out to do. In some situations this belief (for which there is generally little evidence) is supported by culturally-based views on the attributes of the printed word. English teachers in some parts of the world for example, seem to assume that any item included in a textbook must be an important learning item for students, and that explanations (e.g. of grammar rules or idioms) and cultural information provided by the author are true and shouldn't be questioned. They likewise believe that activities found in a textbook are superior to ones that they could devise themselves.

This tendency to reify ESL materials may be more prevalent among ESL teachers for whom English is not their native language (or who do not speak English very well) than among those for whom English is a mother tongue. Or it may be a factor of experience. In EFL situations, relatively inexperienced ESL teachers whose mother tongue is not English may tend to follow the textbook very closely, to be very uncritical of their textbooks, and to be relatively reluctant to discard sections of the book and replace them with other materials. They seem to take their textbooks at face value and attribute them with qualities of excellence, validity and truth. Other teachers (often native speakers with some teaching experience) are more skeptical about their textbooks. They criticize the content and design of exercises, and are more likely to dip into their textbook rather than go through it lesson by lesson.

Reification of textbooks can thus result in teachers failing to look at textbooks critically and assuming that teaching decisions made in the textbook and teaching manual are superior and more valid than those they could make themselves.

4. The de-skilling of teachers

We can now clarify one of the potentially more serious negative influences of textbooks on teaching, namely, the process in which there is a lowering and reduction of the level of cognitive skills involved in teaching resulting in a level of teaching in which the teacher's decisions are largely based on the textbook and the teacher's manual. This has been described as "deskilling" (Shannon 1987). Apple and Jungck (1990 p.230) see de-skilling as a consequence of viewing teaching as a labor process in which there is a rationalization and standardization of people's jobs. They identify two significant consequences.

> The first is what we shall call *separation of conception from execution*. When complicated jobs are broken down into atomistic elements, the person doing the job loses sight of the whole process and loses control over her or his own labor because someone outside the immediate situation now has greater control over both the planning and what is actually to go on. The second consequence is related, but adds a further debilitating characteristic. This is known as *deskilling*. As employees lose control over their own labor, the skills that they have developed over the years atrophy. They are slowly lost, thereby making it even easier for management to control even more of one's job because the skills of planning and controlling it yourself are no longer available. A general principle emerges here: in one's labor, lack of use leads to loss.

There are several aspects to deskilling that can be brought about by over-dependence on textbooks.

4.1 *Reduction in the teacher's role*

If textbooks and teachers' manuals teach, what do teachers do? The answer is that the teacher's role is trivialized and marginalized to that of little more than a technician. His or her job is to study the teacher's manual and follow the procedures laid out there. Rather than viewing teaching as a cognitive process which is highly interactional in nature, teaching is seen as something that can be pre-planned by others, leaving the teacher to do little more than act out predetermined procedures. Teachers now have little control over the goals or the methods of instruction, and more and more class time is occupied with students completing workbook tasks or working from the textbook under the teacher's direction. This is in sharp contrast with the role teachers may have been trained to carry out, but once teachers enter the school system they have little control over it. As Brophy (1982, 11) comments:

> Teacher education programs are often designed as if teachers were responsible for establishing appropriate educational objectives for their students, preparing appropriate curriculum materials, conducting and evaluating the outcomes of instruction and making whatever adjustment should prove necessary in these activities. Teachers may have done all of these things in the distant past, but

at present, most of these functions are performed by school boards, school administrators, and commercial publishers.

4.2 *Reduction in the quality of teachers' decision-making and pedagogical reasoning*

Research on teaching has suggested that among the essential skills of teaching are the skills of decision-making and pedagogical reasoning. Decision-making includes the planning decisions teachers make before they teach, and the interactive decisions they make while teaching. The quality and scope of the latter (interactive decision-making) is thought to play a significant role in teaching, since it involves teachers in carefully monitoring both their teaching and their learner's learning and constantly adjusting teaching while teaching. Interactive decisions arise out of the dynamics of teaching. Pedagogical reasoning skills are the skills teachers use in turning content (e.g. grammar, vocabulary, reading skills, etc) into learnable form through the organization and presentation of suitable learning activities.

Both these important dimensions of teaching are likely to be negatively affected by over-dependence on textbooks. If teachers allow textbooks to make most of their decisions for them and if teachers see their role as primarily managing the students through the materials, teaching is trivialized and the level at which teachers are engaged in teaching is reduced to a very superficial one. Teachers have little need to re-examine their goals, methodology, and instructional processes and to become engaged in ongoing critical reflection on their teaching.

5. Redefining the role of the textbook

Given that teachers and schools will continue to make extensive use of commercial textbooks, what can be done to ensure that textbooks support rather than dominate teaching and that they enhance the teacher's level of involvement in teaching rather than hinder it? I see this as a central issue in teacher education, and as a writer of textbooks, one which I am particularly concerned with, since I see textbooks as source books rather than course books. I see their role as facilitating teaching, rather than restricting it. However, in order for textbooks to be able to serve as sources for creative teaching, teachers need to develop skills in evaluating and adapting published materials. In the remainder of this paper I will illustrate activities I use in in-service workshops for teachers. These activities have the goal of both demystifying textbooks and of reskilling teachers by making them less dependent on textbooks and giving them more creative ways of using them. This involves a process of analysing what textbooks set out to do and how they do it, developing criteria for evaluating textbooks, providing experience in preparing instructional materials, giving experience in adapting textbooks, and monitoring the use of materials in teaching.

5.1 *Demystification of textbooks*

While teachers are very familiar with how to teach from a textbook, recognition of what textbooks set out to do and how they do it is a useful first step in learning to examine textbooks critically and recognizing their strengths and weaknesses. I do this in two stages. Stage 1 involves examining the content of textbooks and distinguishing what the focus of a unit or an exercise is. For example, a unit of material may set out to teach or practice,

language content (e.g. grammar, pronunciation)
language skills (e.g. listening, reading)
learning strategies (e.g. dealing with unfamiliar vocabulary)
test-taking skills (e.g. answering mutiple-choice questions)
real world tasks (e.g. filling out a job application)

The objectives of materials or exercises are often not made explicit in textbooks, and examining materials to determine exactly what they claim to be teaching is an essential skill for teachers.

Stage 2 involves examining the nature of instructional tasks in textbooks and instructional materials and identifying the different kinds of formats that can be used to teach or practice different teaching items. For example, in examining tasks for the teaching of reading skills, one useful activity centers on a discussion of Barrett's taxonomy of levels of reading comprehension. This describes reading comprehension in terms of five levels of response to a text:

1. Literal comprehension (recognizing or recalling information stated explicitly in the text)
2. Reorganization (analyzing, synthesizing and organizing information that has been stated explicitly in the text)
3. Inferential comprehension (using information that has been explicitly stated along with one's own personal experience as a basis for conjecture and hypothesis)
4. Evaluation (making judgements and decisions concerning the value or worth of ideas in a text)

5. Appreciating (responding to the psychological, literary or aesthetic impact of the text on the reader)

Different exercise types that can be used with a reading passage to focus on each of the 5 levels of comprehension are then examined, followed by practical experience in developing examples of exercise types for each level to accompany different kinds of texts. Commercial ESL reading materials are also examined to determine the levels of reading comprehension they set out to teach and how they do so.

5.2 *Developing criteria for evaluating textbooks*

This activity takes the form of small group activities in which teachers brainstorm and try to identify criteria they would use in evaluating a textbook, a unit of material, or an exercise. The focus is initially at a macro level (i.e., criteria that could be used with any kind of textbook), and then at a micro level (e.g. criteria for a specific kind of textbook, such as a conversation text). For the macro level evaluation, criteria are identified under three categories:

1. teacher factors
2. learner factors
3. task factors

Under 1, teachers on a recent workshop identified the following factors:

1. the book matches the course objectives
2. it is relatively easy to use
3. it can be easily adapted to fit my class needs
4. it is culturally appropriate for my learners
5. the teaching points are easy to identify
6. it is not dependent on the use of equipment
7. it can be used with classes of mixed ability

Under 2, these factors were identified:

1. the content interests the students
2. the level is appropriate
3. the cost is acceptable
4. it is motivating and challenging
5. the format is attractive and colourful

Under 3, the following factors were included:

1. the tasks achieve their objectives

2. the tasks are self-explanatory
3. the tasks progress in difficulty throughout the course

For the micro level evaluation, the teachers came up with the following criteria for evaluating a conversation text:

1. it motivates learners to speak and provides a purpose for speaking
2. it works on 3 essential skills of i) accuracy; ii) fluency; iii) intelligibility
3. it promotes interaction (2 or 3 way) and generates plenty of speaking practice
4. it develops awareness of cultural norms
5. it develops practical usable skills, i.e. has transfer value
6. it is practical in classroom terms
7. it involves information/opinion sharing
8. it reflects students' needs and experience
9. it practises relevant conversational functions
10. it provides all the support needed for completing tasks
11. it moves from controlled practice to fluency
12. it reflects conversational registers
13. it practises conversational strategies
14. it reflects authentic language use

These criteria are then used in examining textbooks and determining priorities for adaptation.

5.3 *Trying out materials' design*

Hands-on experience with developing materials follows. This is often done collaboratively. The focus is on developing a unit or set of materials to address a specific need, and it results in a fully elaborated set of materials with teacher's notes that can be used in the classroom.

5.4 *Monitoring the use of materials in teaching*

The focus of activities of this kind is on collecting data on the teacher's use of materials and using the information obtained to reflect critically on teaching. This could involve:

(a) self-report forms, in which teachers monitor how they used materials, how they adapted them, and how students responded to them. These may be later used for discussion or comparison with colleagues.

(b) journal writing activities, in which teachers write about their use of materials, focusing on similar issues to those in (a) above.
(c) student reports on materials, either through questionnaires or journal writing.

CONCLUSIONS

Traditional statements about the role of textbooks in teaching argue that textbooks have similar goals to regular instruction. That is, they set out to teach through the process of

- selecting instructional objectives
- setting learning tasks or activities to attain the objectives
- informing learners of what tasks they have to perform
- providing guidance on how to perform tasks
- providing feedback on learning

At the same time, effective instructional materials in language teaching:

- are based on theoretically sound learning principles
- arouse and maintain the learners' interest and attention
- are appropriate to the learners' needs, background and level
- provide examples of how language is used
- provide meaningful activities for learners
- provide opportunities for authentic language use

However I have argued that another important issue is also involved in the use of textbooks in teaching, that is, the effect over-dependence on textbooks has on the role of the teacher, on the kind of decision-making teachers engage in, and on the quality of their pedagogic reasoning skills. If wide-scale use of textbooks is common, ways need to be found of determining both the benefits and costs to teachers and to teaching. To avoid the possibility of textbooks resulting in the deskilling of teachers, it is essential to give teachers the knowledge and skills needed to evaluate and adapt textbooks and to prepare them to use textbooks as sources for creative adaptation. In this way, the potential negative impact of using textbooks can be minimized and they can find their rightful place in the educational system, namely as resources to support and facilitate teaching rather than dominate it.

References

Apple, Michael and Susan Jungck. 1991. "You don't have to be a teacher to teach this unit". Teaching, technology, and gender in the classroom. *American Educational Research Journal. Summer 1990.* Vol. 27, No. 2. pp. 227-251.

Ariew R. 1989. The Textbook as Curriculum, in T. Higgs (ed.) *Curriculum, Competence and the Foreign Language Teacher.* Illinois: National Textbook Company. 11-34. The Pennsylvania State University.

Brophy, J. 1982. How Teachers Influence what is taught and learned in classrooms. *The Elementary School Journal,* 83, 1-13.

Clarke, J.L. 1987. *Curriculum Renewal in School Foreign Language Learning.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harmer, J. 1991. *The Practice of English Language Teaching*: London. Longman.

Long, M.H. and G. Crookes. 1992. Three Approaches to Task-based Syllabus Design. *TESOL Quarterly.* 26, 1. 27-56.

Nunan, D. 1989. *Designing Tasks for the Communicative Classroom.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J.C., & Rogers, T. 1986. *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching.* New York. Cambridge University Press.

Richards, J.C., Tung, P. & Ng, P. *The Culture of the English Language Teacher.* City Polytechnic of Hong Kong, Department of English, Research Report No. 6.

Shannon, P. 1987 Commercial reading materials: a technological ideology, and the deskilling of teachers. *The Elementary School Journal,* 87, 3, 307-329.

1274

ASSESSMENT OF ORAL SKILLS : A COMPARISON OF SCORES OBTAINED THROUGH AUDIO RECORDINGS TO THOSE OBTAINED THROUGH FACE-TO-FACE EVALUATION

Mohana K. Nambiar and Cecilia Goon
Language Centre
University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur

ABSTRACT

This is a report of a study on the reliability of an evaluation of oral performance through audio-taped recordings as compared to a face-to-face evaluation. The oral performance of a sample of 87 undergraduates was evaluated first in a face-to-face setting, and subsequently through audio recordings of that same performance.

A comparison of the scores and subsequent rescores indicated that:
(1) scores based on audio recordings were significantly lower than those based on face-to-face evaluation.
(2) the difference between scores and rescores vary between the two test formats used.
(3) the degree of difference between scores and rescores was greater among high scorers than among low scorers.

The results of the study confirm that effectiveness in oral communication is clearly not dependent on words and sounds (audio data) alone. Paralinguistic and extra-linguistic data also play a significant role. Any decision to evaluate oral performance through audio recordings should be made only after careful consideration of this fact.

1. Introduction

Since the development of writing, the spoken word, because of its transience, has been relegated to a secondary position as a channel for communicating serious thought. This transient nature of speech has been a factor to contend with in the assessment of the effectiveness of oral proficiency. A major reason why the assessment of oral proficiency has been vulnerable to aspersions of unreliability is the lack of a permanent record of what has been assessed. A permanent record of the spoken output would definitely allow for more objective scrutiny. This is now feasible because recent developments in technology allow for speech to be easily recorded on tape - either audio or video.

This paper presents the findings of a study that attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of assessing oral proficiency through audio recordings.

With the easy availability of quality audio recordings, several well-known standardised tests make use of audio recordings as a means of collecting and assessing a candidate's spoken skills. The Centre for Applied Linguistics' Simulated Oral Proficiency Interview (SOPI) as well as the Speaking sub-test of the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) are examples that come to mind. On a local level, the Tourist Development Corporation of Malaysia's Oral Test for Tourist Guides utilizes solely audio recordings as the basis for assessment.

The reasons for the current trend in using audio recordings for assessment purposes are obvious. Recordings allow for the spoken output or evidence to be permanently stored, besides making the evidence transportable. This permanency and portability means that:

(a) allowance is being made for the separation of the logistics of test administration, that is, in terms of getting samples of the language to be evaluated from the logistics of assessment. In other words assessment can be carried out any time and location convenient to the assessor;
(b) several testers can assess a candidate and at different times, using the same recorded evidence; and
(c) the evidence is permanently available either for future reference, for moderation of scores or for the training of assessors.

The underlying assumption in the widespread acceptance of audio recordings is that there is no significant difference between the test results or scores obtained through face-to-face assessment and those based on audio recordings. This assumption needs to be tested.

2. Background To The Study

2.1 *Underlying Theoretical Assumptions*

Recent developments in linguistics, paralinguistics and related fields suggest that how test scores are affected by assessment through audio recordings depends on two crucial issues;

(a) what is considered as communicative language ability and the specific performance skills being assessed; and
(b) the level of complexity of interaction.

1276

2.1.1 *Communicative Language Ability And Performance Skills*

It is held by researchers that communicative competence is made up of four components - linguistic, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic (Canale, 1983). If linguistic competence is what is to be assessed, then audio recording can be an efficient channel of assessment. If all aspects of communicative competence are to be assessed, it is plausible to claim that some aspects of the sociolinguistic and strategic components may be lost through an audio recording. However, in assessment, how competence translates itself into performance is a yet unresolved issue as pointed out by Skehan (1988). If the focus of oral assessment is on the use of language to achieve a particular interactive goal, then performance is what has to be assessed.

As early as 1956, Abercrombie recognised that "human conversation consists of much more than a simple exchange of words and utterances..... we need our entire bodies when we converse" (p. 70). He referred to these non-verbal activities as 'paralanguage' that is, what occurs "alongside spoken language, interacts with it and produces together with it a total system of communication" (Abercrombie, 1956:65).

Thus it can be said that oral performance does not consist of just a simple exchange of spoken words (linguistic features) but also comprises paralinguistic and extra-linguistic features. Hence, even though face-to-face communication depends on three means of imparting information, an audio recording can only capture the vocal features, which are basically linguistic. Non-vocal paralinguistic features (e.g. facial expressions, eye-contacts, gestures, postures, body orientation, proximity and physical contacts) or non-vocal extra-linguistic features (e.g. the style of dressing of the speaker) cannot be conveyed through an audio recording.

Pease (1981) claims that researchers have found that "the verbal component of a face-to-face conversation is less than 35% and that over 65% of communication is done non-verbally" (p.6). Although lack of empirical evidence forces one to treat the claims made by Pease with a degree of scepticism, nevertheless the information supports the existing evidence that non-verbal and non-vocal features play a significant role in face-to-face interactions. Such features contribute to effective performance in terms of achievement of outcomes.

If effectiveness of outcomes rather than accuracy of language is to be assessed, then interaction management skills like turn-taking or agenda management have to be assessed. This cannot be done through an audio recording since such a recording would not register non-verbal and non-vocal aspects of performance. As Laver and Hutcheson (1972) point out "interaction management is achieved mostly by paralinguistic and partly by linguistic means. Signals for yielding the role of speaking to the other participant are given by eye contact behaviour, particular intonation patterns and body movements, for instance" (p.13-14).

2.1.2 *Level Of Complexity Of Interaction*

Though each oral interaction is transient and unique, some salient general characteristics can be identified. These characteristics may serve as a means of determining the level of complexity of an interaction. Lay persons know, for example, that an interview is less complex than a negotiation in terms of interaction management.

There is a lack of research to support this belief. However the divergence/convergence of goals and the "uniformity" of the final outcome may be seen as characteristics relevant to the complexity of an interaction. This will allow us to argue that the interview in which participants share convergent goals and which can terminate with numerous outcomes is less complex in terms of interaction management than the negotiation in which participants hold divergent goals and which has to terminate in a single outcome.

2.2 *Reason For Study*

As mentioned earlier, use of audio recordings for purposes of assessment is gaining in popularity and would be further enhanced in the future, given the rapid development in audio recording technology. On the other hand, current literature suggests that much would be lost in effectiveness in oral communication if only verbal and vocal cues are assessed. "Oral examining ... can only be effectively evaluated on the spot. Even very good recordings of speech offer only partial evidence of a speaker's performance since they only capture certain elements of communication" (Bazen, 1975:43).

In the light of these two opposing facts, there is a need for empirical evidence to decide on the validity of audio recordings for oral assessment purposes.

The study therefore aims to:

(a) assess the degree of correlation between face-to-face assessment of oral performance and assessment through audio recordings,

(b) investigate whether the degree of difference, if any, varies with

(i) different test formats, and
(ii) the level of oral performance.

2.3 *Statement Of Hypothesis*

The study will test the following hypotheses:

(a) As a whole, scores based on recordings will be significantly lower than those based on face-to-face evaluation.
(b) In the interview test format, scores based on audio recordings will be significantly lower than those based on face-to-face evaluation.
(c) In the negotiation test format, scores based on audio recordings will be significantly lower than those based on face-to-face evaluation.
(d) The difference between average scores based on audio recordings and average scores based on face-to-face evaluation will be significantly different for the two test formats.
(e) The average downgrading in rescores on the interview format would be less than the average downgrading on the negotiation format.
(f) The average difference between scores based on audio recordings and scores based on face-to-face evaluation will be significantly different between high scorers and low scorers.

3. Research Design

The study was designed to collect and compare two sets of scores of oral performance. A testee was first scored through a face-to-face assessment and subsequently rescored through an audio-taped version of his previous performance.

3.1 *The Sample*

The sample consisted of 37 Year I undergraduates and 50 Year III undergraduates from the Faculty of Law, University of Malaya. Both groups had completed their respective English Language courses and were taking the oral tests as part of the end-of-the-year examination.

3.2 *The Test Formats*

Two test formats were used:

(a) a 10-12 minute interview, and
(b) a negotiation in which two students were asked to negotiate the sale of a piece of property.

These formats were not decided upon by the researchers but were the test formats currently used for summative evaluation at the Faculty of Law. Since the first scoring, that is, the face-to-face evaluation was carried out as part of a faculty requirement, the established procedure for testing, that is, the test format and the criteria for evaluation was strictly adhered to.

Both the test formats are aimed at assessing communicative performance. At this point, we wish to make two untested assumptions:

(a) the negotiation is more complex than the interview as a form of oral interaction, and

(b) more complex interactions demand more paralinguistic support.

It can be hypothesised then that there will be a greater reduction in scores obtained through audio recordings than through face-to-face assessment in a more complex interaction (that is, the negotiation test format) than in a less complex interaction (that is, the interview test format).

3.2.1 *The Interview*

In this format, which consisted of two phases, the testees had to respond to two interviewers who also functioned as assessors. The warm-up phase was based on a stimulus - a research file which comprised a selection of articles collected by the candidate as part of an extensive reading project. In the second phase, the candidate was probed on related issues which were deemed to be of current interest. This stage allowed the interviewers to assess the highest level of language proficiency at which the candidate could function. Among the skills that candidates were expected to demonstrate were the ability to transfer information, express opinions, draw implications and make predictions. Each interview lasted from 12 to 15 minutes.

3.2.2 *The Negotiation*

This test endeavours to replicate a real world target behaviour. It is based on a group approach to testing - there are no interviewers to direct or regulate the interaction. The group members, in this case two Law undergraduates, were required to carry out a particular task, that is, negotiate the sale of a piece of property. The task was tightly structured and each candidate was given a written brief of what he was expected to do. The duration of the test was approximately 30 minutes, including 5-7 minutes of preparation time.

3.3 *The Assessment*

3.3.1 *The Assessors*

The assessors for both the test formats were the same pair, well-trained examiners with a minimum of five years of experience with the particular test designs and criteria for evaluation. Their role in the negotiation test format, apart from an initial briefing on procedure, was limited to that of scorers; the assessors did not participate in the interaction. On the other hand, the format of the interview required both assessors to be actively involved, asking questions and scoring the candidate simultaneously.

3.3.2 *The Criteria For Assessment*

(a) *The Interview Format*

Candidates were assessed on the following four criteria - fluency, accuracy, range and effectiveness. The candidate was awarded a separate mark for each criterion and the final assessment (out of 20 marks) was based on the total scores awarded for each criterion.

(b) *The Negotiation Format*

This task-based test of oral interaction was also assessed on the same four criteria - fluency, effectiveness, accuracy and range. The first two criteria - fluency and effectiveness are seen as related to the assessment of performance whilst the other two hinge on competence (Language Centre, University of Malaya, 1990). The candidate's performance was evaluated at two levels - the criterion or target level. Criterion level was considered as "the level of acceptable performance, in terms of course aims and professional or target setting" (Language Centre, University of Malaya, 1990: 33). A candidate who performed above criterion level was rated as performing at different points on the target level - below, above or at target level. The candidate's performance was graded on a scale of 1-6. Point 3 marked the criterion level, that is, the level of acceptable performance. Although individual marks (1-6) were awarded for each of the four criteria, the final award out of 6 was based on a global assessment of the candidate's performance and not on the separate scores for each criterion. This reflects the commonly-held belief that the whole may not be "equal to the sum of the parts" (Skehan, 1988/89:3).

3.4 *The Collection Of Data*

The tests were administered over a period of five days and were conducted at the audio recording studio. Recording was by means of tiny, unobtrusive microphones taped to a table placed close to the candidates. The audio tapings were then assessed at a later date to obtain the second set of scores.

It is to be noted here that the data was obtained from three sources:
(a) the face-to-face evaluation of the two test formats,
(b) the rescoring of the above and
(c) the subjective introspective data from assessors.

In collecting the data, care was taken to ensure that:
(a) the conditions and procedure for the rescoring duplicated the initial scoring in terms of number of candidates tested per day, duration of each test and the physical environment.
(b) the time interval between the scoring and rescoring situations was about two months; a period believed to be reasonably sufficient to neutralize any memory factors.
(c) the recorded audio output was a good replica of the original audio input in that the recording was carried out in a sound-proof studio by trained technicians.

3.5 *Analysis Of Data*

The maximum score on the interview test format is 20 while that for the negotiation test format is 6. Therefore before the scores on the two test formats could be compared, the scores on the negotiation format were brought to a maximum of 20, in line with that for the interview format. The scores of the total sample of 87 testees were then analysed; the scores based on face-to-face evaluation were compared to the rescores based on the audio recordings.

In the analysis of data, the following statistics were used: the t-test for two independent groups, the t-test for two correlated groups and the Pearson product-moment correlation.

4. Findings

Though inter-rater reliability is not a direct part of this study, it is relevant to note the close similarity in the scores and rescores of the two independent assessors. On the interview test format, the correlation coefficient between the two assessors on the scores obtained through face-to-face assessment is 0.927, while the correlation coefficient on the scores obtained through audio recording is 0.866. On the negotiation test format, the correlation coefficient between the two assessors on the score obtained through face-to-face assessment is 0.983 while the correlation coefficient on the scores obtained through audio recordings is 0.980. It can therefore be concluded that inter-rater differences do not in any significant way interfere with the results of this study.

4.1 *Results Based On Total Sample*

Table 1 (a): Difference between average scores obtained through face-to-face assessment and average scores obtained through audio recordings.

	M	SD	df	t
Difference	-0.800	1.475	86	-5.059

$p < 0.05$

As shown in table 1 (a), the calculated value of the t-statistic for the two dependent groups is -5.059 which is significant at the 5% level of significance. Therefore the hypothesis that scores based on audio recordings will be significantly lower than those obtained through face-to-face evaluation can be accepted.

Table 1 (b): Comparison of average score with average rescore

Average score through face-to-face assessment	Average score through audio recordings	Average Difference
12.183	11.717	0.466

n = 87

The average score based on face-to-face evaluation is higher than the average score obtained through audio recordings by 0.466 {Table 1 (b)]. Hence, it may be concluded that lower scores were given to testees when they were assessed through audio recordings than when they were assessed "live" in a face-to-face situation. This downgrading in scores may be traced to the nature of oral performance and the aspects of it that will be automatically filtered off when a sample of oral performance is recorded on the audio tape. This confirms the current thinking regarding the contribution of paralinguistic and extra-linguistic phenomena towards total communication. (See 2.1.1 Communicative Language Ability and Performance Skills).

While rescoring the testees through the audio recordings, the assessors noted two main sources of "irritation". Particularly disturbing were the long pauses and the repeated grammatical/phonological inaccuracies. Fluency appeared to be interrupted by intolerably long meaningless pauses which, with the paralinguistic support in face-to-face situation would have been more meaningful and therefore apparently less long. Inaccuracies, especially those which occurred repeatedly were more apparent. These inaccuracies were less noticed in a face-to-face assessment because of the need to simultaneously focus on visual paralinguistic and extra-linguistic cues.

4.2 *Results Based On The Interview Format*

Table 2 (a) : Difference between average scores obtained through face-to-face assessment and average scores obtained through audio recordings on the interview test format

	M	SD	df	t
Difference	-1.25	1.021	36	-7.449

$p < 0.05$

Table 2 (a) shows that the difference between scores assessed through audio recordings and scores obtained through face-to-face assessment is significant at the 5% level of significance. From this evidence, we can accept the hypothesis that in the interview test format, there is a significant difference between scores obtained through face-to-face evaluation and those obtained through audio recordings.

Table 2 (b) : Average scores on the interview format

Average score through face-to face assessment (total 20)	Average Score through audio recordings (total 20)	Average Difference
11.851	10.601	1.25

n = 37

Average scores obtained through face-to-face assessment in the interview test format are higher than those obtained through audio recordings {Table 2 (b).}

4.3 *Results Based On The Negotiation Format*

Table 3 (a) : Difference between average scores obtained through face-to-face assessment and average scores obtained through audio recordings on the negotiation format

	M	SD	df	t
Difference	-0.14	0.500	49	-1.978 *

$p < 0.05$

Table 3 (a) shows that the calculated value of the t-statistic for the two dependent groups is -1.978. This is significant at the 5% level of significance. We therefore accept the hypothesis that there is a difference between scores obtained through face-to-face assessment and scores obtained through audio recordings.

Table 3 (b) : Average scores on the negotiation format

Average score through face-to face assessment (total 20)	Average score through audio recordings (total 20)	Average difference
12.183	11.717	0.466

n = 50

Table 3 (b) shows the average scores obtained through the two modes of assessment, based on a maximum of 20. The average score based on face-to-face assessment is higher than the average score based on audio recordings by 0.466, confirming the fact that when some of the paralinguistic and extra-linguistic features that contribute to oral performance are filtered out through an audio recording, assessment appears to be more severe.

4.4 *Difference Between The Two Test Formats*

The data so far confirms the fact that in tests of oral performance, scores obtained through face-to-face assessment are higher than those obtained through audio recordings. Does the reduction in average scores (when testees are assessed through audio recordings) vary with different test formats?

Table 4 : Differences between average scores obtained through face-to-face evaluation and those obtained through audio recordings on the two test formats

Test Format	M (max. 20)	SD	sd	t
Interview	-1.25	1.021	85	-2.523
Negotiation	[illegible].14	0.500		

$p < 0.05$

Table 4 shows that the calculated value of the t-statistic for the two dependent groups is -2.523, which is significant at the 5% level of significance. Therefore it can be concluded that there is a significant difference between the two test formats in the average reduction in scores obtained through audio recordings compared to those obtained through face-to-face evaluation.

However, Table 4 also shows that the mean score reduction between assessment through face-to-face evaluation and assessment based on audio recording in the interview test format is -1.25 while that for the negotiation test format is only -0.14. In other words, there is a greater reduction in average scores on the interview test format. This contradicts our

1236

hypothesis that the reduction in average scores on the interview format would be less than the reduction in scores on the negotiation format.

One plausible explanation may be related to the fact that in the interview test format, the assessors were also the interviewers during the face-to-face assessment. They were therefore active participants in the interaction. However when it came to the rescoring, the assessors were just scorers, that is, they were non-participants. Therefore limitations in fluency and accuracy were magnified not only by the lack of visual paralinguistic and extra-linguistic features, but also by the fact that in the recording, assessors were not involved in the active negotiation of meaning. This could be the factor that brought about a harsher assessment. If the change from a participating assessor to non-participating assessor results in a downgrading of scores, then this could neutralize the effects of a less complex interactive situation. It is clear that this area requires further investigation.

4.5 *Difference Between High and Low Scorers*

Table 5 (a) : Scores of high and low scorers on the Interview test format

Level of Performance	M	SD	df	t
High Scorers	-1.625	0.952	18	-2.824
Low Scorers	-0.475	0.867		

$p < 0.05$

Table 5 (b) : Scores of high and low scorers in the Negotiation test format

Level of Performance	M	SD	df	t
High Scorers	-0.289	0.509	24	-2.094
Low Scorers	0.115	0.475		

$p < 0.05$

Those students in the top 27% on total test scores were taken to be the "good" students and those in the bottom 27% were taken to be the "weak" students (Ebel, 1965:301). It is hypothesized that "good" students, participating at a higher level of performance would also be participating at a higher level of complexity of performance. It would then follow that weak students, participating at a lower level of performance would also be participating at a lower level of complexity of performance. In other words, it is proposed that a higher level of performance involves a more complex interaction.

It was hypothesized that a more complex interaction calls for a greater proportion of paralinguistic and extra-linguistic support (See 2.1.2). It follows then that high scorers would be downgraded more when rescored through audio recordings than low scorers.

Tables 5 (a) and (b) show that on both the test formats, the calculated value of the t-statistic for two independent groups is significant at the 5% level of significance. We can therefore conclude that on both test formats there is significant difference between high and low scorers in the difference between scores obtained through face-to-face assessment and those obtained through audio recordings.

On the interview test format (Table 5 (a)), high scorers had a mean difference of -1.625 between scores through recordings and scores through face-to-face assessment. Low scorers, on the other hand, had a mean difference of -0.475. This then supports our hypothesis that high scorers would be downgraded more when rescored through audio recordings than low scorers.

This fact is further confirmed by data from the negotiation test format. Table 5 (b) shows that on this test format, high scorers had a mean difference of -0.289 while low scorers had a mean difference of 0.115. This shows not only the fact that high scorers would be downgraded more in the rescoring but also shows that low scorers were actually upgraded in the rescoring. This seems to contradict the fundamental point of the contribution of paralinguistic and extra-linguistic features to total communicative performance. However this apparent contradiction can be accounted for by what may be termed the "sympathy" factor operating among assessors where low scorers are concerned. Based on subjective introspective data from assessors, it appears that when assessing oral performance, there is a threshold beyond which retrieval of the message or meaning is uncomfortable. Below this threshold, creation of meaning becomes difficult and agitation and distraction set in. In the initial scoring (face-to-face), fewer testees performed below this threshold. In the rescoring more fell below this threshold level because the assessors could not fall back upon paralinguistic support to aid in the recreation of meaning. Under these circumstances, the sympathy factor came into play. The assessors, aware of their own frustration in retrieving meaning, compensated by awarding generous scores rather than deserved scores.

5. Implications And Suggestions For Further Research

5.1 *Anticipate A Downgrading In Performance*

In the light of this study, it is crucial that before examining boards consider the assessment of oral skills through audio recordings, they bear in mind that these are not authentic and complete replicas of the original. They have to note that the non-audio data is filtered off through a recording. This data contributes to overall effectiveness of an oral interaction and therefore if an assessment of oral performance is made through a channel in which the non-audio elements have been filtered off, then a downgrading of performance should be expected.

5.2 *Use Of A Correction Factor*

If, in a particular testing situation, the benefits of the use of audio recorded data for assessment cannot be ignored, then a correction factor may be considered in the tabulation of final scores. This would balance the downgrading brought about by the loss of data in an audio recording.

Further research with a bigger sample of testees, involving a greater number of assessors and a wider variety of test formats, is necessary in order to determine the appropriate correction factor for particular tests and subgroups of testees.

For international testing bodies another important variable to be considered would be the socio-cultural differences between the candidates and the assessors. Abercrombie (1968) says that "paralinguistic phenomena...must be culturally determined, and so ... they differ from social group to social group" (p. 64).

The situation in which the audio recorded performances of testees from different parts of the world are assessed by the "native" speakers is particularly complex. Apart from having to adjust to accent, stress and intonation differences, assessors have to work in a "paralinguistic vacuum". Perhaps in such a situation the correction factor is the way to overcome the problem of culturally determined paralinguistic phenomena. Again further study into this is necessary before international testing bodies embark full scale on the use of audio recordings and native speakers to assess the effectiveness of the oral performance of testees from different parts of the world.

5.3 *Assessment Through Video Recordings*

Looking into the future a time may soon come when video recordings will be an economically viable means for collecting data for assessment. Assessment of oral performance through video recordings may be a more realistic substitute for face-to-face assessment than the audio recording. This is provided that the process of video recording is made as unobstrusive as the process of audio recording is at present.

Further research into a three-way comparison of scores - through face-to-face assessment, through audio recordings and through video recordings would lead to greater insights on the use of recording technology in this particular area of testing.

5.4 *Implications For Teaching*

It is not only important to teach the different components of communicative competence when teaching towards improving oral performance, it is equally important to expose students to how these components are manifested in non-vocal ways. With developments in video recording technology, the focus on non-vocal communication is feasible. However, in this area, linguists have to work closely with pragmatists, pyschologists, sociolinguists and anthropologists to determine the communicative power of body gestures and postures.

6. Conclusion

This study has provided empirical evidence to confirm the notion that effectiveness in oral communication is clearly not dependent on words and sounds alone. Audio data in terms of words and sounds is only one source of data. There is a need to take into account the other sources of data that feed into effectiveness in so called "oral communication". The results of the study also allow us to infer that any method of evaluating oral communication that looks at words and sounds alone cannot be a valid yardstick for predicting successful oral performance.

References

Abercrombie, D. (1968) Paralanguage. In John Laver and Sandy Hutcheson (eds.) *Communication in Face to Face Interaction*. Selected Readings, Penguin, 1972.

Bazen, David (1975) The Place of Conversation tests in Oral Examinations in *English in Education*, 12.2

Canale, M. (1983) From communicative competence to communicative performance. In J.C. Richards and R.W. Schmidt (eds.) *Language and Communication*.

Ebel, Robert, L. (1965) *Measuring Educational Achievement* , Prentice Hall.

Language Centre, University of Malaya (1990), *Oral Skills for Law: Teacher's Manual*, University of Malaya Press.

Laver, John and Sandy Hutcheson (1972) (eds.) *Communication in Face to Face Interaction*, Penguin.

Pease, Allan (1981) *Body language: How to Read Others' Thoughts by their Gestures*. Camel Publishing Co.

Skehan, P. (1988, 1989) State of the Art Article. Language Testing. Parts I and II. *Language Teaching*, Cambridge: CUP.

RELC JOURNAL VOL. 24 NO. 1 JUNE 1993

Verbal-Report data and Introspective Methods in Second Language Research : State of the Art

Kazuko Matsumoto
Gifu University, Japan

Abstract

This state-of-the-art article describes two types of verbal-report data (i.e., concurrent and retrospective) and four major introspective methods used in second language (L2) research (i.e., thinking-aloud, questionnaires, interviews, and diary-keeping). It then summarizes major introspective L2 research conducted to date, followed by a methodological review from ten perspectives which serve as criteria for classifying and evaluating these introspective L2 studies. It concludes with a discussion of presently controversial issues amongst researchers over the use of introspection as a research method for tapping L2 learners' inner cognitive processes, suggesting ways of minimizing concerns raised about verbal reports. It is argued that although verbal reports from informant-learners may be an incomplete reflection of actual internal processing, and enough care must always be exercised in stages of data collection and interpretation, they nevertheless contain useful information concerning learners' mental processes including their use of learning strategies which will not be satisfactorily accessed through extrospective observational studies.

1. Introduction

Recent years have seen renewed respect for introspection[1] in the field of psychology as a method of uncovering informants' cognitive states in processing information. The current shift towards the use of informants' introspective reports has been motivated especially by Ericsson and Simon (1980), who explicitly proposed within their framework of human information processing that verbal reports are data, and elicited and interpreted with care, are a valuable and reliable source of evidence about human mental processes. In the field of second language (L2) research, Cohen and Hosenfeld (1981), stressing the limitations of inferring thought processes from extrospective observations of the learning process, similarly called for investigating L2 learning by collecting "mentalistic" verbal-report data from learners. Although their proposal has been attacked by some L2 researchers (e.g., Seliger, 1983) mainly with respect to the issue of the veridicality of verbal reports with actual internal processing, L2 researchers have nevertheless been increasingly interested in verbal-report methodology as a way of tapping learners'

1232 i

cognitive processes involved in L2 use or L2 learning/acquisition. Such tendency among L2 researchers has been reflected most explicitly in recently flourishing studies of learner strategies (Cohen, 1990; O'Malley & Chamot, 1990; Oxford, 1990; Wenden, 1991; Wenden & Rubin, 1987).

The purposes of this paper are the following:(a) to classify verbal-report data into two types (i.e., concurrent and retrospective) and to describe major verbal-report research methods currently being used in L2 research (i.e., thinking-aloud, questionnaires, interviews, and diary-keeping), (b) to summarize major introspective L2 studies which employed these verbal-report techniques, (c) to methodologically review introspective studies in terms of ten classification criteria, and finally, (d) to discuss issues of controversy amongst researchers over the use of verbal-report data in L2 research, focusing on the cons of the introspective techniques that have been raised to date.

2. Two Forms of Verbal Reports and Four Major Introspective Techniques Used in L2 Research

Verbal reports in L2 research can be broadly classified into two forms, concurrent and retrospective, on the basis of two dimensions: time of verbalization (i.e., during or after task) and the relation between heeded and verbalized information (Ericsson & Simon, 1984, p. 12). First, in concurrent verbal reporting, the verbalization is done during a specific task given; thus the informant provides verbal self-reports while information is heeded, that is, while information is still stored in short-term memory (STM). The Ericsson and Simon's (1984) model, in which cognitive processes are seen as successive states of heeded information, assumes that the heeded information kept in STM is directly accessible for producing verbal reports. In retrospective reporting, on the other hand, the verbalization is given after the completion of the task-directed processes, or it may sometimes be unrelated to any specific task. Retrospective verbalizations thus involve retrieval of information from long-term memory (LTM), which must first be transferred to STM before it can be reported. In sum, concurrent reports are tied to a specific task given by the researcher, whereas retrospective reports may or may not be so. Second, the relationship between heeded and verbalized information is direct in concurrent reporting, whereas retrospective reporting involves mediating processes between attention to the information and its verbalization, which may modify the stored information. In retrospective verbalization, put another way, the heeded information becomes input to intermediate processes, and thus the verbalized information is a product of such intermediate processing. It is predicted that retrospective self-reports that are not task-based will involve more mediating processes than task-based retrospection.

The taxonomy of introspective verbal reports described above is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1
Characteristics of Concurrent and Retrospective Verbal Reports

	Concurrent	Retrospective	
	Task-Based	Task-Based	Non Task-Based
Time of verbalization			
during task	3		
after task		3	
Relation between heeded and verbalized information			
direct	3		
indirect		3	3

2.1 *Concurrent Verbalizations : Thinking-Aloud*

As a verbal-report method of producing concurrent verbalization, think-aloud procedures[2] ask subjects/informants to tell researchers what they are thinking and doing (i.e., everything that comes to mind) while performing a task. The informants are usually instructed to keep thinking aloud, acting as if they are alone in the room speaking to themselves. They are sometimes prompted to talk when a long period of silence occurs; they are also asked not to try to plan out what they say or try to explain what they are saying. Think-aloud verbalizations are tape- and/or video-recorded and then transcribed. The think-aloud protocols are content-analyzed, and in many cases, coded for specific categories which have previously been developed by the researchers.

2.2 *Retrospective Verbalizations : Questionnaires, Interviews, and Diary-Keeping*

In most retrospective verbalizations[3] subjects/informants are asked to tell researchers what they have thought and done while performing a particular task that has already been completed. In some cases, retrospective verbal reports are provided by the informants immediately after the task completion, even while the information is still stored in STM, and thus directly available for verbalization. In other cases,

1204

retrospective reports are given quite some time after a specific language learning task is given or after several or many tasks have taken place. In still other cases, retrospective reports are unrelated to any specific task, being elucidated based on the learner's past learning experiences in general (as in the case of self-reports about learners' beliefs and perceptions about L2 learning). Retrospective verbal-report data can be elicited by a number of techniques. Interviews, discussions, speeches, conversations, and so on produce subject responses in oral form, while questionnaires, diary-keeping, note-taking, and so on produce retrospective self-report data in the written mode. The three major techniques for eliciting retrospective verbal reports have been successfully utilized in L2 research, especially in recent studies of the past decade: they are questionnaires, interviews, and diary-keeping[4]

The structured questionnaire is one of the most restricted forms of retrospective reporting, which asks informant-learners to agree or disagree, or to answer 'yes' or 'no' to a series of statements or questions, or to choose one out of a set of fixed alternatives (e.g., a number from 1 to 5). The structured interview, which is roughly equivalent to a face-to-face administration of the structured questionnaire, involves a set of fairly straightforward, prearranged questions often to be answered by a simple 'yes' or 'no'. Formalized structured interviewing, like structured questionnairing, thus exposes all informants to identical stimuli, and, in pursuit of generalized statements, is often conducted with a large number of people. This is regarded as the most systematic, most objective type of interviewing, with the possibility of researcher/interviewer bias being greatly reduced through the use of a predetermined interview schedule. The unstructured interview, on the other hand, allows the greatest scope for the interviewer to probe, introduce unprepared, new material into the discussion, negotiate, and expand the interviewee's responses, thus creating a more 'equal' relationship between the researcher and the informant. Unstructured interviewing, however, involves the highest risk of researcher/interviewer effect or bias, and is most sensitive to the context of verbal interaction between the interviewer and the respondent. The semi-structured interview, involving use of an interview guide, lies between the two interviewing techniques in the degree of structuring, the extent of objectivity and reliability, the degree of negotiation allowed between the interviewer and interviewee, and the degree of equality developed in the interviewer-respondent relationship (Bernard, 1988; Fowler, 1988). Interviews are usually tape-recorded with note-taking concurrently done, transcribed, and then content-analyzed by interviewers/

researchers, followed by, in some cases, quantification of the collected data.

The keeping of a diary or a journal as a technique for eliciting retrospective verbal reports is also ethnographic in nature. In the field of SLA, those studies which employed this technique to tap learners' mental states and cognitive processes involved in L2 learning/acquisition processes have been known as "diary studies" (Allwright & Bailey, 1991, pp. 169-193; Bailey, 1991), which usually involve five major steps: (a) provision of an account of the diarist's personal L2 learning history, (b) systematic recording of events, feelings, and so on about the current L2 learning experience by the diarist, (c) revision of journal entries for public perusal, (d) analysis of the diary data for significant patterns and events by the researcher, and (e) interpretation and discussion of the factors identified as important to L2 learning experience (Bailey & Ochsner, 1983). The diary studies may be categorized as "introspective" (i.e., a researcher-as-diarist analyzes his/her own L2 learning processes) or "non-introspective" (i.e., a researcher analyzes another diarist-learner's L2 learning processes) (Matsumoto, 1987, 1989); most of the early studies conducted in the 1970s are categorized as "introspective" in the sense defined above.

3. Introspective L2 Studies: A Survey

3.1 *Thinking-Aloud*

Think-aloud procedures have been employed to investigate learners' ongoing cognitive processes and strategies in four major L2 areas, i.e., translation, reading, writing, and testing. In translation research, Hölscher and Möhle (1987) and Krings (1987) used think-aloud techniques with German-speaking learners of French to elucidate cognitive processes involved in written translations between L1 and L2. Gerloff (1987) also collected concurrent think-aloud protocols from English-speaking learners of French during performance of a written translation task. In L2 reading, a series of Hosenfeld's (1976, 1977, 1979, 1984) studies of reading strategies involved think-aloud verbal data elicited individually in combination with interview techniques. Block (1986), using think-aloud procedures with both native and nonnative English speakers enrolled in college-level remedial reading courses, investigated the comprehension strategies used by these nonproficient readers as they read textbook material in English. This descriptive study combined think-aloud data with learners' performance data elicited from two tasks designed to measure memory (i.e., retelling) and comprehension (i.e., multiple-choice tests) of the given passage. Haastrup's (1987) study combined pair thinking-aloud and retrospective interviews to explore Danish-speaking ESL learners' lexical inferencing procedures in reading comprehension. In addition, Cavalcanti's (1987) investigation of the L2 reading process with Portuguese-speaking ESL learners employed what she terms "pause protocols" (i.e., asking informants to read silently and to think aloud whenever they noticed a pause in the reading process). In the field of L2 writing, Lay (1982), in combination with interviews, examined the composing processes of four Chinese ESL students by having them compose aloud (i.e., think aloud while composing). Raimes (1985) also employed the composing-aloud method in her exploration of composing processes of eight unskilled ESL writers in the classroom situation; in this study think-aloud data were supplemented by questionnaire data and proficiency test scores. The think-aloud composing technique was also used in Raimes' (1987) study, which investigated eight ESL college students' writing behaviors and strategies in two writing tasks dealing with different topics; the think-aloud protocol data were analyzed in relation to the subjects' performance data collected from proficiency as well as placement tests and holistic evaluation of their written products. Similarly Jones and Tetroe's (1987) analysis of six Spanish-speaking ESL writers' planning behaviours over a period of six months involved the subjects' think-aloud protocol as well as performance data. In addition, a current study by Cumming (1989), exploring the relationship between L1 writing expertise, L2 proficiency, and L2 writing performance, used the compose-aloud procedures with 23 French-speaking ESL students. Finally, use of thinking aloud in L2 testing research is best exemplified by Feldman and Stemmer's (1987) study which, in combination with retrospective interviews, investigated German L2 learners' mental processes during C-test taking.

3.2 *Questionnaires*

Survey questionnaires in L2 research have been used mainly in studies of learning styles and strategies, and in research on learners' beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions about L2 learning/acquisition[5]. Reid (1987), for example, administered a structured questionnaire to 1,388 students learning in intensive ESL programs in the U.S. to identify their perceptual learning style preferences. Cohen (1987c) used a questionnaire consisting of both multiple-choice and open-ended questions to investigate strategies ESL learners employ for processing teacher feedback on their written compositions. Cohen and Cavalcanti (1990), in their investigation of EFL students' attitudes toward, perceptions of, and strategies in handling teachers' comments on their written compositions, also employed questionnaires in combination with individual interviews. Politzer and McGroarty (1985), using a self-report questionnaire including 51 yes/no questions related to assumed good learning behaviors with 37 Asian and Hispanic ESL students, investigated the relationship of the self-reported learning strategies and behaviors to gains on four ESL proficiency measures (i.e., tests of linguistic competence, auditory comprehension, overall oral proficiency, and communicative competence). Huang's (1985) study, in which a three-part questionnaire was administered to 60 Chinese EFL students, attempted to identify the general strategies and specific techniques employed by Chinese learners of English for oral communication. The questionnaire data of this study were supplemented by interview data. Cohen and Aphek (1981), in their exploration of how L2 learners take in teachers' explanations of vocabulary and grammatical rules during class lessons, employed prepared open questionnaires. Furthermore, Banerjee and Carrell's (1988) study, using a discourse completion questionnaire involving 60 hypothetical situations, explored differences in frequency, directness, type of suggestions made, and politeness strategies used in these suggestions, between ESL students and native speakers of American English.

Horwitz (1987), stressing close ties between student beliefs about language learning and their language learning strategies, has developed a language learning belief inventory, a multiple-choice-type questionnaire to assess ESL students' beliefs about language learning in five major areas: L2 aptitude, difficulty of L2 learning, nature of L2 learning, learning and communication strategies, and motivations. Kraemer and Zisenwine's (1989) cross-sectional study employed a self-rating questionnaire with South African informants (i.e., school children from grades 4 to 12) to investigate changes in their attitudes towards L2 learning. Ostler's (1980) needs survey, using a questionnaire consisting of multiple-choice questions of a self-evaluating nature and two sections for assessing students' writing skills, aimed at determining what academic skills (e.g., taking notes in class) should be addressed in advanced ESL programs for possible syllabus improvement. Also, Robertson's (1984) survey of English language use, needs, and proficiency among nonnative English speakers studying at a U.S. university in different disciplines, academic levels, and teaching assistantship status employed a 72-item mailed questionnaire in combination with telephone interviews. Survey questionnaires have also been employed in recent CALL-related research, e.g., to investigate ESL learners' perceptions of computer-assisted writing (Neu & Scarcella, 1991; Phinney, 1991).

1208

3.3 *Interviews*

Interviews have been employed extensively in recent descriptive, interpretative L2 research, especially in studies of learning strategies, studies of learner perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes, and research on the processes (including strategies) of reading, writing and listening. In learning strategy research, O'Malley et al. (1985), for example, in combination with classroom observations, interviewed high-school ESL students and their teachers to elucidate the types, range, and frequency of L2 learning strategies used by the learners with a number of language learning tasks. In Abraham and Vann's (1987) case study, student interviews and think-aloud procedures were combined to examine learning strategies of a "good" and a "poor" ESL student. Holec's (1987) study, in which a teacher-as-counsellor interviewed ESL students over a period of three months, focused on examining how they manage their L2 learning process and how they change as learners over time. Also, Porte's (1988) structured interviews with 15 under-achieving EFL learners centered on uncovering learning strategies used when dealing with new vocabulary, while Pearson's (1988) unstructured interviews with 12 Japanese businessmen working in South East Asia investigated their ESL learning styles and strategies in general. Knight et al. (1985) conducted individual interviews with 23 Spanish-speaking ESL students and 15 third-and fifth-grade English monolingual students in order to examine whether there were differences between the two groups in the type and frequency of self-reported cognitive strategies used as they read a given passage in English. Cohen and Robbins (1976) conducted interviews as part of their error analysis: their use of retrospective structured interviews with three Chinese ESL students aimed at investigating the interrelationship between the learners' L2 background (including learning strategies), errors they had produced in written work, and their explanations of the errors. Gillette's (1987) introspective analysis of learner strategies, cognitive, socio-cultural, and motivational variables of successful L2 learners also involved unstructured interviews. The interview data of this study were supplemented by questionnaires, classroom observations, and informal discussions with the informants. Lennon's (1989) retrospective verbal-report data were elicited from four German-speaking college-level ESL learners at the stage of initial natural exposure to the English-speaking community by the techniques of interviews and written self-reports. The analysis of this introspective study, like that of L2 diary research, focused on psychological variables involved in the L2 learning process in general, which includes learner strategies, perceptions, motivation, self-evaluation, and self-awareness.

In research on learners' perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes, Wenden (1987), for example, using semi-structured interviews supplemented by a questionnaire, had adult ESL learners retrospect on various aspects of their learning in order to capture their explicit prescriptive beliefs about how best to approach L2 learning. Christison and Krahnke (1986) conducted structured interviews, using a set of open-ended questions, with 80 nonnative English speakers studying in U.S. colleges and universities for the purpose of exploring students' perceptions about their L2 learning experiences, their attitude towards teacher behavior and quality, and their use of English in academic settings.

In L2 reading Cohen et al. (1979) used retrospective structured interviews with 7 Hebrew-speaking ESL readers to identify problematical areas as they read ESP-related materials. Devine (1988) also employed interviewing in her case study of two ESL learners' reading processes, with the informants' performance data (i.e., oral reading and retelling) being additionally analyzed. The use of interview techniques in L2 writing research is best exemplified by Zamel's (1983) study, which, investigating the composing processes of 6 advanced-level ESL students, employed individual interviews as well as observations of the informants' writing behaviors while composing and their written products (see also Matsumoto, 1992a). Further, a current ethnographic case study by Benson (1989), in exploring the process of an ESL student's listening activities during an academic course, employed extensive interviews not only with the informant but also with his teacher and classmates in combination with participant observation, recording of lectures, and examination of the informant-learner's notebooks.

3.4 *Diary-Keeping*

The diary-keeping technique has been employed by L2 researchers over the past two decades, especially with the aim of exploring the psychological and effective dimensions of L2 learning acquisition processes. Schumann and Schumann (1977) and Schumann (1980), for example, used the journal-keeping technique in their introspective investigations of their own L2 learning/acquisition processes, identifying personal variables affecting (promoting or inhibiting) the learning processes. Their introspection involved three different L2 learning situations: one with formal instruction, one with natural exposure to the target language, and one with a mixture of both. Jones' (1977) introspective study of her own L2 learning experiences in the target culture also employed diary-keeping during an 11-week intensive study in the classroom, focusing on social and psychological factors influencing the processes of L2 learning. Bailey (1980, 1983), in her introspective study of her own L2 learning in a university classroom situation, used the technique of journal-keeping, identifying and discussing several variables affecting L2 learning processes, with special emphasis on two affective factors, competitiveness and anxiety. In addition, Schmidt and Frota's (1986) introspective case study of the development of conversational ability in L2 by the first author during a 5-month stay in the target language country both with instruction and exposure also involved diary-keeping. Grandcolas and Soulé-Susbielles' (1986) introspective study combined diary-keeping with informal discussion among the informants/learners (i.e., French-speaking learners of EFL) for the purpose of exploring variables importantly involved in the classroom foreign language learning process. Lowe (1987) discusses the findings of individually kept diaries of a group of teachers serving as L2 learners which were expressed in a public seminar; this diary study includes both "introspective" and "non-introspective" analyses of L2 learning processes. Furthermore, Brown (1983, 1985b), employing journal-keeping with English-speaking older and younger adult learners of Spanish during an 8-week intensive classroom study, explored possible differences in self-perceived language learning factors between the two groups of learners. The diary data of this "non-introspective" study were supplemented by participant observations and the subjects' performance data in the form of oral interview test scores. Another "non-introspective" study by Ellis (1989), in its analysis of learning styles and their effects on classroom language learning, utilized information from diaries kept by two adult learners of L2 German in addition to data from questionnaires, cognitive style testing, language aptitude tests, close tests, and attendance and participation records. In addition, Matsumoto (1989), employing diary-keeping techniques with a Japanese college-level ESL student over an 8-week period of intensive classroom study in the U.S., explored personal factors, both emotional and non-emotional, which were influential to, or deeply involved in, the informant's process of classroom L2 learning in the target culture environment. The diary data of this study were supplemented by self-report data from a retrospective semi-structured interview and an open-ended questionnaire.

4. Introspective L2 Studies : A Methodological Review

This section provides a methodological review of the introspective L2 studies summarized above from ten perspectives, which are based on the classification criteria proposed by Cohen (1984, 1987a, 1987b) and

Færch and Kasper (1987) by which diversified verbal-report research can be classified and evaluated.

4.1 *Characteristics of Informants*

This first factor characterizing introspective L2 studies refers to how many and what kind of informant-learners serve as verbal reporters in the data collection stage. The number of informants may be just one, as in case studies (e.g., Benson, 1989; Jones, 1977), and that informant *may be the researcher himself/herself* as in introspective diary studies (e.g., Bailey, 1980; Schumann, 1980). Introspective self-reports can also be collected with a group of learners at one time, as in Raimes' (1985) having had the whole class think aloud while writing. The informants may differ in their age (e.g., adults or children), their level of L2 proficiency (e.g., elementary- or advanced-level), their native language (e.g., Chinese- or Spanish-speaking), or their L2 learning background (e.g., length of stay in the target culture).

4.2 *Objectives of Introspection*

The objectives of introspection in L2 research can broadly be categorized into three: (a) investigation of learners' cognitive process (including strategies) involved in their L2 use in a specific task (such as writing, reading, and translation) given by the researcher, (b) investigation of learners' beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions about language learning which they have acquired based on past experiences, and (c) exploration of the overall psychological dimension of the L2 learning/acquisition process. The think-aloud protocol-based studies have the objective of the first type, while the questionnaire and interview studies not tied to a specific task (e.g., Politzer & McGroarty, 1985; Pearson, 1988) have the purpose of the second type. L2 diary research can be characterized typically by the research objective of the last type, where a holistic exploratory investigation of the learning/acquisition process is pursued.

4.3 *Characteristics of Data Collection*

The characteristics of data collection refer to when, where and how the informant's verbal reports are collected, the 'how' of data collection including such features as duration, mode, and language of the verbalization. The data may be collected during task as in concurrent thinking-aloud or after task as in retrospective questionnairing, interviewing, and diary-keeping. The non-task-based data may be collected by questionnaires and interviews quite some time after the processing in question has taken place. The verbalization may be done during class lessons (e.g., Cohen & Aphek, 1981), in the researcher's office (e.g.,

1302

Block, 1986), in the language laboratory (e.g., Raimes, 1985), or elsewhere (e.g., the informant's working place as in Pearson's (1988) interview research or the informant's residence as would usually be the case with diary studies). Verbal reports may be collected cross-sectionally or longitudinally (e.g., Holec, 1987, and diary studies). The mode of verbalization is either oral as in thinking-aloud and interview studies, or written as in questionnaire and diary research. Finally, verbal reports can be collected in the informant's L1 as in diary studies like Bailey (1980), and Schmidt and Frota (1986), or in the target language (e.g., Cohen, 1987c), or in both L1 and L2 as in most of the studies involving think-aloud protocols (e.g., Cumming, 1989; Gerloff, 1987). The informant's verbal facility in the target language should always be considered in the data collection process so that verbalization difficulties will not mask out emergence of some important mentalistic information (Garner, 1988).

4.4 *Characteristics of Verbalized Information*

As discussed in Section 2 based on Ericsson and Simon (1984), the verbalized information may be directly tied to a specific task, which is always the case with thinking-aloud, or it may not be so as in retrospective self-reports of learners' metacognitive knowledge about language learning. The relationship between the heeded information and the verbalized information may be direct as in concurrent thinking-aloud and immediate retrospection, which are considered to involve STM, or indirect as in delayed retrospection. If the processes intervening between the heeded and verbalized information have the potential of changing the originally-stored information in the case of delayed retrospection involving LTM, this evidently constitutes a threat to the validity. It is recommended, therefore, that care should always be taken to minimize the processing-verbalization time lag and thereby decrease the number of intervening intermediate processes (see, for example, Cohen and Aphek's (1981) questionnaire research which used immediate retrospection).

4.5 *Degree of Structuring*

The 'degree of structuring' refers to the extent to which the researcher controls the form and content of the informant's verbalization. Specifically, such structuring is done by the instructions given to the informants in the case of studies involving thinking-aloud and diary-keeping, and by the type of questions given to the respondents in the case of interviews and questionnaires. According to this criterion, each of the L2 introspective studies summarized above can be placed somewhere on a continuum between the most highly structured to the least structured. For example, as explained above, the questionnaire studies can range from highly controlled closed-type to the least structured open-ended type; the interviews can range from the structured to semi-structured and to the unstructured ones. Diary studies can also range from the least structured types, which provide the learners with freedom of writing on any aspect of L2 learning experiences, to the structured ones, where the informants are directed through instructions to focus on certain aspects of the learning process which are of interest to the researcher. For example, in Matsumoto's (1989) case study, the diarist-learner, who was under conditions of both formal instruction and exposure, was instructed to limit her introspection to L2 learning experiences within the classroom. Another example of structuring in L1 diary research is Schallert et al. (1988), in which the informants were requested to keep a daily journal record only when the instructor alluded to the textbook during classtime.

4.6 *Researcher-Informant and Informant-Informant Relationship*

This is one of the factors which have considerable influence on the informant's verbal reporting process and are closely related to the validity of self-report data obtained. The relationship between the researcher and the informant is an influential factor not only in introspection involving direct interaction between them as in retrospective face-to-face interviews but also in verbal reporting without direct interaction as in answering mailed questionnaires or keeping individual diaries. Grotjahn (1987, p.65), referring to the evaluation criteria of exploratory-interpretative methodology, points out that the validity of the verbal-report data depends on an appropriate communicative relationship which has been established between the researcher and the informant. The importance of such researcher-informant rapport has also been emphasized by Cavalcanti (1982, p.76) in relation to thinking-aloud, and by Matsumoto (1987, p.31) with reference to diary-keeping. Although few L2 studies have involved informant-informant interaction to date (e.g., pair thinking-aloud in Haastrup, 1987), the informant-informant relationship should also be considered an influential factor on the participants' verbal reports.

4.7 *Informant Training*

Very few of the above-presented L2 introspective studies involved training of the informants with the exception of think-aloud concurrent verbalizations, which usually has a practice phase preceding the real data collection sessions (e.g., Block, 1986; Cavalcanti, 1987; Cumming, 1989; Feldman & Stemmer, 1987; Hosenfeld, 1976). The possible effects of such informant training on the subjects' introspection have been controversial; the important thing to be considered for obtaining valid and reliable data seems to be a balance between the informant's

1304

'knowledge' of specific research purposes and the informant's 'ignorance' of research techniques (Mann, 1982, p.91). It seems in general that when the study is highly structured, requiring the informant to focus on a specific aspect of L2 use or learning, informant training (e.g., giving practice think-aloud tasks) will be useful, enabling the researcher to check whether the instructions have been rightly followed. When the study is least structured, on the other hand, the warming-up phase might exert a negative effect, biasing the data largely toward the researcher's expected or desired direction. For instance, the informants' introspection might be influenced by the content of the diary entries presented as sample reports in the practice session.

4.8 *Data Quantification and Method of Data Analysis*

The informant's verbal-report protocols can be analyzed qualitatively (i.e., interpretatively without data quantification), or statistically. The data can also be quantified and subjected to statistical analysis, or analyzed interpretatively. In Grotjahn's (1987) terms, in other words, introspective L2 research can be categorized into either one of the following methodological paradigms: the pure exploratory-interpretative (i.e., qualitative data and interpretative analysis), the exploratory-qualitative-statistical (i.e., qualitative data and statistical analysis), exploratory-quantitative-statistical (i.e., quantitative data and statistical analysis) and the exploratory-quantitative-interpretative (i.e., quantitative data and interpretative analysis) paradigms. For example, Schumann and Schumann's (1977) and Bailey's (1980) diary studies, involving qualitative journal data and interpretative analysis without data quantification, belong to the pure qualitative research paradigm. Brown's (1983) diary research, on the other hand, involves statistical analysis as well as data quantification, i.e., belongs to the exploratory-quantitative-statistical paradigm given above. The exploratory-quantitative-interpretative type of L2 diary research is exemplified by Matsumoto (1989).

4.9 *Degree of Benefit to the Informant-Learner*

The degree to which the technique used is beneficial to the informant as a learner varies. It seems in general that the methods eliciting verbal-report data of written mode (i.e., diary-keeping and questionnairing) are higher in the degree than those involving oral self-report data (i.e., thinking-aloud and interviewing) (cf. Matsumoto, 1992b). So are in general the retrospective self-report techniques than the concurrent ones.

Especially, it is the diary-keeping technique that past research found to be of an immediate aid to the informant's L2 learning. Such studies as Bailey (1983, 1991), Lowe (1987), Matsumoto (1989), and Rubin and Henze (1981) have shown that journal-keeping facilitates the L2 learning process by serving as a tool of self-reflection, self-analysis, and self-evaluation, by helping the informants become alert to their own learning styles and strategies, thus, as a result, by raising the learner's consciousness and awareness of language learning. It is also possible that the informants benefit from other introspective techniques. For example, they will be the beneficiary of the structured questionnaire asking them to select their preferred ways of learning, particularly, in this case, by helping them become aware of alternative learning strategies and thus expand their repertoire, and ultimately to be more flexible in their approaches to learning (Nunan, 1991). Given that introspection undoubtedly places the L2 performer rather than L2 performance who is actively engaged in cognitive processing in the very central position of research (Lennon, 1989, p.392), this criterion of the benefit to the informant-learner must be underscored. It is also desirable that other verbal-report techniques be revised so as to serve somehow as an immediate aid to the informant's L2 learning.

4.10 *Combination of Methods*

Data triangulation (i.e., collecting learners' mentalistic data from multiple sources) and methodological triangulation (i.e., combining introspective verbal-report methods with extrospective techniques) are strongly encouraged, if we are to obtain more accurate, valid data on learners' cognitive processes as well as compensate for the problems inherent in each method (Garner, 1988; Jamieson & Chapelle, 1987). The use of multimethod assessment in the above-presented literature may be categorized into four groups: (a) combination of concurrent and retrospective self-report data (e.g., Abraham & Vann, 1987; Cohen & Cavalcanti, 1990; Feldman & Stemmer, 1987; Haastrup, 1987; Lay, 1982), (b) combination of retrospective verbal-report data from different sources (e.g., Gillette, 1987; Huang, 1985; Matsumoto, 1989; Robertson, 1984; Wenden, 1987), (c) combination of verbal-report data with performance data (e.g., Block, 1986; Cavalcanti, 1987; Ellis, 1989; Knight et al., 1985; Ostler, 1980; Politzer & McGroarty, 1985; Raimes, 1985, 1987), and (d) combination of verbal-report data with researcher observation (e.g., Benson, 1989; Brown, 1983, 1985; O'malley et al., 1985; Zamel, 1983).

1306

5. Verbal-Report Data in L2 Research: Issues of Controversy and Suggestions for Future Research

The use of introspection as a research tool has been one of the controversial issues among L2 researchers since what Seliger (1983) calls the "psychoanalytic school" of SLA studies started around in the mid-1970s. Cohen and Hosenfeld (1981) are among the first researchers who argued for the usefulness of self-observation of mental processes by L2 learners, emphasizing that the learners themselves have important insights and intuitions into the internal processing involved in language use and learning. The value of collecting mentalistic data through verbal reporting has also been advanced out of the realization of the limitations of conventional extrospective observations (i.e., a researcher observes learners' verbal and nonverbal behaviours as they perform a task and infers from their overt behaviors their cognitive processes). For one thing, the scope of such classroom observational data, focusing on the physical dimension of classroom activity, is usually confined to L2 learners who actively participate in verbal classroom interaction, without providing access to quiet classroom learners (Cohen, 1984; Gaies, 1983). The observational studies have actually proved unsuccessful in providing satisfactory data of learners' mental processes including strategic processing. For example, O'Malley et al. (1985, pp. 36-37) report that in their attempt to identify learning strategies student interviews were more successful than teacher interviews, whereas researchers' observations were "exceedingly nonproductive and proved highly unreliable."

Several concerns, on the other hand, have also been raised both by cognitive psychologists and L2 researchers over introspective verbal reports on a number of accounts. Some criticisms are targeted at self-reports in general; others pertain only to either concurrent verbal-reporting or retrospection. The criticisms to be discussed below are concerned with two important issues: the validity and reliability of verbal reports. Suggestions for future research to diminish those concerns will be provided wherever appropriate.

Perhaps the most basic concern is the veridicality of verbal-report data with actual mental processes. As Nisbett and Wilson (1977) argued, one can doubt people's capacity for observing directly the workings of their own minds. Similarly, Seliger (1983), reacting to Cohen and Hosenfeld's (1981) endorsement for introspection, contended firmly that it is not possible for the language learner to become a linguist and provide reliable information about the mental processes involved in L2 use or L2 acquisition/learning. His main criticism is directed towards whether we can infer from the conscious verbal reports the internal processing. That is, he claims that "introspections are conscious verbalizations of what we think we know (Seliger, 1983, p.183); therefore, "the conscious verbal reports of learners about their own internal device cannot be taken as a direct representation of internal processing" (Seliger, 1983, p. 189). Given Ericsson and Simon's (1984) taxonomy discussed earlier, it seems that Seliger is referring here to retrospection, and not thinking aloud. We must recall, in this regard, that their model assumes that although retrospectively-verbalized information does not directly reflect the heeded information because of the intermediate processes involved, concurrently-verbalized information does bear a direct relation to the activated information kept in STM. Thus think-aloud verbal reports can actually be seen as a direct representation of learners' internal processing.

Garner (1988), summarizing criticisms made of introspection by cognitive psychologists, discusses several factors which will influence the veridicality of verbal reports. One important factor concerned specifically with retrospective, not concurrent, reporting is the relationship between thinking/doing and reporting, which has two dimensions: (a) temporality, and (b) directness/specificity. In cases where the verbal reporting involves LTM, that is, reports are provided not immediately (i.e., some time or long after task completion), informants tend to forget some information which was originally available while being engaged in the task. Unwanted extensive interference by recently-stored cognitive events, in this case, will result in incomplete, less accurate, especially quantitatively skimpy reporting. As evidence for the processing-reporting interval effects, Garner (1988) reports that in his experiment involving retrospection of strategic activity immediately after task completion and two days later, delayed report informants' protocols contained significantly less cognitive events than those given by same-day report informants. In the case of eliciting retrospective reports on situations not based on a specific task (i.e., reports of hypothetical or general information) (Ericsson & Simon, 1984, p.37), on the other hand, no direct or specific relation can be established between processing and reporting. The resulting reports will similarly be vulnerable to inappropriate inferences and therefore invalidity.

Another potential factor which will affect the veridicality of verbal reports is the automation of processes. Ericsson and Simon (1980, p. 225) argue that as particular processes become automated, "intermediate steps are carried out without being interpreted, and without their inputs and outputs using STM." Such automation thus greatly speeds up the process, preventing, as a consequence, the intermediate products from being stored in STM, hence from being verbally reported. The result is incomplete data which are quantitatively poor reflections of cognitive processing. The informant's distraction during task performance will also be a source of incomplete reporting. It is possible that not only environmental factors intruding the visual or auditory system (e.g., loud noises) but also the informant's emotional states will interfere with his/her control of attention during processing, causing incomplete, invalid data to be obtained. The informant's verbal facility should also be considered as an additional potential source of invalidity of verbal reports. Garner (1988) cautions us, in this regard, to treat protocols collected from informants with limited verbal skills such as young children as incomplete records of processing which should alternatively be tapped by some nonverbal assessment. We also have to be aware that even individuals with normally developed language skills will differ in their tendency to produce verbal reports.

In addition to these cases in which informants know more than they can tell, there also exist cases where informants-learners tell more than they can know (Nisbett & Wilson, 1977). The result is faulty reporting. For example, informants may report what they perceive they ought to know or do as an ideal learner, instead of what they in fact know or do. It would also be possible that the subjects, being conscious of the researcher's judgments of their verbal reports, report those things socially desirable or not detrimental to the teacher, institution, classmates, and so on (Matsumoto, 1987). Another possibility in this regard is that the cueing unintentionally offered by instructions or by the researcher-interviewer can provide a hint of the most desirable response. In these cases, the resulting reports only poorly reflect the informants' actual cognitive processing.

Further, a major concern raised specifically about think-aloud data is that the task of generating concurrent verbal reports itself may change the nature of actual cognitive processes (O'Malley & Chamot, 1990). As Ericsson and Simon (1984) note, thinking-aloud differs from normal silent thinking in that the rate of thinking has to be slowed down in order to allow for the additional time required for verbalization of the thought (cf. Note 2). The possible alternation and disruption of the processes have also been claimed to result especially in cases where the verbalization task involves frequent interruptions, or puts informants under a heavy cognitive load (Ericsson and Simon, 1980). The outcome, again, is less complete verbalization. To solve this problem, White (1980) advocates an easy, not complicated, reporting task with reduced verbalization demands (for example, reading studies involving frequent pause during verbalization may be problematic in this regard).

Although, as has been shown above, researchers have considered the factors influencing the veridicality or validity of verbal reports to data, it seems that the reliability of self-reports has not generally been examined (Garner, 1988). It may be, as in the case of behavioral research, verbal reports from an informant exhibit instability over time, or it may be that the researchers' interpretation of an informant's protocols shows inconsistency. It is suggested, in this regard, that we should consider, for example, collecting data not from one-time but from multiple administration of the verbalization task, or conducting data-analysis by multiple researchers to avoid possible researcher bias.

In sum, the above-presented discussion suggests that while verbal reports may be an incomplete representation of informants' underlying cognitive processes under certain conditions, they still contain useful information about internal processing given that what remains to be reported will not invalidate what has been reported, and moreover, we can in fact minimize many of these concerns. To be added to the ways to enhance the veridicality of verbal reports discussed above (e.g., reduction of processing-reporting time intervals; use of task-based information; use of a less complicated verbalization task) is the collection of data from multiple sources. For instance, to compensate for the purportedly existing invalidity, using multiple introspective techniques, combining introspection with observation (observable nonverbal behaviors like eye movements may provide important clues to underlying cognition) as well as performance data (informants' proficiency test scores may provide a useful hint for their use of certain strategies) may be advocated (cf. Section 4.10).

Lieberman (1979), in arguing for a wider use of introspection from a cognitive-psychological perspective, argues as follows in order to minimize the problems of introspection concerning its scope and accuracy:

> Whenever possible, we need to supplement verbal reports with other circumstantial or behavioral evidence, and the ultimate criterion for evaluating any form of introspective data must be their usefulness in predicting future behavior. Assuming

> that this criterion can be satisfied in particular instances, however, it would seem foolish to continue to ignore such data. The overriding concern... then, has been with how best to advance our ability to predict and control behavior, and greater acceptance of introspection and the mind has been advocated in the belief that it can make a significant, albeit limited, contribution to this goal (p. 332).

To conclude this section, let me quote Ericsson and Simon (1980):

> For more than half a century, and as the result of an unjustified extrapolation of a justified challenge to a particular mode of verbal reporting (introspection), the verbal reports of human subjects have been thought suspect as a source of evidence about cognitive processes..... verbal reports, elicited with care and interpreted with full understanding of the circumstances under which they were obtained, are a valuable and thoroughly reliable source of information about cognitive processes. It is time to abandon the careless charge of "introspection" as a means for disparaging such data. They describe human behavior that is as readily interpreted as any other human behavior. To omit them when we are carrying the "chain and transit of objective measurement" is only to mark as terra incognita large areas on the map of human cognition that we know perfectly well how to survey (p. 247).

6. Conclusion

Most representatively, with the current increasing attention being paid by L2 researchers to conscious strategies learners employ in the learning process, verbal reporting has again come to the fore as a vital methodology for obtaining invisible insights from learners. Although enough care seems to be needed to obtain valid mentalities data, it is expected that introspective verbal reports from L2 learners-as-L2-performers actively being engaged in L2 learning will continue to provide us with useful information concerning the inner workings of the mind unobtainable from extrospective observational studies alone.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Russell Campbell, Bob Jacobs, and John Schumann for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper.

Notes

1. I will use the terms *introspective* and *verbal-report* data/methods interchangeably throughout this paper. Following the current general practice in the literature (e.g., Faerch & Kasper 1987), I will also use the term *introspection* as a cover term for all types of verbal reporting to investigate mental processes. However, there has been a great amount of variability among researchers in the classification of introspective data/techniques as well as usage of related terminologies. For example, Radford and Burton (1974) classify introspective techniques into three types and define them as follows: (a) *self-observation* (the subject-researcher analyzes his/her own reports on mental processes), (b) *self-perception* or *self-reports* (the subject reports on his/her mental activities to the researcher/analyst), and (c) *thinking-aloud* (the subject verbalizes while performing a task). Their distinction between self-observation and self-perception seems to be analogous to Matsumoto's (1987) usage of the terms *introspective* and *non-introspective*, respectively, with reference to diary studies. Cohen (1984, 1987a, 1987b), on the other hand, classifies types of verbal-report data into the following: (a) *self-report* (the learner's descriptions or statements of his/her general learning behaviors), (b) *self-observation* (the learner's reports based on inspection of specific language behavior, either while the information is still in STM (*introspection*), or after the event (*retrospection*); retrospection can be *immediate* or *delayed* , and (c) *self-revelation* (learner reports belonging to neither (a) nor (b), i.e., thinking-aloud). Cohen's *introspection* and *retrospection*, it is noted, are subsumed under *retrospective* verbalization in Ericsson and Simon (1984), the usage of which I have adopted here in this paper. For a historical overview of introspection in psychology, see Anderson (1990, pp. 5-10), Cavalcanti (1982, pp. 74-75), Ericsson and Simon (1984, pp.48-61), Lieberman (1979, pp. 319-325), or Radford and Burton (1974, pp. 389-395).

2. In cognitive psychology a strict distinction is sometimes made between two types of concurrent verbalizations, talk-aloud and think-aloud. In talk-aloud reporting "a subject utters thoughts that are already encoded in verbal form," whereas in think-aloud reporting "the subject recodes verbally and utters thoughts that may have been held in memory in some other form (e.g., visually)" (Ericsson & Simon, 1984, p. 222). In other words, in talking aloud the subject simply vocalizes normal silent thinking, while in thinking aloud the subject must convert the

heeded thought into a verbalizable form in order to vocalize it. Ericsson and Simon's (1984) model assumes that the same sequence of states of heeded thoughts in a cognitive process is maintained in three different conditions, silent thinking, talk-aloud, and think-aloud reporting, but predicts that, in the case of thinking aloud, the rate of thinking would be slowed down because of the additional time required for verbal encoding of the heeded information.

3. In this paper the term *retrospective* verbalization is used in a broad sense to refer to three types of reporting: (a) reporting of what informants have thought and done while performing a particular task which has already been completed, (b) reporting of what informants would do and think in a hypothetical situation, and (c) reporting of informants' perceptions, views, beliefs, and attitudes based on, and abstracted from, their past experience and knowledge in general, not directly related to a specific task as in the case of (a). The last category roughly corresponds to Cohen's (1984, 1987) *self-reporting*.

4. Garner (1988), referring to verbal-report data on cognitive and metacognitive strategies in L1, discusses three alternative methods for eliciting retrospective verbal reports: (a) stimulated-recall techniques using videotapes of informants' task performance as a retrieval cue (cf. Poulisse et al., 1987); (b) peer tutoring to examine strategic repertoires; and (c) optimal-nonoptimal production activities (e.g., writing "good" and "bad" summaries for a passage).

5. Wenden (1991), following Fravell (1979), refers to learners' beliefs, insights, and concepts that they have acquired about language learning and the learning process as "metacognitive knowledge", which she distinguishes from learning strategies. Learner strategies and learners' knowledge about language learning, however, are so closely related that a clear borderline cannot usually be drawn between them. In most learning strategy research, therefore, learners' perceptions, beliefs, views, and attitudes have been inferred from their reported use of strategies.

References

Abraham, R. G., & Vann, R.J. (1987). Strategies of two language learners: A case study. In A.L. Wenden & J. Rubin (Eds.) *Learner strategies in language learning* (pp. 85-102). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Allwright, D., & Bailey, K.M. (1991). *Focus on the language classroom: An introduction to classroom research for language teachers.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anderson, J.R. (1990). *Cognitive psychology and its implications* (3rd Edition). New York: W. H. Freeman and Company.

Bailey, K. M. (1980). An introspective analysis of an individual's language learning experience. In R. C. Scarcella & S. D. Krashen (Eds.), *Research in second language acquisition: Selected papers of the Los Angeles Second Language Research Forum* (pp. 58-65). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Bailey, K. M. (1983). Competitiveness and anxiety in adult second language learning: Looking at and through the diary studies. In H. W. Seliger & M. H. Long (Eds.), *Classroom oriented research in second language acquisition* (pp. 67-102). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Bailey, K. M. (1990). The use of diary studies in teacher education programs. In J. C. Richards & D. Nunan (Eds.), *Second language teacher education* (pp. 215-226). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bailey, K. M. (1991, April). *Diary studies of classroom language learning: The doubting game and the believing game.* Paper presented at the 1991 SEAMEO RELC Conference, Regional Language Center, Singapore.

Bailey, K. M., & Ochsner, R. (1983). A methodological review of the diary studies: Windmill tilting or social science? In K. M. Bailey, M. H. Long, & S. Peck (Eds.), *Second language acquisition studies* (pp. 188-198). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Banerjee, J. & Carrell, P. L. (1988). Tuck in your shirt, you squid: Suggestions in ESL. *Language Learning*, 38, 313-336.

Benson, M. J. (1989). The academic listening task: A case study. *TESOL Quarterly*, 23, 421-445.

Bernard, H. R. (1988). *Research methods in cultural anthropology.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

Block, E. (1986). The comprehension strategies of second language readers. *TESOL Quarterly*, 20, 463-494.

Brown, C. (1983). *The distinguishing characteristics of the older adult language learner.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles.

Brown,C. (1985a) Two windows on the classroom world: Diary studies and participant observation differences. In P. Larsen, E.L. Judd, & D.S. Messerschmitt (Eds.), *On TESOL '84: A brave new world for TESOL* (pp.121-134). Washington, D.C.: TESOL.

Brown C. (1985b). Requests for specific language input: Differences between older and younger adult language learners. In S.M. Gass, & C.G. Madden (Eds.), *Input in second language acquisition* (pp. 272-281). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Casanave, C.P. (1988). Comprehension monitoring in ESL reading: A neglected essential *TESOL Quarterly*, 22, 283-302.

Cavalcanti, M. (1982). Using the unorthodox, unmeasurable verbal protocol technique: Qualitative data in foreign language reading research. In S.S. Dingwall, S. Mann, & F. Katamba (Eds.), *Methods and problems in applied linguistic research* (pp.72-85). Department of Linguistics and Modern English Language, University of Lancaster.

Cavalcanti, M.C. (1987). Investigating foreign language performance through pause protocols. In C. Faerch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Introspection in second language research* (pp.230-250). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Christison, M.A., & Krahnke, K.J. (1986). Student perceptions of academic language study. *TESOL Quarterly*, 20, 61-81.

Cohen, A. (1984). Studying second-language learning strategies: How do we get the information? *Applied Linguistics*, 3, 221-236.

Cohen, A. (1987a). Studying learner strategies: How we get the information? In A.L. Wenden and J. Rubin (Eds.), *Learner strategies in language learning* (pp. 31-42). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Cohen, A.D. (1987b). Using verbal reports in research on language learning in C. Faerch & G. Kasper (Eds.). *Introspection in second language research* (pp.82-95). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Cohen, A.D. (1990). *Language learning: Insights for learners, teachers and researchers*. New York: Newbury House.

Cohen, A.D., & Aphek, E. (1981). Easifying second language learning. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 3, 221-236.

Cohen, A.D., & Cavalcanti, M.C. (1990). Feedback on compositions: Teacher and student verbal reports. In B. Kroll (Ed.), *Second language writing: Research insights for the classroom* (pp. 155-177). Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, A.D., Glasman, H., Sosenbaum-Cohen, P.R., Ferrara, J., & Fine, J. (1979). Reading English for specialized purposes: Discourse analysis and the use of student informants. *TESOL Quarterly*, 13,551-564.

Cohen, A.D., & Hosenfeld, C. (1981). Some uses of mentalistic data in second language research. *Language Learning*, 31, 285-313.

Cohen, A.D., & Robbins, M. (1976). Toward assessing interlanguage performance: The relationship between selected errors, learners' characteristics, and learners' explanations. *Language Learning*, 26, 45-66.

Cumming, A. (1989). Writing expertise and second-language proficiency. *Language Learning*, 39, 81-141.

Devine, J. (1988). A case study of two readers: models of reading and reading performance. In P. Carrell, J. Devine, & D. Eskey (Eds.), *Interactive approaches to second language reading* (pp. 127-139). Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, R. (1989). Classroom learning styles and their effect on second language acquisition: A study of two learners. *System*, 17, 249-262.

Ericsson, K.A., & Simon, H.A. (1980). Verbal reports as data. *Psychological Review*, 87, 215-251.

Ericsson, K.A., & Simon, H.A. (1984). *Protocol analysis:* Verbal reports as data. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Ericsson, K.A., & Simon, H.A. (1987). Verbal reports on thinking. In C. Færch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Introspection in second language research* (pp.24-53). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Færch, C., & Kasper, G. (1987). From product to process - *Introspective methods in second language research* (pp.5-23). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Feldman, U., & Stemmer, B. (1987). Thin_aloud a_retrospective da_in C-te_ taking: diffe_languages_diff_learners_sa_approaches? In C. Færch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Introspection in Second Language Research* (pp. 251-266). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Flavell, J. (1979). Metacognition and cognitive monitoring: a new area of cognitive developmental inquiry. *American Psychologist*, 34, 906-911.

Fowler, F.J. (1988). *Survey research methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Gaies, S.J. (1983). The investigation of language classroom processes. *TESOL Quarterly*, 17, 205-217).

Garner, R. (1988). Verbal-report data on cognitive and metacognitive strategies. In C.E. Weinstein, E.T. Goetz, & P.A. Alexander (Eds.), *Learning and study strategies: Issues in assessment, instruction, and evaluation* (pp. 63-76). New York: Academic Press.

Gerloff, P. (1987). Identifying the unit of analysis in translation: Some uses of think-aloud protocol data. In C. Færch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Introspection in second language research* (pp.135-158). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Gillette, B. (1987). Two successful language learners: An introspective approach. In C. Færch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Introspection in second language research* (pp. 268-279). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Grandcolas, B., & Soulé-Susbielles, N. (1986). The analysis of the second language classroom. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 8, 293-308.

Grotjahn, R. (1987). On the methodological basis of introspective methods. In C. Færch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Introspection in second language research* (pp. 54-81). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Haastrup, K. (1976). Using thinking aloud and retrospection to uncover learners' lexical inferencing procedures. In C. Færch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Introspection in second language research* (pp. 197-212). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Holec, H. (1987). The learner as manager: Managing learning or managing to learn? In A. L. Wenden and J. Rubin (Eds.), *Learner strategies in language learning* (pp. 145-157). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Holscher, A., & Mohle, D. (1987). Cognitive plans in translation. In C. Færch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Introspection in second language research* (pp. 113-134). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Hosenfeld, C. (1976). Learning about learning: Discovering our students' strategies. *Foreign Language Annals*, 9, 117-129.

Hosenfeld, C. (1977). A preliminary investigation of the reading strategies of successful and nonsuccessful second language learners. *System*, 5, 110-123.

Hosenfeld, C. (1979). Cindy: A learner in today's foreign language classroom. In W. Borne (Ed.), *The foreign language learner in today's classroom environment* (pp.53-75). Northwest Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

Hosenfeld, C. (1984). Case studies of ninth grade readers. In J.C. Alderson & A.H. Urquhart (Eds.), *Reading in a foreign language* (pp. 231-249). London: Longman.

Horwitz, E.K. (1987). Surveying student beliefs about language learning. In A. Wenden & J. Rubin (Eds.), *Learner strategies in language learning* (pp. 119-129). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Huang, X-H. (1985). Chinese EFL students' learning strategies for oral communication. *TESOL Quarterly*, 19, 167-168.

Jamieson, J., & Chapelle, C. (1987). Working styles on computers as evidence of second language learning strategies. *Language Learning*, 37, 523-544.

Jones, R.A. (1977). Social and psychological factors in second language acquisition: A study of an individual. In C.A. Henning (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Los Angeles Second Language Research Forum* (pp. 331-341). University of California, Los Angeles.

Jones, S., & J. Tetroe. (1987). Composing in a second language. In A. Matsuhashi (Ed.), *Writing in real time: Modelling production processes* (pp. 34-57). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Knight, S.L., Padron, Y.N., & Waxman, H.C. (1985). The cognitive reading strategies of ESL students. *TESOL Quarterly*, 19789-792.

Kraemer, R., & Zisenwine, D. (1989). Changes in attitude toward learning Hebrew in a South African setting. *Language Learning*, 39, 1-14.

Krings, H.P. (1987). The use of introspective data in translation. In C. Færch & G. Kasper (Eds.): *Introspection in second language research* (pp.159-176). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Lay, N.D.S. (1982). Composing processes of adult ESL learners: A case study. *TESOL Quarterly*, 16, 406.

Lennon, P. (1989). Introspection and intentionality in advanced second-language acquisition. *Language Learning*, 39, 375-396.

Lieberman, D.A. (1979). Behaviorism and the mind: A (limited) call for a return to introspection. *American Psychologist*, 34, 319-333.

Lowe, T. (1987). An experiment in role reversal: Teachers as language learners. *ELT Journal*, 41, 89-96.

Mann, S. (1982). Verbal reports as data: A focus on retrospection. In S.S. Dingwall, S.Mann, & F. Katamba (Eds.), *Methods and problems in doing applied linguistic research* (pp. 87-104). Department of Linguistics and Modern English Language, University of Lancaster.

Matsumoto, K. (1987). Diary studies of second language acquisition: A critical overview. *JALT Journal*, 9, 17-34.

Matsumoto, K. (1989). An analysis of a Japanese ESL learner's diary: Factors involved in the L2 learning process. *JALT Journal*, 11, 167-192.

Matsumoto, K. (1992a). Research-paper writing strategies of professional Japanese EFL writers. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Matsumoto, K. (1992b). Helping L2 learners reflect on classroom learning: Student perceptions of retrospective self-reporting activities. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Neu, J., & Scarcella, R. (1991). Word processing in the ESL writing classroom: A Survey of student attitudes. In P. Dunkel (Ed.), *Computer-assisted language learning and testing: Research issues and practice* (pp. 169-187). New York: Newbury House.

Nisbett, R.E., & Wilson, T.D. (1977). Telling more than we can know:

Verbal reports on mental processes. *Psychological Review*, 84, 231-259.

Nunan, D. (1991). *Language teaching methodology*. New York: Prentice Hall.

O'Malley, J.M., & Chamot, A.U. (1990). *Learning strategies in second language acquisition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Malley, J.M., Chamot, A.U., Stewner-Manzanares, G, Kupper, L., & Russo, R.P. (1985). Learning strategies used by beginning and intermediate ESL students. *Language Learning*, 35, 21-46.

Ostler, S. (1980). A survey of academic needs for advanced ESL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 14, 4489-502.

Oxford, R.L. (1990). *Language learning strategies: What every teacher should know*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Newbury House.

Pearson, E. (1988). Learner strategies and learner interviews. *ELT Journal*, 42, 173-178.

Phinney, M. (1991). Computer-assisted writing and writing apprehension in ESL students. In P. Dunkel (Ed.), *Computer-assisted Language Learning and Testing: Research issues and practice* (pp. 189-204). New York: Newbury House.

Politzer, R.L., & McGroarty, M. (1985). An exploratory study of learning behaviors and their relationship to gains in linguistic and communicative competence. *TESOL Quarterly*, 19, 103-123.

Poulisse, N., Bongaerts, T., & Kellerman, E. (1987). The use of retrospective verbal reports in the analysis of compensatory strategies. In C. Færch & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Introspection in second language research* (pp. 213-229). Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Radford, J., & Burton, A. (1974). *Thinking: Its nature and development*. London: John Wiley & Sons.

Raimes, A. (1985). What unskilled ESL students do as they write: A Classroom study of composing. *TESOL Quarterly*, 19, 229-258.

Raimes, A. (1989). Language proficiency, writing ability and composing strategies: A study of ESL college student writers. *Language Learning*, 37, 439-468.

Reid, J. (1987). The learning style preferences of ESL students. *TESOL Quarterly*, 21, 87-111.

Robertson, D. (1984). English language use, needs, and proficiency among foreign students at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. *TESOL Quarterly*, 18, 144-145.

Rubin, J. (1981). The study of cognitive processes in second language learning. *Applied Linguistics*, 2, 117-131.

Rubin, J., & Henze, R. (1981). The foreign language requirement: A suggestion to enhance its educational role in teacher training. *TESOL Newsletter*, 15, 17, 19, 24.

Schallert, D.L., Alexander, P.A., & Goetz, E.T. (1988). Implicit instruction of strategies for learning from text. In C.E. Weinstein, E.T. Goetz, & P.A. Alexander (Eds.), *Learning and study strategies: Issues in assessment, instruction, and evaluation* (pp. 193-214). New York: Academic Press.

Schmidt, R.W., & Frota, S.N. (1986). Developing basic conversational ability in a second language: A case study of an adult learner of Portuguese. In R.R. Day (Ed.), *Talking to learn: Conversation in second language acquisition* (pp.237-326). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schumann, F.M. (1980). Diary of a language learner: A further analysis. In R.C. Scarcella & S.D. Krashen (Eds.), *Research in second language acquisition: Selected papers of the Los Angeles Second Language Research Forum* (pp. 51-57). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schumann, F.M., & Schumann, J.H. (1977). Diary of a language learner: An introspective study of second language learning. In H. D. Brown, C.A. Yorio, & R.H. Crymes (Eds.): *On TESOL '77: Teaching and learning English as a second language: Trends in research and practice* (pp. 241-249). Washington, D.C.: TESOL.

Seliger, W.S. (1983). The language learner as linguist: Of metaphors and realities. *Applied Linguistics*, 4, 179-191.

Wenden, A.L. (1987). How to be a successful language learner: Insights and prescriptions from L2 learners. In A.L. Wenden & J. Rubin (Eds.), *Learner strategies in language learning* (pp. 103-117). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Wenden, A.L. (1991). *Learner strategies for learner autonomy*. London: Prentice Hall.

Wenden, A.L., & Rubin, J. (Eds.) (1987). *Learner strategies in language learning*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

White, P. (1980). Limitations on verbal reports of internal events: A refutation of Nisbett and Wilson and of Bem. *Psychological Review*, 87, 105-112.

Zamel, V. (1983). The composing processes of ESL students: Six case studies. *TESOL Quarterly*, 17, 165-187.

ANALYTICAL ASSESSMENTS OF FOREIGN STUDENTS' WRITING

Gusti Gede Astika
English Department
Satya Wacana University
Salatiga, Indonesia

Abstract

This study investigated the assessment of foreign students' writing by native speaker ESL teachers. The assessment used an analytical scoring technique based on the *ESL Composition Profile* which contains the following features : Content, Organization, Vocabulary, Language Use, and Mechanics. 210 writing samples were used and evaluated by at least 2 raters each. A multiple regression analysis was performed to investigate how much each component contributed to the total score variance. The analysis indicated that Vocabulary accounted for the largest amount of variance in the total scores (83.75%), with Content, Language Use, Organization, and Mechanics accounting for 8.06%, 4.05%, 2.48% and .29%, respectively. The results are discussed in terms of appropriate instructional strategies for teaching ESL writing.

Introduction

The aims of error evaluation in ESL and EFL writing have changed in the last two decades. Early studies on writing errors by Burt & Kiparsky (1974) and Burt (1975) focused on errors made by students at the sentence level, uncovering linguistic and communicative strategies which characterize the students' interlanguage. Subsequent studies such as those by Chastain (1980), Piazza (1980), Tomiyana (1980), Delisle (1980), and Santos (1988) have shifted the focus from the surface structure of errors to the system which measures the extent to which the students' errors affect comprehensibility, acceptability, and irritation on the part of the native speaker. These studies have revealed an error hierarchy which suggests that some errors are regarded as more important than the others.

Other studies such as those by Mullen (1977), Brown & Bailey (1984), Jacobs et al. (1981) used analytical scoring techniques to evaluate students' compositions. The techniques involve the separation of various features of a composition into its components such as content, logical development of ideas, organization, language use, grammar, vocabulary, and style.

1321

The study reported here used the *ESL Composition Profile* (Jacobs et al., 1981) to investigate the degree to which raters can achieve agreement concerning the writing proficiency of the subjects and to determine the reliability of their judgments. In addition, this study investigates the proportion of variance contributed by each composition component to the total writing scores. Specifically, this study answers the following research questions:

1. How reliable is the *ESL Composition Profile* when used by two raters on a sample of compositions written by foreign students?

2. What is the relative weight for the variance of each component that contributes to the overall writing proficiency scores of these foreign students?

Method

Subjects

The population studied here included all new foreign students who were admitted to the University of Hawaii in 1989 and 1990. A sample of 210 was randomly selected for use in this study. These students were enrolled in various departments at the university. The 210 subjects in this study took the test in the Spring and Fall semesters of 1989 and 1990.

Materials

The Writing Sample test, constructed by the English Language Institute, University of Hawaii, was used to obtain the data for this study. In the test, there was a list of four topics from which the students had to select one topic for their compositions.

The students' compositions were read and evaluated by two or three raters using *ESL Composition Profile* developed by Jacobs et al. (1981). The profile contains five component skills, each focusing on an important aspect of composition and weighted according to its approximate importance: content (30 points), organization (20 points), vocabulary (20 points), language use (25 points), and mechanics (5 points). The total weight for each component is further broken down into numerical ranges that correspond to four mastery levels from "very poor" to "excellent to very good" (See Appendix for the full profile).

Procedures

All subjects wrote their compositions for thirty minutes. The test instructions and blank paper were provided to the subjects. Afterwards, the test instructions were collected together with their compositions. Each composition was then read and scored independently by two raters using the *ESL Composition Profile*. In all cases, if a disparity of more than 10 points was found between the scores assigned by these raters, the composition was evaluated by a third rater. For the purposes of this study, only the scores of the first two raters were used because not all writing samples were rated by three raters.

Analysis

The total score for each composition was obtained by summing the raters' judgments for the five composition components. The interrater reliability of the test was calculated using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient and the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula was used to correct for the fact that two raters were used in the actual decision making rather than one.

A stepwise regression analysis was also used to determine the relative weight of the variance produced by each composition component and its relative contribution to the subjects' writing proficiency scores. It was hoped that the results would show which components contributed the most or the least to the total composition scores.

Results

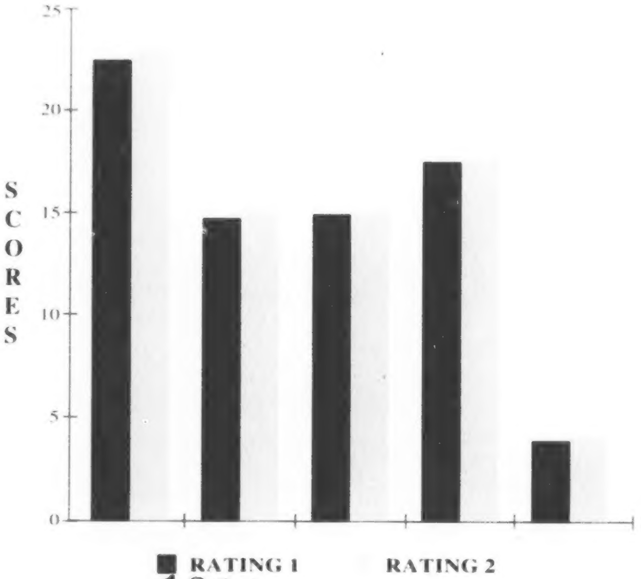
Table 1 reports the means, standard deviations, and sample sizes for the ratings in each of the five composition components. Figure 1 displays the means in a bar graph for easier visual comparison.

Notice that the scores within each component as reflected by the bars are very close to each other indicating that, on average, both ratings were about equal. The interrater reliability of the raters' judgments, using the product-moment correlation coefficient and the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula, was found to be fairly high at .82. In addition, Scheffé post hoc comparisons indicated that the scores assigned by the raters to each component did not differ significantly. In other words, the raters did not differ in their judgments on each of the composition components. This is another indication of the interrater reliability of the test.

Table 1
Summary Statistics of ratings on the Composition Components

		CONT	ORG	VOC	LG	MECH
1st RATINGS	X	22.26	14.72	14.75	17.40	3.67
	S	3.78	2.79	2.48	3.59	0.69
	N	210.00	210.00	210.00	210.00	210.00
2nd RATINGS	X	22.71	15.16	14.85	17.50	3.72
	S	3.58	2.63	2.27	3.44	0.96
	N	210.00	210.00	210.00	210.00	210.00

Figure 1
Summary Statistics for the Raters' Judgements on the Composition Components



1324

The interrater reliability for the components is presented in Table 2. Among the five components, Mechanics was the least reliable and the other four components were fairly reliable ranging from .82 to .85.

Table 2
Interrater Reliability for the Components

Components	Reliability
Content	.83
Organization	.82
Language Use	.85
Vocabulary	.84
Mechanics	.73

Table 3 shows interrater intercorrelations (adjusted using the Spearman-Brown formula) for the scores of the five composition components. Except for those involving Mechanics, these reliability estimates are all moderately high. They were all significant at p < .001.

Table 3
Intercorrelations of Ratings for the Composition
Components

	CONT	ORG	VOC	LG	MECH
CONTENT	1.00	.73*	.72*	.60*	.44*
ORGANIZATION		1.00	.77*	.65*	.48*
VOCABULARY			1.00	.78*	.59*
LANGUAGE USE				1.00	.56*
MECHANICS					1.00

* P < .001

Next, a stepwise regression analysis was performed to determine the amount of variance that is contributed by each composition component to the total scores. The analysis was meant to determine how productive or significant each component was and how much variance was accounted for by each component. The total composition score was treated as the dependent variable, and the scores for the five composition components as independent variables.

Hatch & Lazaraton (1991) and Norusis (1988) suggest that the following assumptions should be met for a multiple regression analysis:

1. The variable should be internal and truly continuous.
2. The samples should be drawn at random.
3. The relationships between variables should be linear.
4. The minimum number of subjects for each independent variable is 30.
5. The distribution of the residuals should be approximately normal.

Linearity of the relationships between the dependent and independent variables was examined by plotting the data of the dependent variable against each independent variable (Norusis, 1988). The results show that the relationships between the dependent variable (total scores) and the independent variables (components) were all reasonably linear. The distributions of the residuals were also examined, and the results indicate that the residuals are not correlated with any independent variable. It seems that, in general, the assumptions for the regression analysis were met. The results for the regression analysis performed on the SPSS Studentware program are reported in Table 4.

Table 4
Multiple Regression Analysis With the Total Writing Scores as the Dependent Variable

VARIABLES	DF	R^2	R^2 CHANGE	F	PROB
VOCABULARY	1	.8375	.8375	1071.7617*	.0001
CONTENT+V	2	.9181	.0806	1160.2153*	.0001
LANGUAGE+C+V	3	.9586	.0405	1591.6116*	.0001
ORG+L+C+V	4	.9834	.0248	3035.9546*	.0001
MECH+O+L+C+V	5	.9863	.0029	2943.3792*	.0001

Table 4 reveals that the variable Vocabulary, which accounts for the largest amount of variance (83.75%), was added first. Subsequently, the variables Content, Language Use, Organization, and Mechanics were added with each one accounting for 8.06%, 4.05%, 2.48%, and .29% additional variance, respectively. This analysis shows that the Vocabulary variable contributed the most to the total score variance, while Mechanics contributed the least. It is also seen in the table that all five components were contributing significantly to the total score variance although the proportions of variance accounted for by the different independent variables varied considerably with the Vocabulary accounting for 83.75%

(more than the proportions of variance accounted for by the other four variables combined). Although subsequent additions of the four variables to the total score variance were small, these improvements were significant as reflected by the F-ratios which tested the additional effects of the variables. On this basis alone, it may be concluded that the inclusion of the Content, Language Use, Organization, and Mechanics scores significantly improved the predictability of the composition score. Notice that the variance accounted for by Mechanics, though significant, was very small (.29%). This fact may indicate that this variable was not making a very meaningful contribution to the subjects' writing proficiency scores. Based on the results of this analysis, it may be more worthwhile for the scoring of writing to be based on the Vocabulary and the Content categories because these two variables seem to contribute the most among the five components.

Notice that in Table 3, Vocabulary, Language Use, and Content are all fairly highly correlated. This may present a problem of multicollinearity in the regression analysis presented here. This means that, because the independent variables are fairly highly interrelated, it becomes difficult to interpret "which is predicting the most (or the least) variation in dependent variable scores ...." (Brown 1988, p.149). This problem will be discussed in more detail below. For the moment, the regression statistics are simply presented. Summary descriptive statistics for the five variables are presented in Table 5.

Table 5
Descriptive Statistics for the Composition Components

	Cont	Orgn	Lang Use	Voch	Mechn
Mean	22.49	14.95	17.45	14.79	3.70
Std. Dev	3.68	2.72	3.52	2.38	.84
Variance	13.57	7.41	12.37	5.65	.70
Minimum	13.00	10.00	13.00	12.00	4.00
Maximum	30.00	20.00	24.00	20.00	4.00
Subjects	210	210	210	210	210

Discussion

In brief, this study yielded the following results. The scores assigned by both raters to the composition components appeared to be very close and Scheffé tests further indicated that the differences were not significant. On the basis of the data in this study, the interrater reliability was fairly high (.82). This index of interrater reliability was very close to that reported by Jacobs et al. (1981) with two raters (.85) using the same composition profile. Jacobs et al. (1981) and Brown & Bailey (1984) suggest that interrater reliability can be improved by having more than two raters evaluate the same compositions. However, based only on two raters, this test seems to be a fairly reliable measure of the students' writing ability.

The regression analysis indicated that all five composition components were significant variables in accounting for the subjects' writing proficiency scores with Vocabulary being the best predictor. As reported in Table 3, the correlations among some of the independent variables were fairly high. Since a forward stepping multiple regression analysis (SPSS Student version) was performed, the variable Vocabulary (which was most highly correlated with the total scores) was entered first, and consequently, this variable made the highest contribution to the total score variance (84%). The other four variables necessarily made considerably smaller contributions to the variance. It appears that after the vocabulary variable enters the model, the other variables enter in the order of their relative weighting in terms of the points allocated to them (30 for Content, 25 for Language Use, 20 for Organization, and 5 for Mechanics). Thus the surprising result here is not the ordering of Content, Language Use, Organization, and Mechanics, but rather the fact that Vocabulary was entered into the stepwise model first even though it only had a relative weighting of 20 points. Since no clear answer to this puzzle is present in these results, future research should be carefully designed to determine the underlying cause of Vocabulary entering the model first. For the moment, it can only be said that the subjects' ability to write as measured by the *ESL Composition Profile* was most predictable from Vocabulary. This prominent role for vocabulary is similar to the findings of Mullen (1977), Delisle (1982), and Santos (1988).

However, in evaluating compositions, other factors such as Content, Organization, Language Use, and Mechanics should also be considered. Based on the results of this study, the additional amounts of variance contributed by these four components significantly increased the predictability of the components in the subjects' writing proficiency scores. Among these five components, Mechanics contributed the least. This may indicate that the subjects, when they wrote, were more concerned with organization and development of ideas and meanings with less attention given to Mechanics (Zamel, 1981, Santos, 1988). Examinations of the interrater reliability for the five components indicated that this component was the least reliable rating component (Table 2). The view of writing obviously has its implications for instruction, i.e., the primary concern in developing the student's writing ability should not be on Mechanics, but on the other four components. This finding seems to support the process approach to teaching writing in which writing is seen as a cyclical process of modifying and refining ideas and the problems of mechanics are not dealt with until the final revision of writing (Zamel, 1983). However, this result may also simply be a reflection of the raters' views of writing pedagogy.

Evidence from studies on writing processes (So & Pennington, 1989; Zamel, 1983) shows that skilled and unskilled learners experience writing as a process of discovering, refining, and developing meanings and problems at sentence level are attended to after ideas have been developed. The subjects in this study may have experienced a similar process in writing their compositions.

This study may point to the need for instructional strategies through which teaching and learning activities are more focused on areas other than sentence level problems. The role of vocabulary in this study may have been the result of learning experiences in the subjects' home countries where instructional emphasis in writing was generally not on organization and development of content, but on formal properties of the language. Robb, Ross, and Shortreed (1986) report the study by Applebee (1981) who found that 80% of foreign language teachers ranked mechanical errors as the most important criterion for responding to student writing. However, it might also be of interest to replicate this study with students in Asian countries to see what aspect of their writing is most prominent.

References

Applebee, A.N. (1981). *Writing in the Secondary School* (NCTE Research Report No. 21). Urbana IL: National Council of Teachers of English.

Brown, J.D. (1988). *Understanding Research in Second Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Brown, J.D. and Bailey, K.M. (1984). A categorical instrument for scoring second language writing skills. *Language Learning, 34* (4), 21-42.

Burt, M.K. (1975). Error analysis in the adult EFL classroom. *TESOL Quarterly, 9* (1), 53-63.

Burt, M.K. and Kiparsky, C. (1974). Global and local mistakes. In J.H. Schumann and N. Stenson (Eds.) *New Frontiers in Second Language Learning* (pp. 71-79), Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.

Chastain, K. (1980). Native speaker reaction to instructor-identified student second language errors. *Modern Language Journal, 64* (2), 210-215.

Delisle, H.H. (1982). Native speaker judgment and the evaluation of errors in German. *Modern Language Journal, 66*, 39-48.

Hatch, E. and Lazaraton, A. (1991). *The Research Manual : Design and Statistics for Applied Linguistics*. New York: Newbury House Publishers.

Jacobs, H.L., Zingraf, S.A., Wormuth, D.R., Hartfiel, V.F., and Hughey, J.B. (1981). *Testing ESL Composition*, Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.

Mullen, K.A. (1977). Using rater judgements in the evaluation of writing proficiency for non-native speakers of English. In H.D. Brown, C.A. Yorio, and R.H. Crymes (Eds.) *On TESOL 77* (pp.309-320). Washington, DC: TESOL.

Norusis, M.J. (1988). *SPSS/PC+Studentware*. Chicago, IL:SPSS Inc.

Piazza, L.G. (1980). French tolerance for grammatical errors made by Americans. *Modern Language Journal, 64*, 422-427.

Robb, T., Ross, S., and Shortreed, I. (1986). Salience of feedback in error and its effect on EFL writing quality. *TESOL Quarterly, 20* (1), 83-95.

Santos, T. (1988). Professors' reactions to the academic writing of non-native speaking students. *TESOL Quarterly, 22* (1), 69-90.

So, S. and Pennington, M.C. (1989). Comparing writing process and product across two languages: A study of six Singaporean college student writers. Unpublished manuscript, National University of Singapore and University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Tomiyana, M. (1980). Grammatical errors communication breakdown. *TESOL Quarterly, 14* (1), 71-79.

Zamel, V. (1983). The composing process of six advanced ESL students. *TESOL Quarterly, 17* (2), 165-187.

1330

Appendix

ESL Composition Profile

Content

30-27 EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD
knowledgeable, substantive, thorough development of thesis, relevant to assigned topic

26-22 GOOD TO AVERAGE
some knowledge of subject, adequate range, limited development of thesis, mostly relevant to topic, but lacks details

21-27 FAIR TO POOR
limited knowledge of subject, little substance, inadequate development of topic

16-13 VERY POOR
does not show knowledge of subject, non-substantive, not pertinent, or not enough to evaluate

Organization

20-18 EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD
fluent expression, ideas clearly stated/supported, succinct, well organized, logical sequencing, cohesive

17-14 GOOD TO AVERAGE
somewhat choppy, loosely organized but main ideas stand out, limited support, logical but incomplete sequencing

13-10 FAIR TO POOR
non-fluent, ideas confused or disconnected, lacks logical sequencing and development

9-7 VERY POOR
does not communicate, no organization, or not enough to evaluate

Vocabulary

20-18 EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD
sophisticated range, effective word/idiom choice and usage, word form mastery, appropriate register

17-14 GOOD TO AVERAGE
adequate range, occasional errors of word or idiom, form, choice, usage, but meaning not obscured

13-10 FAIR TO POOR
limited range, frequent errors of word/idiom form, choice, usage, meaning confused or obscured

9-7 VERY POOR
essentially translation, little knowledge of English vocabulary, idioms, word form, or not enough to evaluate

Language Use
25-22 EXCELLENT TO VERY POOR
effective complex constructions, few errors of agreement, tense, number, word order/function, articles, pronouns, prepositions

21-28 GOOD TO AVERAGE
effective but simple constructions, minor problems in complex constructions, several errors of agreement, tense, number, word order/function, articles, pronouns, prepositions, but meaning seldom obscured

17-11 FAIR TO POOR
major problems in simple/complex constructions, frequent errors of negation, agreement, tense, number, word order/function, articles, pronouns, prepositions and/or fragments, run-ons, deletions, meaning confused or obscured

10-5 VERY POOR
virtually no mastery of sentence construction rules, dominated by errors, does not communicate, or not enough to evaluate

Mechanics
5 - EXCELLENT TO VERY GOOD
demonstrates mastery of conventions, few errors of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing

4 - GOOD TO AVERAGE
occasional errors of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing, but meaning not obscured

3 - FAIR TO POOR
frequent errors of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing, poor handwriting, meaning confused or obscured

2 - VERY POOR
no mastery of conventions, dominated by errors of spelling, punctuation, capitalization, paragraphing, handwriting illegible, or not enough to evaluate

HIGH COGNITIVE QUESTIONS IN NNS GROUP CLASSROOM DISCUSSION: DO THEY FACILITATE COMPREHENSION AND PRODUCTION OF THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE?

Eva Guzman Alcón
Spain

Abstract

This article is based on a study which attempted to examine the use of high cognitive questions in non-native student group classroom discussions. The main purpose of the study was to determine if higher frequency of high cognitive questions in NNS group classroom discussions had an effect on foreign language learning. Two groups of non-native Spanish students and four non-native English teachers participated. One of the groups was trained in incorporating high cognitive questions in student-student discussions; the other group was not provided with training. After the training, both groups listened to a narrative told by the non-native teacher, discussed it, and then summarized the story they had heard. Results indicated that the training group asked more high cognitive questions than the control group. The quantity of verbal interaction was not different between the groups, but the understanding and written production of the foreign language was higher in the treatment group than in the control group. The higher achievement in the training group indicates that the use of high cognitive questions, demonstrated and adopted in NNS group classroom discussion, promotes the kind of verbal interaction which facilitates comprehension and written production of the foreign language.

A great deal of research has been done on the nature of peer interaction and its effect on student achievement. On the one hand, there is psycholinguistic evidence for group work in SL teaching: Long and Porter (1985), Varonis and Gass (1983), Rulon and MacCreary (1986), Pica and Doughty (1985). This research has focused on the role of comprehensible input in SLA, and the ways in which the nature of non-native/non-native conversation affects the learners' production of the L2. On the other hand, since approximately two thirds of all classroom communication falls into soliciting and reacting moves (Bellack *et al.*, 1966), one could well imagine that a great deal of research has been conducted on questions and answers in the second language classroom.

However, although much research has been done on questions in first language classrooms (Stevens, 1912; Dillon, 1981, 1982, 1985, 1988; Kearsly, 1976), and some has been done in foreign or second language classrooms (Gass and Madden, 1985; Pica *et. al.* 1986, 1987), no study seems to have been done on higher order questions in NNS group discussions. Studies on questions in second language classrooms have focused on teacher questioning behaviour, as a classroom process variable possibly related to second language acquisition: Long and Sato (1983), White and Lightbown (1984), and Brock (1986). More recently Rost and Ross (1991), and Alcón and Guzman (1991) studied the learners' questioning strategies in teacher-student interaction and their effect on oral comprehension.

Student-student interaction through reciprocal questions has been analyzed by King (1989, 1990). King considers that the use of reciprocal questions is one of the ways in which students in small groups negotiate the meaning of a given message and interact with each other. Thus he focused on the effects of a reciprocal peer-questioning strategy on student achievement. In this study students were trained to generate generic questions such as "how does... differ from .....?, what is a possible solution to ....?" to create their own questions related to the material presented in class. Then, working in small groups, they posed their questions to their peers establishing a context for self and peer testing. Students who used this reciprocal peer-questioning strategy scored better on achievement tests than those using unstructured discussion in small groups.

The achievement effects observed in King's studies can be explained by theories of social construction of knowledge (Mugny and Doise, 1978; Vygotsky, 1978). These theories emphasize the cognitive advantages of peer interaction. The resolution of the socio-cognitive conflicts, arising in a social context, are viewed as producing more cognitive benefit for an individual than the cognitive conflicts that an individual may experience alone.

From the theories of the social construction of knowledge, as well as from the ways in which negotiation of input (Long, 1981), and learners' production (Swain, 1985) of L2 may affect SLA, using reciprocal peer questions could be expected to:

a) provide a context for the emergence and resolution of socio-cognitive conflicts.
b) provide opportunities to negotiate new input.
c) provide opportunities to produce the target language.
d) promote the understanding and production of the L2.

First of all, being required to ask generic or high cognitive questions, as we call them, students are forced to think about and present the material in different ways, in order to produce message accessible to other members in the group. At the same time, answering to a member of the group enhances understanding for the one giving the explanation, because, as Wells (1989) reported, the explainer often has to translate vocabulary into familiar items, generate new examples, and establish relationships between ideas. As a result, a better understanding and elaboration of the L2 is expected.

The present investigation, based on King's studies, attempts to modify the questioning strategies in such a way as to force foreign students to think about and present their ideas in different and creative ways, to determine whether they actually do so, and, if so, its effect on the comprehension and production of the L2.

Method

Subjects and design

There were 30 subjects, all between seventeen and eighteen years of age. They were in the last year of their secondary education in a state high school in Castellón (Spain). Also serving as subjects for the study were four non-native English teachers, all with at least 5 years of ESL teaching experience and with a Master's degree in ESL. Teachers W and X scored the written summaries separately and then reached an agreement on the grade of each summary. They also designed the treatment for group A. Teacher Y, who conducted the treatment, met both groups of students three hours per week, and taught English as a compulsory subject. Finally, teacher Z observed the whole treatment in order to indicate, if it had happened, any bias of teacher Y for or against the treatment.

Two groups of 15 subjects were formed using a randomized block designed to control the differences in proficiency among students. Group A (treatment group) was randomly assigned to the questioning treatment and group B (control group) to the discussion condition. In group A we had eight females and seven males. In group B (control group) we had eight females and seven males. The two groups did not appear to differ with regard to student ethnicity, social class, or academic background.

Procedure and material

Both groups used Unsolved Mysteries written by McCallum (1990) as their regular textbook. Students in the training group were taught to generate generic or high cognitive questions from written texts, and then practised them in small learning groups. Students in the control group did not receive any treatment on questioning, but used group discussion in their lessons. After three month's training, both groups listened to an unsolved mystery from the McCallum textbook (Appendix A). After listening to the mystery, and without being allowed to ask questions or take notes, students discussed it. Later they were instructed to write individual summaries of the mystery. During the discussion both groups of students were encouraged to formulate questions, emphasizing their importance for comprehension. All verbal interaction during small group discussion was recorded and the summaries were scored (Appendix B) for further statistical analysis.

Training

The set of high cognitive questions designed to elicit highly elaborated responses are based on the application, analysis, and evaluation levels of Bloom's taxonomy (1956). The high cognitive questions in the training were considered those that could explain an idea or relationship, apply a concept to a new situation, relate new material to known material, justify an opinion, or conclude (Table 1).

Table 1
Generic questions used during the treatment

Explain why ...
What do you think would happen if ...?
What do you think will happen if ...?
What is the difference between ... and ...?
How similar are ...?
What is a possible solution to ...?
What conclusions can you draw from ...?
In your opinion ... why/when/where/how/what/ ...?
Do you agree or disagree with ...? Support your answer
How is ... related to ...?
What are the advantages and disadvantages of ...?

First of all, the use of high cognitive questions was explained to the students in the treatment group. Such questions not only require the learner to recall the facts, but also to evaluate them. Having seen the difference between yes or no questions and high cognitive questions, students generated high cognitive questions for three different texts from their textbook. In the first phase the teacher provided the structure as

1336

well as examples from the text. For instance: structure = what is a possible explanation for ...; examples: what is a possible explanation for the existence of Atlantis?, what is a possible explanation for the loss of the Mioan Empire's power, what is a possible explanation for the enormous speculation about Atlantis?

In the second phase students had the structures and one example of each. Finally, in the third phase, only the structure was provided , and the students had to create the questions. The students wrote the questions and shared them with their partners. After practising in pairs, whole classroom practice was provided. The teacher read a text and individual students asked one or two questions to be answered by any student. Comments about the choice of a question and its aim were provided by students.

The students in the discussion condition used the same textbook, used discussion to recall the same written and oral texts as the ones in group B, had the same teacher, but received no training on high cognitive questioning.

Analysis

In the first phase of the study the effects of training on students' questions were analyzed. King's set of generic questions (1990), adapted from Ryan (1971), was used to identify those questions which we have called high cognitive questions: questions which require elaboration, evaluation or conclusion. Low cognitive questions, often referred to as display or known information questions (Long and Sato, 1983), have also been considered. The total number of high cognitive questions observed and recorded during 15 minutes' discussion in group A (training group) was compared to those produced in group B (control group). The same was done with the low cognitive questions.

The interaction was coded by two NNS English teachers independently. 90% agreement was reached and the remaining differences were resolved at a later meeting.

The second phase of the study was designated to see if the participation of students from the training group, on being forced to produce high elaborated responses, differed from that of the control group. An analysis of the turn-taking of both groups was conducted. The system adopted was Allwright's classification (1980) for the turn-taking analysis, but no distinction was made between turn-taking and turn-giving. The reason for considering the total number of turns was motivated by our intention to compare the whole interactive atmosphere in both groups, rather than the contribution of particular subjects to the process of classroom interaction.

The last analysis, the "product" analysis, was used to determine if the training on high cognitive questions was associated with differences in understanding and production of the L2. In this last phase of the analysis, students' summaries of the narrative they had listened to and discussed in groups were scored according to the number of words per summary, number of ideas about the text, level of proficiency, and comprehension (Appendix B)

Results and Discussion

As expected, the number of high cognitive questions was higher in the training group than in the control group (see Table 2).

Table 2
Chi Square Test For Heterogeneity or Independence

QUESTIONS	CONTROL	TREATMENT	
HIGH OBSERVED	11	62	73
COGNITIVE EXPECT.	24.64	48.36	
CHI-SQUARE	7.55	3.85	
LOW OBSERVED	43	44	87
COGNITIVE EXPECT.	29.36	57.64	
CHI-SQUARE	6.34	3.24	
TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONS	54	106	160

OVERALL CHI SQUARE	20.96
P VALUE	0.0000
DEGREES OF FREEDOM	1
YATES' CORRECTED CHI SQ	19.45

The students in the control group asked a total of 54 questions, 43 of which were low cognitive questions, and only 11 of which were high cognitive questions. The training group students, on the other hand, asked a total of 106 questions (1.96 times as many total questions as the control group). 62 of them were high cognitive questions (5.63 times as many as the control group), and 44 were low cognitive questions (with no difference with the control group).

If the training group used more high cognitive questions which in turn were supposed to compel students to externalize their thoughts, we hypothesized that more participation was likely to take place in the training group than in the the control group. A comparison of the turn-taking of both groups was carried out using one-way analysis of variance (Table 3)

Table 3
One way AOV for : training group TT/ control group TT

SOURCE	DF	SS	MS	F	P
BETWEEN	1	104.5	104.5	3.61	0.0678
WITHIN	28	810.7	28.95		
TOTAL	29	915.2			

TT = turn taking

The results indicate that although there is a tendency to increase participation in the training group, the difference in oral participation was not significant: P= 0.0678. It seems that by using high cognitive questions students do not get more turns than those making nearly no use of this type of questions. As a result, the study indicates no relationship between the use of high cognitive questions and the quantity of student participation in NNS group classroom discussions.

If we consider Seliger's position (1977), which found a positive correlation between learners' participation in classroom interaction and learning outcomes, we must conclude that our training students would not benefit more than the control group students. However, although the quantity of interaction may be a factor affecting the acquisition of the L2, it is not simply the frequency of participation which influences acquisition (Aston, 1986); other factors such as the social context or the quality of the interaction must be considered. Another possible explanation could be that in recording interactions for this study, as well as Deliger's (1977), no identification was given of differences in length or complexity.

In the last phase of our study a different result from turn-taking analysis is obtained. When we compared the number of words in the summaries produced by the training and control groups (Table 4), we realized that the difference in number of words is statistically significant: $P < 0005$. So too is the number of ideas produced by both groups (Table 5). Thus, although the quantity of oral interaction is not different using high cognitive questions, the quality of interaction obtained by using high cognitive questions may account for the greater number of words and ideas produced by the learners.

Table 4
One way AOV for : training group NW/ control group NW

SOURCE	DF	SS	MS	F	P
BETWEEN	1	1.391E+04	1.391E+04	8.66	0.0065
WITHIN	28	4.496E+04	1.606E+03		
TOTAL	29	5.887E+04			

NW = number of words

Table 5
One way AOV for : training group NI/ control group NI

SOURCE	DF	SS	MS	F	P
BETWEEN	1	64.53	64.53	17.90	0.0002
WITHIN	28	100.9	3.605		
TOTAL	29	165.5			

NI = number of ideas

Significant group differences were found with regard to achievement (Table 6), with the training group outperforming the control group in proficiency level. The summaries in the training group outperformed the control group in semantic and syntactical complexity, especially in the use of connectives to relate new ideas to others already presented. As far as comprehension is concerned, the summaries also contained more information related to the narrative presented by the teacher and different alternatives on the student's part.

Table 6
One way AOV for : training group ACHI/ control group ACHI

SOURCE	DF	SS	MS	F	P
BETWEEN	1	30.00	30.00	16.200	0004
WITHIN	28	51.87	1.852		
TOTAL	29	81.87			

ACHI = achievement

That high cognitive questions in NNS classroom discussions may increase the written production of the target language, as well as increase the understanding of a given message, is relevant to at least two theories of second language acquisition. On the one hand, Long (1981), in formulating the interaction hypothesis, argues that comprehension is made possible, and is even facilitated, when interactional adjustments are present. High cognitive questions indirectly get the learners involved in the process of negotiation of meaning, in which input is made comprehensible as a result of modification when communication problems arise. On the other hand, Swain (1985), in formulating the output hypothesis, claims that learners need the opportunity to produce in order to develop native speaker levels of grammatical proficiency. According to the summaries in the training group, high cognitive questions, although they may not increase the students' oral production, seem to force learners to produce responses in which learners have to pay attention to the means of expression in order to convey a message, as well as perform a syntactic and semantic analysis of the language.

Finally, since the difference in oral production is not significant in group A and B, Seliger's relationship between intensity of verbal interaction and language learning is questionable in our study. It should also be noted that it may not be the high cognitive questions per se that account for the effects obtained in this study, but the metacommunicative awareness of learners (Alcón and Guzman, 1992). Students in group A learnt during the three month training that high cognitive questions not only affect the quality of questions asked, but also improve the quality of responses given. In so doing, they carried out one of the most difficult tasks of learning a language: acquiring new linguistic forms and learning how to use them.

Conclusion

High cognitive questions, demonstrated and adopted in NNS group classroom discussions, create a context for the resolution of socio-cognitive conflicts in which the learner, as an active element, benefits from different perspectives which arise in the process of peer interaction. This learning context encourages the learner to produce elaborated responses, reduces the possibility of no responses and controls in some ways the effectiveness of peer interaction. In this study learners also gain a better understanding at the discourse level by testing their own hypotheses about a text, transforming old opinions into new ones and thinking and presenting their alternatives in new ways.

A limitation of the study is the number of subjects and the shortness of the treatment. A longitudinal study of the use of high cognitive questions by different proficiency learners, and how these questions influence their growth in production and understanding of the L2 may shed more light on the issue. Further research is also needed to analyze the length and complexity of turns which high cognitive questions are likely to produce in foreign language classrooms.

Appendix A

THE MARY CELESTE : *why did the people on board disappear?*

Selected and adapted from *Unsolved mysteries* (1990)

The name given to the ship when it was built in 1861 was The Amazon. Bad luck seemed to be with The Amazon from the start. During its first voyage in 1862 it was badly damaged. Then the ship caught fire. Similar accidents followed in the next several years. Finally The Amazon was sold and its name was changed to Mary Celeste.

The owners had difficulty finding men to sail on the newly-named ship because, the sailors said, it was unlucky. In the end enough sailors were found to make up a crew. On the morning of 4 November, 1872, with a cargo of 1700 barrels of crude alcohol, it left New York and headed for Genova, Italy. The weather that day was perfect.

Up to the time the Mary Celeste reached the Azores the trip was uneventful. Once past the Azores, however, the weather changed. Captain Briggs recorded in his logbook that there was a heavy wind storm, although it was not strong enough to alarm such an experienced sailor as Briggs.

Ten days later, on 5 December, captain Morehouse of the Dei Gratia, another ship sailing to Europe, observed a dark spot on the horizon. They soon saw that it was a ship but something about it was rather strange. Captain Morehouse began to study the other ship through his telescope. He saw immediately that no one was steering the ship. In fact he saw no sign of life at all!

Morehouse sent three men to discover what was wrong. As they approached the other ship the sailors were able to make out the name painted on the side : Mary Celeste. They realized that the ship was deserted. There were no signs of any kind of violence aboard, however. They noticed, too, that the ship's one lifeboat was gone.

Something had to be done with the deserted ship. Captain Morehouse ordered the three sailors to sail it to nearby Gibraltar. The Dei Gratia was ahead and was already there when they arrived. At Gibraltar, the British authorities took charge of the ship and ordered a public enquiry. They questioned Captain Morehouse and his crew closely. Was it possible, they asked, that pirates had taken over the ship? If so, where were they? Nine barrels of alcohol were empty. Had the crew been drinking this crude alcohol and gone crazy? Perhaps they had forced everyone aboard to jump into the sea and then, in their madness, jumped in themselves. What about the missing lifeboat? Where was it?...

On 10 March, 1873, the case of the Mary Celeste was officially closed. The missing lifeboat had not turned up anywhere. The eleven people who had supposedly been in it were never found. Although the case was officially closed, interest in the Mary Celeste did not let up. People continued to talk about what might have happened.

Appendix B

Summary Scoring Protocol

The level of proficiency of each summary was scored considering both production and comprehension of the L2. The production of the L2 was analyzed at four different levels:

Syntactical level
Semantic level
Creativity
Grammatical accuracy

Learners could be graded in each level up to ten.

As far as comprehension is concerned, these are the propositions that were to be included in the minimally acceptable summaries:

In 1861 a ship named The Amazon was built; later its name was changed Mary Celeste
Weather conditions were good until they reached the Azores
When Captain Morehouse arrived at the Mary Celeste everything was in perfect order

Captain Morehouse's men sailed the Mary Celeste to Gibraltar
British investigators carried out a public inquiry
After the case was officially closed, interest in The Mary Celeste did not let up.

References

Alcón, E., Guzman, J. R. 1991. Estrategias interrogativas en la comprensión oral. *Actas del II Simposi Internacional de didàctica de la llengua i la literatura.* Tarragona : 21-28

Alcón, E., Guzman, J.R. 1992. Learning interaction in the language classroom. *Lenguaje y Textos* : 2: 49-55

Allwright, D. 1980. Turns, Topics and Tasks. Patterns of participation in Language Learning and Teaching. In Larsen-Freeman, ed. *Discourse Analysis in second language acquisition research* . 165-197. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Bellack, A.A., Kliebard, H.M., Hymes R.T., and Smith F. L. 1966. *The language in the classroom.* New York: Teachers college Press.

Bloom, B.S., ed. 1956. *Taxonomy of educational objectives : The classification of educational goals. Handbook 1. Cognitive domain.* New York: McKay

Brock, C. A. 1986. The effect of referential questions on ESL classroom discourse. *TESOL Quarterly* 20: 47-59.

Dillon, J.T. 1981. To question and not to question during discussion. I. Questioning and discussion. *Journal of Teacher Education* 32: 51-55.

- 1982. The effect of questions in education and other enterprises. *Journal of curriculum studies* 14: 127-152.

- 1985. Using questions to foil discussion. *Teaching & Teacher Education* 1 : 109-121.

-1988. *Questioning and teaching.* London: Croom Helm.

Gass, S. and Madden, C., (eds.). 1985. *Input in second language acquisition.* Rowley, Mass.: Newburry House.

Kearsly, G.P. 1976. Questions and question-asking in verbal discourse : a cross disciplinary review. *Journal of Psycholinguistic Research* 5: 355-375.

King, A. 1989. Effects of self-questioning training on college students' comprehension of lectures. *Contemporary Educational Psychology* 14: 1-16.

- 1990. Enhancing peer interaction and learning in the classroom through reciprocal questioning. *American Educational Research Journal* 27:664-687.

Long, M.H. 1981. Input, interaction and second language acquisition. In

Winitz, H., ed. *Native language and foreign language acquisition.* Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 379.

Long, M. H., and Sato, Ch. J. 1983. Classroom foreigner talk discourse: forms and functions of teachers' questions. In Seliger H. W. and Long, M. H., eds. *Classroom-oriented research in second language acquisition,* 268-285. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Long, M.H. and Porter, P.A. 1985. Group work, interlanguage talk, and second language acquisition. *TESOL Quarterly* 19: 207-228.

McCallum, G.P. 1990. Unsolved mysteries. Hong Kong: Nelson.

Mugny, G. and Dosie, W. 1978. Socio-cognitive conflict and the structure of individual and collective performances. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 8: 181-192.

Pica, T and Doughty, C. 1985. The role of group work in classroom second language acquisition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 7: 233-249.

Pica, T., Doughty, C., and Young, R. 1986. Making input comprehensible: do interaction modifications help? *I.T.L. Review of Applied Linguistics* 72: 1-25.

Pica, T., Young, R. and Doughty, C. 1987. The impact of interaction on comprehension. *TESOL Quarterly* . 21: 737-758.

Rost, M. and Ross, S. 1991. Learner use of strategies in interaction: typology and teachability. *Language Learning.* 41: 235-273.

Rulon, K.A., and Mccreary J. 1986. Negotiation of content: teacher-fronted and small-group interaction. In Richard R. Day., ed. *Talking to learn : conversation in second language acquisition,* 182-199. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Seliger, H.W. 1977. Does practice make perfect? A study of interaction patterns and L2 competence. *Language Learning.* 27: 263-278.

Stevens, R. 1912. *The question as a measure of efficiency in instruction.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Swain, M. 1985. Communicative competence: some roles of comprehensible input and comprehensible output in its development. In S.M. Gass and C. G. Madden, eds. *Input in second language acquisition,* 235-253. Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

Varonis, E.M., and Gass, S. 1985. Nonnative/nonnative conversations: a model for negotiation of meaning. *Applied Linguistics* 6:71-90.

Vygotsky, L.S. 1978. Internalization of higher cognitive functions. In Cole, M., John Steiner, V., Scribner, S., and Souberman, E., eds and trans. *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes,* 52-57. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

White, J., and Lightbown, P.M. 1984. Asking and answering in ESL classes. *Canadian Modern Language Review* 40: 228-244.

The English Language Needs of Thai Computing Professionals*

Ruja Pholsward
University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce

Abstract

The study surveyed the English language skills most needed by the computing professional in the Thai context. The purpose was to obtain empirical information to validate the type of language use and skills emphasized in the existing commercial ESP materials in the area of computer science as well as to generate implications for language pedagogy in this specialized discipline with regard to course/syllabus design, materials development, and teacher training. Structured interviews with the use of a questionnaire constructed for the study, were conducted with 25 subjects from 22 firms . Data obtained from the interviews showed consistency in the subjects' answers on the most needed skills: speaking skills were of great importance in almost all positions, followed by reading and writing respectively. Practical suggestions about the direction of language pedagogy for students in computer science were also given by the subjects.

At present, computer science has been widely recognized as one of the most studied areas at the university level, as there has been an increasing need for computing personnel in the job market. Apparently, the use of English in this particular field demands that those involved possess specific English language skills at a highly functional level to cope with communications in the international world of electronic business and industry. This new context has imposed upon language practitioners a need to find out what language features and skills are most needed by computing professionals in order to design relevant and practical courses/ programs to prepare computer science students for the job market.

The literature in ESP/EAP computer science indicates that, at least in the last five years, there has been no specific research into representative language features used in this field, the types of language skills and the level of competence required, the evaluation of language programs for computer science students,and teacher training.

---

*I would like to express my gratitude to the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, Singapore for a research fellowship that made this research possible. With great appreciation, I fully acknowledge the assistance given by Asst. Prof. Sangrawee Chaoprica of Chulalongkorn University Language Institute, and Ajarns Bunga Posiw and Sutthinee Tangsajjanuraks of the University of the Thai Chamber of Commerce. My most sincere thanks go to all subjects for their time and cooperation in providing the needed information.

Despite the lack of such information, language practitioners have seen commercial texts, both British and American, written for students in this area since the early seventies (see the list in Appendix B). It should be noted that the existing texts appear to lack criteria for materials development on an empirical basis. The text writers did not report how they identified the topics or language features to be included in their materials. This seemed to suggest that they probably developed their materials from personal observation on what language features or skills would be most required by the computing professional. As seen in their texts, they heavily emphasized the use of technical terms in dialogues or reading passages followed by comprehension/discussion questions and study of grammatical points or structural analysis/practice (see the text Appendix B).

Objectives

As mentioned, the existing ESP commercial texts in computer science appear to lack support from empirical information and their validity could be seriously questioned. Hence, the researcher felt an urgent need to investigate the following:

(i) the language skills and levels of competence most required by the computing professional, and

(ii) the type of language used in the field of computer science.

It was expected that the obtained information derived from systematic enquiry can be used to generate implications for ESP pedagogy in the area of computer science as follows:

(i) determine the focus of language skills to be taught and devise language activities accordingly,

(ii) validate the types of language use which appear in the existing ESP commercial textbooks,

(iii) help identify any discrepancies that may exist between the language programs at the university level and the actual language requirements on the job market, and

(iv) enable language practitioners to reach sound and practical decisions regarding course design, materials development, evaluation, and teacher training.

Methodology

The study used a questionnaire specially designed as an assessment instrument for structured interviews. The use of a structured interview to secure the target information specified in the objectives was meant to ensure a high percentage of subjects' responses and their correct interpretation of the questionnaire.

The questionnaire consisted of four parts, each designed with a specific purpose. Part I (Bio Data) aimed at securing information about the subjects' computing experience and ESL background. This was also to establish the validity and reliability of the subjects as informants. Part II (English Language Skills) assessed the skills required on the subjects' present jobs and how they coped with the linguistic demands in their work environment.

As for Part III (Gap between Language Curriculum and Language Requirements on the Job), it elicited information about the subjects' satisfaction with past ESL experience at the university (undergraduate level) they attended in Thailand. They were to identify problems encountered and strategies used to cope with difficulties, as well as to provide information on company language training and rank skills required on their job. The subjects were also asked about their general impression of B.Sc. graduates' English language skills in their workplace and expectations of those who were to enter the job market. They were to specify language skills required for different computing positions as well as to give comments and suggestions on what should be included in a language curriculum for students in computer science. All questions in Part III were designed to elicit as much as possible the information needed for improvement of the existing language courses/curricula at Thai universities. These were followed by Part IV (Representative Language Features in Computer Science) which tapped the subjects' linguistic sensitivity and awareness, i.e., 'look and feel' about the language used in the field of computer science. It was expected that the obtained information could be used in ESP materials adaptation and development in this specialized discipline.

The questionnaire was constructed and later reviewed for clarity with the use of three ESP instructors in computer science. It was trialed in two structured interviews with personnel from two computing firms in Bangkok. This resulted in a rearrangement of the item order and deletion of some redundant items (see the final version in Appendix A).

Subjects

The subjects participating in the study were mainly departmental managers or managing directors from 22 computing firms in Bangkok.

The use of managerial subjects was meant to elicit information about language needs at their level as well as at lower levels they had worked in over the years in various computing organizations. Of 25 subjects, three held non-managerial positions, i.e., marketing representative, programmer, and technician. It was expected that the three non-managerial subjects would provide information about language needs required in lower positions consistent with those identified by their superiors in the same firm. The majority of the subjects had good computing experience (over six years) and were responsible for a number of employees under their supervision (10+ to 90+). All but one subject in managerial positions had at least a master's degree in computer science or related fields. All of them were to identify linguistic difficulties at different work levels known to them in their present job or through their past experiences. The obtained information would give a clear picture as to what language skills (with regard to the Field, Mode and Tenor) should be emphasized in training programs at the university level to prepare graduates for the employment market.

The participating firms were selected on the basis of their size (i.e., operational network and revenue): large (N=9), medium (N=8), and small (N=7). Such information was available from the membership list of the Thai Computing Professionals' Association and was later updated by the interviewed personnel. Another criterion for selecting computing firms was their availability and willingness to take part in the study.

Data Collection: Structured Interview

Structured interviews with selected managers of computing firms were carried out in June and July 1989. The data collection procedure required that an initial contact be made by telephone or an enquiry letter sent to the manager and that an appointment be arranged afterwards. Since most managers have busy schedules, it was somewhat difficult to arrange appointments. Some firms had to be excluded because of the unavailability of the managers.

Each 30-minute structured interview was conducted by one researcher (the principal researcher, or one of the three research assistants) with the use of a questionnaire and a tape recorder. The researcher took notes during the interview and transcribed the recorded tape afterwards for any missing information. All subjects were very cooperative and volunteered all information they considered necessary to the improvement of the existing ESP programmes at the university level.

Results and Discussion

This section will report and discuss the findings from 25 structured interviews in the following order: (a) the English language skills required on the subjects' present jobs, (b) the English language skills most needed in different computing positions, and (c) discrepancies between the existing language curricula at the university and the language requirements for computing jobs. This is followed by the information much needed by course/program designers and materials developers: (d) suggestions on language course contents for computer science students and (e) typical characteristics of language used in computer science.

(a) *English Language Skills Required by the Subjects*

From the subjects' responses, those in managerial positions (22) spend nearly 2-3 hours a day reading. They read to update their information from various sources of materials (see Table 1) mostly from newspapers (23), textbooks (22), journals (16), correspondence/company internal documents (7), and software manuals (5). They are expected to be good readers at the advanced level (20), for they have to cope with both extensive and intensive reading tasks in their work.

As for writing, more than half of the subjects (15) write moderately while the rest (10) do less in terms of amount and frequency per day. Obviously, this is due to the fact that high-level positions enable the managers (22) to assign drafting/writing tasks to their subordinates/assistants. Writing activities of high frequency include reports (15), short notes (13), memoranda (12), summaries (11), correspondence (11), proposals (7) and telex/fax (5). They are expected to perform at the high intermediate, or preferably at the advanced level, because written documents present an image of the company they work for.

All subjects, except one technician, are highly involved in listening/speaking tasks in their work, ranging from two to three hours or more daily. They have to contact their customers, suppliers, and specialists from headquarters (21). They have to use English to communicate in meetings (19), general conversation (14), telephone conversation (14) and presentations for major clients, executives from the main office, and other business organizations (5). They emphasize the importance of speaking skills at the advanced level, as this also reflects an image of the company.

As seen in the data presented in Table 1, speaking and reading skills are vitally important to the subjects, followed by writing skills. The expectations of the skill performance are at the advanced level (or at least high intermediate for writing).

(b) *Language Skills and Levels of Competence Required in Computing Positions*

The data shown in Table 2 point to the importance of speaking and reading as primary skills in the work of the subjects in managerial positions. Writing was ranked as a secondary skill for the reason that the subjects could seek assistance from others while the speaking and reading tasks demand their own personal efforts at the advanced level of performance.

As for the subjects' viewpoints on the skills most needed by the personnel of computing firms, sales positions at different levels apparently demand speaking skills (18) at the advanced level and reading/writing at the high intermediate level. Other positions in the areas of consulting, engineering, programming and software development require reading skills (36), yet immediately call for writing/speaking abilities at the intermediate/high intermediate level. Such information is very important to computer science graduates who tend to expect a lower degree of spoken English in their first job as a programmer or system analyst. As explained by the managers, computing companies at present have an international network and contacts with the headquarters and their customers. They usually send new trainees for technical courses arranged by the headquarters at different international branches located in ASEAN countries, Hong Kong, Japan, Europe, England, and the United States. New employees with low speaking abilities will impede the company's technical training, and thus slow down the pace of personnel development, which in turn will hamper the company's competitive power in keeping up with the computing business and technology. Computing firms now demand oral communication skills even in lower-level jobs.

(c) *Discrepancy between the University Language Curriculum and Language Requirements on the Job*

Table 3 reports the subjects' reaction to their university language curriculum in terms of how well it prepares them for their first job after graduation. They described the nature of the curriculum, identified the causes of curriculum insufficiencies, and gave suggestions. Their responses point to a gap between the university language curriculum and the language requirements on the job. The majority of the subjects (18) reported dissatisfaction with the language program last attended at university. The curriculum emphasized grammar study and practice in reading and writing (22) with the use of general content (22). Since speaking activities were almost entirely neglected, the subjects could not express themselves orally in their first job as a result of insufficient practice (17). They suggested that the curriculum could be improved with the integration of more speaking activities (17) and more practice in some specific writing tasks, especially correspondence, which they were often required to do in their work.

The gap that exists between the university language curriculum and the language requirements on the job can also be detected from the subjects' responses to questions 2, 4, and 6 in Part III of the questionnaire (see Appendix A). These questions elicit information about the subjects' language difficulties in their first job and strategies used (question 2), their needs for in-service language training (or whether their company perceives the necessity of such training) (question 4), and their impression on the B.Sc. graduates' language performance (question 6).

Considering language problems on their first job, 18 subjects reported difficulties such as poor listening skills (8), lack of vocabulary (5), confusion over structure and word order (8). Six subjects described pronunciation problems caused by the use of wrong patterns of stress and intonation. In addition to the problems identified, they reported their strategies used in coping with language difficulties: self-study/more practice (7), elicitation techniques in conversation (5), and the use of diagrams and technical materials to clarify their points in conversation (5).

The subjects showed an agreement in their views of new graduates' language abilities. The majority (20) felt that the reading skill was sufficiently functional but were not satisfied with skills in listening/speaking (20) and writing (22). Most subjects (22) emphasized the need for in-service language training for their first job after graduation. Twenty-two subjects (from 20 computing firms) mentioned that their company has policies for new employees' language training either in the form of providing financial support or arranging for in-house language instruction, particularly in spoken English. Of 20 firms, thirteen provided for their employees' conversation courses to improve their communication skills.

Apparently, the discrepancy that exists between the university language curriculum and language requirements on the job stems from the lack of focus on listening/speaking skills, followed by writing in ongoing language courses/programs. Most ESP/EAP courses offered at Thai universities emphasize technical reading because the reading skill is the most important tool for learners' academic success in their specialized discipline. The information obtained suggests the need for language practitioners to consider changes in focus with regard to the emphasis of language skills and nature of course content for computer science graduates.

(d) *Suggestions For Curriculum Content*

The subjects constructively suggested what should be incorporated into the ongoing language curricula at Thai universities. As shown in Table 4, the majority of the subjects (18) thought that the primary focus of language practice should be on listening/speaking while the rest paid attention to reading (5) and writing (2) respectively. It is clear that the importance of reading is well recognized as a secondary skill by nine subjects. Six subjects asserted that writing deserves a secondary focus while the other two held a similar view on listening/speaking. These subjects knew that these skills would account for success in their work. Particularly, they emphasized that the speaking skill should receive immediate attention from language practitioners.

Interestingly, the majority of the subjects stated their preference for general English (18) to technical English (6)/business English (1). They explained that it was not necessary to teach technical English, as people in computer science should be familiar with technical content, technical terms, and abbreviations. Instead, new graduates and computing professionals need general English to communicate with laymen, i.e., customers, in their business interactions and transactions in which technical language cannot be entirely used. In their opinion, general English is more difficult than technical English which employs noncomplex, repetitive structures, and clear-cut organization. For managers, the ability to use general English to explain products to customers or communicate with their colleagues and counterparts with social grace and politeness is of great importance. Such an ability can help them edge out their competitors smoothly in their business deals and negotiations. From their experience, whoever possesses good general language abilities will succeed well in both technical and general communications.

The subjects also advised many relevant activities for language practice. Among their major suggestions are: integrated communicative skills (4), business/daily conversation (4), practice in pronunciation (3), simulation/product explanation (3), the use of both general and technical reading materials (5), and a few others. Again, the subjects' suggestions point to an immediate need for speaking practice.

(e) *Language Features in Computer Science*

Table 5 reports the information much needed by course/program designers and materials developers. It is vitally important to have valid information about typical technical materials and their representative language features at the lexical, structural and discoursal levels. Such information can be used as a basis in the exploitation or adaptation of authentic materials for use in reading activities as well as in the preparation of materials development for reading, writing, and speaking practice.

As seen in Table 5, the subjects gave the titles of the materials they were most familiar with, for example, *P.C. Magazine* (15), *Byte* (12), IBM textbooks/manuals and instructions from headquarters (9). Considering the characteristics of language use, the subjects highlighted the lexical aspect in the density of technical terms (15)/abbreviations (3) and new vocabulary in the field (3). At the sentence level, short sentences and non-complex structures (mostly in affirmative sentences) (6) are used. Five subjects pointed out the density of information in sentences. Such a feature was also identified at the paragraph level. To the subjects, paragraphs in their specialized discipline reveal brevity and clear-cut organization (12). However, two to five subjects said that they did not feel any difference between the use of English in general and that in computer science, for to them individual style of writing will determine the length and complexity of sentences and paragraphs used.

As for listening/speaking, they pointed out that the spontaneity of speech made it difficult to communicate efficiently because they did not have time to polish or manoeuver their spoken language in the way they did in their first language. Other factors such as unfamiliar accents (2) and lack of target vocabulary (2) could also cause difficulty in their oral communication.

In Table 5 (c), the subjects gave information on what language skill caused them most difficulty. This information could be used in language planning and activities with regard to the sequence of language practice. Most subjects felt that in their managerial positions, they required a more mature, well-polished style of writing. More often, they found themselves lacking a complete control of what they wanted to convey in written form. To some reading posed a less serious problem. Difficulties, if any, could result from incomplete understanding of complex concepts (2) and misinterpretation of meanings (2).

Conclusion and Pedagogic Implications

The findings clearly indicate the significance of speaking, reading, and writing respectively, to the computing professional in the Thai context. As the majority of the subjects in managerial positions asserted, they were not satisfied with the new employees' speaking and writing abilities. The lack of language skills impeded the growth of the company with regard to its personnel development and competitiveness in the industry. Such dissatisfaction undoubtedly pointed to the existing gap between the language curriculum at the university level and what is actually demanded in the employment market. It is therefore time for language practitioners to refocus their language courses/programs in the direction which is called for at present.

The subjects' suggestions on the course/program contents can be of great use to course designers and materials developers. Particularly, information about the typical language features in computer science will give language practitioners more confidence to proceed with either the exploitation/adaptation of authentic texts or the development of some valid materials for use in language activities and practices.

One of the managers' suggestions - their preference for general English (18 of 25)- also deserves attention among language practitioners who under the present teaching circumstance are totally devoted to technical English. With such empirical information, they may be able to negotiate with the specialist faculty (that in most cases would demand only technical English) for a reasonable proportion of general English in a language course - acceptable to both parties. However, those who wish to attempt a combination of general and technical English should take a cautious approach by consulting the specialist faculty for consent prior to any change in pedagogic direction. This is to avoid the old issue of "face validity" of ESP courses always raised by the specialist faculty and its students alike.

Language practitioners should be able to perceive pedagogic implications generated by the subjects' suggestions on the following points:

(i) Commercial ESP materials should be used with an integration of needed communicative skills. As known, these materials tend to emphasize the use of technical terms in dialogues and reading passages, followed by study practice on forms and functions. With the obtained information, it is hoped that the text writers would become more aware that general materials and daily/business conversation are also needed by computing people on their first job.

(ii) The combination of both general and technical materials seems relevant for reading practice. The use of authentic materials should be attempted to make the reading tasks as realistic as possible. ESP teachers should note that most reading passages in commercial texts in computer science contain basic specialized concepts which are well-known to students in the field and hence may be appropriate only in their first language course.

(iii) Some specific speaking activities should be emphasized in language courses, such as product explanation, daily conversation, presentation, and meeting. It is essential that students be informed of the importance of the speaker's roles in different social interactions to be able to use language forms and functions in various contexts appropriately. They should be given more opportunities to do individual oral reports and brief talks/presentations which they will be required to do in their work.

(iv) From the subjects' experience, they write more on terminals and focus on some forms of writing, such as reports, short notes, memoranda , summaries, and correspondence/telex/fax. Language practitioners should devise such writing activities for learners' practice and emphasize both grammatical correctness and appropriateness of language use for greater efficiency in written communication.

With the information obtained from this study, ESP practitioners can expect to design and operate language courses/programs to meet the learners' needs. They can then efficiently reduce the gap between what they are doing and what is expected of the students in the job market. If they choose to use commercial ESP texts, they know what to use and what communicative skills should be integrated into the existing materials. Along this line, valid criteria for materials development as well as teacher training can be worked out with greater confidence by those involved. With such an optimistic outlook, it is also important to keep in mind that the information obtained must be updated from time to time to keep pace with the rapid change in the business and technology of computer science.

Table 1
English Language Skills Required by the Subjects

SKILL	EXPECTED LEVEL OF PERFORMANCE[1]	VARIABLE AND DETAIL	FREQUENCY[2]
Reading	Advanced (20)	*Types of reading materials required:*	
	High intermediate (4)	Newspapers	23
	Intermediate (5)	Textbooks	22
		Journals	16
		Others:	
		Correspondence/ internal documents	7
		Software manuals	5
		Technical reports	3
		Company magazines/ bulletins	2
		Catalogues/ release notes	1
		Confidential materials	1
		Articles from abroad	1
		On computer	1
Writing	Advanced (18)	*Specific writing task required:*	
	High intermediate (6)	Report	15
	Intermediate (1)	Short note	13
		Memorandum	12
		Summary	11
		Others:	
		Correspondence	11
		Proposal	7
		Telex/fax	5
		Electronic mail	2
		Short article	1
		Minutes	1

1 and 2: Figures shown indicate frequency of 25 subjects' responses

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

1358

THIS PAGE INTENTIONALLY LEFT BLANK

Table 1 (continued)
English Language Skills Required by the Subjects

Skill	Expected Level of Performance[1]	Variable and detail	Frequency[2]
Listening/ Speaking	Advanced (20) High intermediate (5) Intermediate (0)	*Specific listening/ speaking tasks required:*	
		Contact (with customers, suppliers, specialists, etc.)	21
		Meeting (e.g.proposing, clarifying, persuading, negotiating, arguing, explaining, etc.)	19
		General conversation	14
		Telephone conversation	14
		Presentation (for major customers)	5
		Product explanation	4
		Audio-video listening	2
		Public speaking training classes	1

1 and 2: Figures shown indicate frequency of 25 subjects' responses .

1300

Table 2
Language Skills and Levels of Competence Required in Computing Positions

	Level of Competence	Skill Primary Speaking	 Secondary Writing	 Reading
Managerial Position[1]				
(i) Managing Director	Advanced	12	1	12
(ii) Manager	High intermediate	6	11	8
(iii) Assistant Manager	Intermediate	4	10	2
Non-managerial Position[2]				
(i) Marketing Trainee	Advanced	18		
(ii) Customer/Service Representative	High intermediate	4	5	4
(iii) Customer support	Intermediate		3	
Non-managerial Position[3]				
(i) Programmer	Advanced	36		
(ii) System Analyst/ Development	High intermediate	4	10	5
(iii) System Engineer	Intermediate		6	10
(iv) Consulting Engineer				
(v) Technical Specialist				

1: Figures shown indicate the frequency of responses given by 22 subjects in managerial positions.

2 and 3 : Figures shown indicate the frequency of 25 subjects' responses.

Table 3
Sufficiency of ESL Curriculum at University

Variable	Frequency of Responses (N=25)
Sufficiency of the ESL curriculum (last attended) for the first job after graduation	7
Insufficiency of the ESL curriculum (last attended) for the first job after graduation	18
Nature of curriculum:	
Structural (grammar-oriented with reading and writing activities)	22
Communicative (communication-oriented with speaking, reading, and writing activities)	3
General English	22
Specialized English (mainly technical reading)	3
Causes of the curriculum insufficiencies:	
Insufficient practice	17
Too few required language courses	3
Too large class size	1
Suggestions:	
Need for speaking activities (especially presentation, product explanation, and business conversation)	17
General English instruction	7
Need for writing activities (especially correspondence)	6
Instruction for technical reading (especially strategies)	3
Instructor's work on the learner's motivation	2
Use of English as the only medium of instruction	2

Table 4
Suggestions on Current Curriculum Content

A. *Focus*

Skill	Focus Primary	 Secondary
Listening and speaking	18	2
Reading	5	9
Writing	2	6

B. *Nature of Content*

Nature of Content	Frequency of responses
General English	18
Technical English	6
Business English	1

C. *Language Activities*

Listening/speaking	Reading	Writing
Business/daily conversation(4) Integrated communicative skills(4) Pronunciation(3) Simulation/product explanation(3) Telephone conversation(2) Presentation(2) Persuasion/negotiation(2)	General/technical materials(5) Reading Strategies(2)	Grammatical emphasis in writing(3) correspondence(2) Translation(1)

Figures shown indicate frequency of 25 subjects' responses.

Table 5
Language Features in Computer Science

A. Representative Materials

P.C. Magazine	(15)
Byte	(12)
IBM textbooks/manuals and instructions from headquarters	(9)
Computer World	(5)
P.C. World	(2)
Unix World	(2)
Journals in computer science	(2)
Introductory books in computer science	(2)
News/3x-400	(1)
Info World	(1)
IEEE Journal	(1)
Computer Review	(1)
Computer Digest	(1)
Asia Computer	(1)
An Introduction to Operating Systems (By H.M. Dietal, Addison -Wesley, 1983)	(1)
Texts in the areas of MIS and fundamental operating system	(1)

B. Characteristics of Language Use

Lexis:	Density of technical terms	(15)
	abbreviations (used as nouns or verbs)	(3)
	new vocabulary in the field	(3)
	Use of general vocabulary with specific meaning in computer science	(1)
	Heavy use of noun modifiers	(1)
Syntax:	Short sentences	(9)
	Non-complex structures (mostly in affirmative sentences)	(6)
	Density of information in sentences	(5)
	Combination of short and long sentences depending on writing style	(2)
Discourse:	Short and clear-cut paragraphs	(12)
	Combination of short and long paragraphs depending on writing style	(5)
	Density of information in a paragraph	(5)
	Straightforward organization	(1)

Table 5 (continued)
Language Features in Computer Science

C. Comparative Difficulty of Skills

Writing	*Listening/Speaking*	*Reading*
Conciseness/ preciseness (11)	Spontaneity of speech (8)	Difficult concepts (2)
Formal language (2)	Vocabulary (2)	Interpretation of meanings (2)
Organization of ideas (2)	Unfamiliarity with accents (2)	
Grammar (2)	Arguing/negotiating (2)	
Style of writing (2)		
Vocabulary (2)		

All figures shown indicate frequency of 25 subjects' responses.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix A

Questionnaire for Structured Interview

Research Project

The Assessment of the English Language Needs
in Computer Science : A Survey in Thailand 1989

Questionnaire for Structured Interview

Objectives:

The use of this questionnaire for a structured interview is to survey the English language needs of graduates in computer science as perceived by the computing professional in Bangkok, Thailand. The questions asked are mainly used to identify the types of language skills and the level of competence most required of language science graduates who will enter the job market. It is expected that the obtained information will be used to improve the existing language programs for computer science students at the university level. It will also generate implications for specialized language teaching in this field with regard to relevance and practicality of course/syllabus design, materials development, and teacher training.

Part I : Bio Data

Name ____________________ Last Name ____________________
Birthdate ____
Last School Attended ______________________________________
Major Subject Degree ______________________________________
Year of Graduation ____
Years of studying English __________________________________
Years of computing experience ______________________________
Company/Affiliation _______________________________________
Present position ____
Length of appointment in your present position _______________
Number of employees under your supervision _________________
Job specifications ____

Part II : English Language Skills

English language skills required by your job specifications:

Target Skills:

1. *Reading*

   Amount and frequency of reading required on the job ______________

   Specific reading tasks required ______________________________

   Types of reading materials required and frequency:

   textbooks ____________________

   journals ____________________

   newspapers ____________________

   others ____________________

   Expected level of performance (early and later stages on the job) ______

   ____

2. *Writing*

   Amount and frequency of writing required on the job ______________

   Specific writing tasks required and frequency:

   memorandum ______________________

   short note ______________________

   summary ______________________

   report ______________________

   others ______________________

   Expected level of performance (early and later stages on the job) _____

   ____

3. *Listening*

   Amount and frequency of listening required on the job ______________

   Specific listening tasks (contexts and participants) required __________

   Expected level of performance (early and later stages on the job) _____

   ____

4. *Speaking*

   Amount and frequency of speaking required on the job ______________

   Specific speaking tasks (contexts and participants) required __________

   Expected level of performance (early and later stages on the job) _____

   ____

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Part III : Gap between Language Curriculum and Language Requirements on the job

1. Does the English language curriculum in the last school you attended prepare you for the type of English language use required by your present job? What is the nature of the curriculum? What do you consider causing inadequacies of the curriculum? Your suggestions?

2. Have you encountered any language difficulty on the job as a result of inadequate language training in your university program? Specify the nature and types of problems encountered and describe your strategies in coping with them.

3. What are the specific language skills required on the job? Rank their immediate importance.

4. Do you need extra language training (pre-service or in-service) on the job? Is this provided by the company you are working for? If so, describe the nature of training provided.

5. What do you consider the most desirable language abilities in a successful applicant for a position in the field of computer science?

Position	Skill	Level of Competence

6. From your experience, what is your impression of the language performance of B.Sc. graduates you have encountered?

   Reading ____
   Writing ____
   Listening ______________________________________
   Speaking _______________________________________

7. What language content should the language curriculum developer include in the program to prepare computer science students for their future careers?

   ____
   ____
   ____

Part IV : Representative Language Features in Computer Science

From your observation:

1. What textbooks/journals display the typical characteristics of language use in the field of computer science?

   1) ____
   2) ____
   3) ____
   4) ____
   5) ____

2. What is your impression of the characteristics of language use in computer science with regard to:

   1) Lexis ____
   2) Syntax _______________________________________
   3) Discourse ____________________________________

3. What do you consider causing the most difficulty in the use of English in computer science with regard to your

   Reading ____
   Writing ____
   Listening ______________________________________
   Speaking _______________________________________

End

1339

Appendix B

List of Commercial ESP Texts in Computer Science:

Abdulaziz, M., Smalzer, W. and Abdulaziz, H. 1985. *The Computer Book: Programming and Language Skills for Students of ESL*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J. : Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Humby, E. 1980. *Computer Applications*. London: Cassel.

Keegel, J.C. 1976. *The Language of Computer Programming in English*. New York: Regents.

Lavine, R.Z. and Fechter, S.A. 1986. *On Line: English for Computer Science*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Meyers, R.A. 1984. *Computer Science*. New York: Macmillan Publishing.

McGill, E. and DiCristoforo, D. 1989. *Understanding Computers: A Text for Developing Critical Reading, Thinking, and Reasoning Skills in English*. New York: Collier Macmillan.

Mullen, N.D. and Brown, P.C. 1984. *English for Computer Science*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Robinson, P. 1978. *Computers Cope Better*. Sunbury-on-Thames, Middlesex: Nelson and Sons Ltd.

Rossi, L., Garcia, G., and Mulvaney, S. 1985. *Computer Notions*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

___1972. *Computer Programming*. London: Collier Macmillan Publishing.

The Effects of Bilingualism on Examination Scores : A Different Setting

Philip C Clarkson,
Australian Catholic University
Ruth Clarkson,
Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology

Abstract

In Papua New Guinea the three external examinations that primary school students take in their final year are important for their possible entry into the secondary level of the school system. Sixty per cent of students leave the system at this point. This study investigated whether the level of competencies in both a student's first language and in English, the language of schooling, influenced final scores on the external examinations. The results show that indeed there is such an influence. Implications are suggested for both the Papua New Guinea school system and general language theory.

There has been on-going debate for a number of years as to the effects of bilingualism on students' cognitive performance (Duncan and DeAvila 1979; Duran 1988). One line of argument associated with writers such as Cummins (1979, 1980; Cummins and Swain 1986) suggests that students should not be classed simply as bilingual; the level of competence in each language is seen to be of critical importance since cognitive skills learnt in the student's first language may transfer to the second language and thus this interchange between languages may enhance cognitive abilities in general. However such transference only occurs if the student has reached some minimum threshold of competence in both languages. It is also suggested that if a student's competence falls below a minimal level in each language, the cognitive effect will not be enhanced but depressed.

Results from various studies have not given clear cut support for this proposition, although there is some supporting evidence in the field of language (for a summary see for example Collier 1989), as well as in other areas such as mathematics learning (see for example Dawe 1983). These studies took as subjects bilingual students in developed countries. In developing countries where students often have to learn in a second language, cognitive effects of bilingualism may also be evident. One such case is Papua New Guinea. Some support for Cummins' proposition has been found when mathematics learning was investigated (Clarkson in press; Clarkson and Galbraith 1992).

Papua New Guinean students in the final year of primary school are required to sit three examinations: in English, Mathematics and a General examination which covers all other areas of the curriculum. During the Clarkson and Galbraith and Clarkson studies, scores on these examinations were made available but not used. The aim of this study was to investigate the influence of students' competencies in English, the language of schooling and hence examinations, and Melanesian Pidgin, the language they use outside of school, on the results of these three critical examinations.

In any such study it is useful to have some statistical control over students' backgrounds. Hence two parental variables, three student variables, and a variable measuring the quality of housing were included in this study. Of the parental variables the first concerned the level of the parents' formal education. Parents who spent a substantial time in formal education may be able to give far better guidance and help with studies than parents with little or no formal schooling. Secondly, the occupation of the father is also potentially influential. A father with a professional job will be better placed to help children than a subsistence farmer.

The student variables dealt with the student's own expectation of success, their perception of parental encouragement, and their cognitive development. In a country in which 60% of students do not progress from primary to secondary school, a student's desire for further education may well be important. Second, if students have a perception that their parents want them to succeed at school, this may give the students a real impetus to sustain their efforts in school. It is also likely that students who can employ formal thinking when dealing with ideas are likely to do better on achievement tests used in schools (see Lancy 1983 for a review of cognitive development in Papua New Guinea).

The quality of the house in which the student lives may also be important. Presumably housing with electricity and hence adequate lighting for home work, access to a radio and/or television, a house that is not overly crowded are all probable factors in promoting success in school work.

Method

Sample

Students in their final year of primary school from 5 schools in

Lae, Papua New Guinea were included in this study (N=194). The schools sampled the inner, suburban and fringe areas of the city and included both government and mission schools. All teachers were Papua New Guinean with at least a 2-year teaching certificate post grade 9. A survey revealed that although these students used English as their language of communication within the classroom, outside of school they used Melanesian Pidgin. A few students knew a smattering of their mother's or father's vernaculars as well, but all indicated that Pidgin was the main language used even in the home.

Instruments

External Examinations. The three examinations (English, Mathematics and General Studies) were prepared by the Measurement Services Unit, a section of the National Department of Education. The results of these examinations are an important factor in selection for high school. Since on average 60 per cent of students do not progress to High School, a good performance on these examinations is crucial to stay in the system.

Language. Two measures of language competence were needed in this study; one in each language of the students. Cloze tests were used for this purpose. Passages from two story books judged to be well within the reading age of this group of students by local teachers and teachers college staff were used. After the first paragraph, each seventh word was omitted from the passage until twenty words had been deleted. A back translation process was used to produce one passage in Pidgin (Brislin 1970). The English Language Test had a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.73, and the Pidgin Language test a reliability of 0.84.

The English Language Test was given to a group of monolingual English speaking students. This group was divided into three equal groups on the basis of their scores. The cut off scores for the groups were then used to partition the Papua New Guinea students into three groups giving a group who were deemed to have high competence in English, a middle group, and a group deemed to have Low competence in English.

The Papua New Guinea students were again divided into three equal groups on the basis of their scores on the Pidgin Language Test. The top group was designated as having High competence in this language and the bottom group as having Low competence. This somewhat arbitrary division can be criticised as not relying on any external criteria of competence in the language. This is acknowledged but there were no standardised tests or control group available to the authors which could provide such a criteria, so a process similar to that used by Zirkel (1976) and Dawe (1983) was employed.

Students who had been designated as having high competence in both languages were categorized as High/High. Students who had been deemed as having low competence in both languages were categorized as Low/Low. Students who were deemed to have high competence in only one language were categorized as One Dominant. Other students were dropped from the analyses. Of the One Dominant group most students were deemed to have high competence in Pidgin, not English.

Cognitive Development The Operations Test (items 1-30) was used to give a measure of students' cognitive development (Cornish and Wines 1977). This test was based on the Collis (1975) interpretation of Piagetian theory. This test had a reliability (Cronbach's alpha) of 0.76.

Results from a student survey were used to obtain data for the other background measures of:

Parental Education This was the total number of years the parents spent in formal schooling.

Father's Occupation On the survey students were requested to describe their fathers' jobs. These were then categorised using Cummings' (1983) Papua New Guinea list of occupations. A higher score indicated a more skilled professional occupation.

Parental Encouragement There were two components to this measure: The final year in which the student thought parents wished them to finish formal schooling, and the type of occupation they thought their parents wanted them to obtain on finishing school.

Own Expectation Again this had two components. The final year in which the student wished to finish formal schooling, and the type of occupation they wanted to obtain on finishing school.

Quality of Housing Four components went into this measure. They were the number of rooms in the house, the number of people living in the house, the type of material from which the house was constructed, and whether various items such as a radio, a refrigerator, a hot water system, etc. were in the house.

7

Analysis Analyses of covariance were used to analyse the data. It will be remembered that because of the manner followed in partitioning the student group into three language categories, some students inevitably dropped out of the sample. Data from the remaining 136 students were analysed. Three dependent variables were specified; the external scores on the English Examination, Mathematics Examination and General Examination. Cognitive Development, Parental Encouragement, Parental Education, Father's Occupation, Own Expectation and Quality of Housing were first entered as covariables, followed by Language. If the levels of bilingualism were having an effect on students' cognitive abilities, then it was expected that students classified as High/High would have higher scores than all other groups. Students classified as Low/Low on the other hand would have lower scores than other students.

Results and Discussion

The analyses showed that the covariables Cognitive Development and Own Expectation were significant for all three dependent variables (see Tables 1, 2 and 3). Quality of Housing was significant for English, but not for Mathematics or General. Language was significant for all three dependent variables.

When the mean scores of the Language categories were examined for each examination, a similar picture emerged each time. For both the unadjusted and adjusted means, the students who were deemed to be competent in both of their languages outscored other students. Students who had been deemed to have low competence in both languages had the lowest mean scores on English, Mathematics and in the General Examination. Further analysis (Scheffe's test) showed that the Low/Low categories were significantly different to the other two categories for the three dependent variables, but the differences between the High/High and One Dominant categories were not significant.

Table 1
Results of the analysis of covariance for the dependent variable English (N = 136)

Source of Variation	DF	Mean Square	F
Covariates			
Cognitive Development	1	842.50	36.60*
Own Expectation	1	137.60	5.98*
Quality of Housing	1	244.56	10.62
Parental Education	1	2.26	0.10
Parental Encouragement	1	0.58	0.03
Father's Occupation	1	51.07	2.22
Main Effect			
Language	2	706.41	30.69*
Residual	127	23.02	
Variable and Categories	**N**	**Unadjusted Means**	**Adjusted Means**
Language			
High/High	24	29.83	29.22
One Dominant	70	27.37	26.77
Low/Low	42	18.42	19.76

* $p<0.05$

Table 2
Results of the analysis of covariance for the dependent variable Mathematics (N = 136)

Source of Variation	DF	Mean Square	F
Covariates			
Cognitive Development	1	1583.72	51.61*
Own Expectation	1	121.12	3.95*
Quality of Housing	1	36.09	1.18
Parental Education	1	1.64	0.05
Parental Encouragement	1	0.34	0.01
Father's Occupation	1	17.37	0.57
Main Effect			
Language	2	957.58	31.21*
Residual	127	30.69	
Variable and Categories	**N**	**Unadjusted Means**	**Adjusted Means**
Language			
High/High	24	27.71	26.95
One Dominant	70	26.42	25.91
Low/Low	42	15.74	17.03

* $p<0.05$

Table 3
Results of the analysis of covariance for the dependent variable General Studies (N = 136)

Source of Variation	DF	Mean Square	F
Covariates			
Cognitive Development	1	434.18	18.61*
Own Expectation	1	281.15	12.05*
Quality of Housing	1	29.15	1.25
Parental Education	1	39.42	1.69
Parental Encouragement	1	5.36	0.23
Father's Occupation	1	0.62	0.03
Main Effect			
Language	2	328.84	14.10*
Residual	127	23.33	
Variable and Categories	**N**	**Unadjusted Means**	**Adjusted Means**
Language			
High/High	24	28.96	28.01
One Dominant	70	26.46	25.05
Low/Low	42	20.15	21.40

* $p<0.05$

The strength of these results is heightened by the common pattern across the three very different cognitive areas. The results suggest that for this group of students, competency in each language had an effect on their examination results. There is also some evidence to support Cummins' specific propositions regarding thresholds. Specifically, there would appear to be strong support for the proposition that students who have low competencies in their languages are cognitively disadvantaged. These data also give support for the upper threshold, although it is weaker than for the lower threshold, since although the students deemed to be competent in both languages had higher mean scores, these were not significantly different to the One Dominant group.

There are at least two conclusions, one general and the other specific to Papua New Guinea, that are suggested by these results. The general suggestion stems from the notion that these results mirror others found in both immigrant and indigenous groups in developed countries. The different setting of this study strengthens the results from earlier studies in developed countries. The specific suggestion with regards to Papua New Guinea is in relation to the recent change in language policy which now requires teachers to use appropriate non-English languages during the first six months of schooling. It is acknowledged that clearly further research needs to be undertaken to find out whether the results of this study do indeed give the general picture for Papua New Guinea, particularly in the non-urban areas. However these results do suggest that the use of non-English languages throughout the primary school may well enhance the learning environment, not just in the first six months.

References

Brislin, R.W. 1970. Back translation for cross cultural research. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 1:3, 185-216.

Clarkson, P.C. in press. Language and mathematics: A comparison of bi- and mono-lingual students of mathematics. *Educational Studies in Mathematics.*

Clarkson, P.C. and Galbraith, P. 1992. Bilingualism and mathematics learning: Another perspective. *Journal for Research in Mathematics Education* 23.1, 34-44.

Collier, V. 1989. How long? A synthesis of research on academic achievements in a second language. *TESOL Quarterly* 23:3, 509-531.

Collis, K. 1975. A study of concrete and formal operations in school mathematics: A Piagetian viewpoint Hawthorn. *Australian Council for Educational Research.*

Cornish, G. and Wines, R. 1977. Operations test: Teachers handbook Hawthorn. *Australian Council for Educational Research.*

Cummings, R. (1983). Occupational aspirations of grade ten students in Papua New Guinea. Paper presented at the Extraordinary Educational Faculty Meeting, University of Papua New Guinea.

Cummins, J. 1979. Linguistic interdependence and the educational development of bilingual children. *Review of Educational Research* 49:2, 222-251.

Cummins, J. 1980. The cross-lingual dimensions of language proficiency: Implications for bilingual education and the optimal age issue. *TESOL Quarterly* 14:2, 175-187.

Cummins, J. and Swain, M. 1986. *Bilingualism in education.* London: Longman.

Dawe, L. 1983. Bilingualism and mathematical reasoning in English as a second language. *Educational Studies in Mathematics* 14, 325-353.

Duncan, S.E. and De Avila, E.A. 1979. Bilingualism and cognition: Some recent findings. *NABE Journal IV*: 1, 15-50.

Duran, R.P. 1988. Bilinguals' logical reasoning aptitude: A construct validity study. *Linguistic and cultural influences on learning mathematics* ed. by R.R. Cocking and J.P. Mestre. 241- 258. Hillsdale,NJ: Erlbaum.

Lancy, D. 1983 *Cross-cultural studies in cognition and mathematics*..New York: Academic Press.

Zirkel, P.A. 1976. A method for determining and depicting language dominance. *English as a second language in bilingual education ed.* by J.E. Alatis and K.Twaddell. Washington, D.C. *TESOL*.

1379

CURRENT RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Yolanda Beh
RELC

Reports on language-related research from Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore are provided at this time. The cooperation of the researchers in providing these is much appreciated. Other researchers are welcome to send to RELC reports in the format shown below or to request a form to complete. The contact address is the following:

Librarian and Head of Information Centre
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore.

INDONESIA

Title :	**Instruments to Measure the EFL Reading Proficiency of the Junior High School Students in Yogyakarta, Indonesia**
Description :	The goal of this research project was to devise a standardized test to measure the EFL reading proficiency of the Junior High School students in the Special Province of Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The specific objectives were to describe how existing instruments to measure EFL reading proficiency of Junior High School students were developed, to test the validity and reliability of one of them and to get this tested instrument ready for use. Two parallel sets of tests were developed for the try-out : set A and set B. Three pilot tests derived from set A were : multiple-choice, original test (MC-OA), multiple choice, mixed test A (MC-MA), and C-test A (CA). From set B two tests were developed : multiple-choice, mixed test B (MC-MB) and close test B (LB).

Each MC-test consisted of 45 items, 15 items for each class. The mixed tests were based on the original multiple-choice tests but they were organized in such a way that single sentences, short, medium and long texts appeared in sequence.

The try-out subjects were students of a medium-level private Junior High School, or a private Junior High School with "recognized" status. Altogether there were 216 students taking part in the try-out tests. Based on the results of the try-out and item analysis, multiple-choice, mixed test A (MC-MA) and multiple-choice, mixed test B (MC-MB) were selected and improved to become the instrument (Test A) and its parallel form (Test B).

The subjects for the tests (Test A and Test B) were first, second and third year students of both state and private Junior High Schools with low, medium and high statuses. Altogether there were 611 students from nine classes in three state and nine classes in three private Junior High Schools.

The multiple-choice, standardized test and its parallel form are easily usable in local conditions. Also, using a simple formula, the "Reading Quotient" of every student can be computed.

Principal researcher :
J. Bismoko
Lecturer
English Department
IKIP Sanata Dharma
Mrican, Tromolpos 29
Yogyakarta 55002
Indonesia

Sponsoring or financing body : SEAMEO RELC

1331

MALAYSIA

Title : **The Effectiveness of CALL in ESL Classrooms at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia**

Description : The proposed study involves undergraduate students at Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. It will focus on the variables and conditions of the learning process in ESL classrooms and also on the strategies that students use in learning ESL with a computer. It will also investigate the extent to which the use of CALL can help a student in the process of learning English as a second language.

The proposed study will also address the following questions in general : How can Malaysian English teachers help their students to learn ESL better at college level? Would students benefit (or lose) by modifying conventional teaching experience with computer-assisted instruction? How are second language acquisition theory and research related to Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) research and application?

Thesis (Ph.D.) - University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

Principal researcher :
Supyan Hussin
Tutor
Jabatan Bahasa Inggeris
Pusat Bahasa
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
43600 Bangi, Selangor
Malaysia

Title : **A Study of the Design of English Language Programmes for the Teaching of English for Specific Purposes**

Description : The aims of the study are to survey the wide spectrum of English language programmes carried out in Malaysian institutions of technical education, to assess their strengths and weaknesses and to make recommendations for future consideration for Language for Specific Purposes programmes.

The survey relates to the English language programmes in five technical institutions in Malaysia ranging from upper secondary to university level. The choice of the institutions also reflects the different types of institutions from fully-aided government institutions to a completely private institution. The institutions chosen are : (a) a vocational school - Sekolah Menengah Vokasional Setapak (b) a technical institution - Federal Institute of Technology (c) a teachers' training college - Maktab Perguruan Teknik (d) a polytechinc - Politeknik Sultan Haji Ahmad Shah, Kuantan (e) a university - Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur and Scudai.

A very small population is used for this survey with a view to gaining some insights concerning the language programmes in the five institutions at the present time. More extensive work needs to be done as follow up.

Principal researcher :
Nomita Balasingam
Head, English Department
Maktab Perguruan Teknik
Jalan Tenteram
Bandar Tun Razak
56000 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia

Other researchers :
Ng Jit Seng, Judy Ellis, Anne Seah, Charanjit Kaur, Yaakub Karim, Tan Yew Kiang
Maktab Perguruan Teknik

Sponsoring or financing body : SEAMEO RELC

Title : **The Effectiveness of an Editing Strategy to Reduce Errors in College-Level ESL Students' Compositions**

Description : The study aims to test the effectiveness of an editing strategy in reducing common surface-level errors in ESL

1333

students' compositions. An instructional unit incorporating an editing strategy which focussed on student self-correction and recording of 8 selected error types supplemented with specific grammar instruction was included in the writing and grammar course of one group of high-intermediate ESL students for one 16-week semester. A control group received regular instruction. Two measures were used in a pretest-posttest design to compare the performances of two groups : frequency counts of errors, in each of the 8 selected categories, on compositions written in class, and scores on an editing test.

Tentative conclusion are the following : (a) although few of the differences between the experimental group and the control group are statistically significant (at the 95 percent probability level) the experimental group showed a higher level of improvement than the control group and it seems reasonable to attribute this in part to the editing strategy adopted; (b) it appears that explicit instructional emphasis on selected errors as set out in the editing strategy does have a differential effect on students with different levels of proficiency. The greatest gains were recorded by the less proficient students in the experimental group.

Statistical analysis of the data continues. Preliminary findings reveal that the experimental group performed better than the control group on all measures used in the experiment. The study, even at this stage, also shows the great individual variation in error types produced and in students' approaches to overcoming errors.

Thesis (M.Ed.) - Universiti Malaya.

Principal researcher :
Nor Azni Adbullah
Lecturer, ESL
Institut Teknologi MARA
40200 Shah Alam
Malaysia

SINGAPORE

Title : **A Genre Analysis of Promotional Texts**

Description : This thesis examines both practical and theoretical issues related to Genre Analysis in order to clarify the concept of genre. After examining the various analytical approaches taken towards the concept of genre in diverse fields, a data-based genre analysis of the three promotional text-types, book blurbs, print advertisements and sales promotion letters, is presented. The stages involved in the genre analysis of these texts include the practitioner's perspective on the genres, the extralinguistic context of the genres, textual analysis at various levels (e.g. functional, semantic, textual and linguistic), identification of the central and peripheral moves, and the sequence, recurrence and embedding of moves. The analysis and comparison of the three promotional text-types from several perspectives contribute to theoretical issues related to genre theory such as the relationship between the three semiotic planes of language - Genre, Register and Language, the role played by the contextual configuration in the realization of texts, the rhetorical or genre structure of texts and finally, the creativity and generative power of genres.

Thesis (Ph.D.) - National University of Singapore.

Principal researcher :
Sujata S Kathpalia
Teaching Assistant
School of Mechanical & Production Engineering
Nanyang Technological University
Nanyang Avenue
Singapore 2263

Title : **A Model for Lexical Acquisition in the Framework of CALL**

Description : This study models a CALL program which will aid English for Specific Purposes (ESP) learners in vocabulary acquisition. A key notion in the development of an effective CALL program is that it should be founded on a solid linguistic base and contain a methodological framework. Other current relevant assumptions for CALL are : CALL programs should focus on learning rather than on teaching, CALL should be responsive to advances in other areas of linguistic research, and CALL can benefit from work done on Artificial Intelligence.

Meaning-Text Theory provides a model in the form of Explanatory and Combinatorial Dictionaries (ECDs) which can be used to build formal descriptions. These descriptions serve as the foundation for a program to learn vocabulary. An ECD approach is an appropriate one for the task at hand because it comprehensively covers all aspects of linguistic lexical knowledge.

The program is envisioned as a knowledge based system with an expert model serving as repository of the lexical knowledge. The dictionary entries which are defined in an ECD format include both general and specific usages of terms. Other components include a teacher module, student module, database, and word processor.

Thesis (M.A.) - National University of Singapore.

Principal researcher :	Barbara W Mole 18-A St Martin's Drive Singapore 1025

BOOK REVIEWS

Language in Action: An Introduction to Modern Linguistics

Joanne Kenworthy. 1991. London: Longman. iv + 132 pp. Paperback.

Reviewed by:
Stephen J Gaies
Department of English Language and Literature
The University of Northern Iowa

The many "introductions to linguistics" currently available for university classes or for other kinds of pre-service training and in-service teacher education can be roughly grouped into three categories. The first includes those publications that we normally think of as introductory textbooks and that provide a survey of the linguistic sciences as a foundation for advanced study in such areas as phonology, syntax, sociolinguistics, and so on. In the United States, Fromkin and Rodman's *An Introduction to Language* (1993), now in its fifth edition, is one of the best-known textbooks of this type, but there are many others (recent examples include Finegan & Besnier, 1989; Gee, 1993; and O'Grady, Dobrovolsky, & Aronoff, 1989).

Into the second category we can place anthologies and readers. Although these share with introductory textbooks the goal of presenting an overview of issues and themes, such collections do not aim at systematic, step-by-step instruction in linguistics. They place a much greater burden on the reader (and the course instructor) to make the connections that may only be implicit in an edited volume in which the contributions are often reprints of already published, stand-alone pieces. In the United States, *Language : Introductory Readings* (Clark, Eschholz, & Rosa, 1985) has been published in several editions and is one of the most widely used anthologies of its kind. Another, Roberts and Turgeon's *About Language* (1992) is, like many of the anthologies and readers, designed as much for use in writing courses and/or by students of literature as it is for use in linguistics or TESOL programs and/or by students planning to specialize in linguistics.

A third category would include short volumes which either offer a highly condensed survey of modern linguistics (e.g. Greenberg, 1977) or which treat a range of topics in a highly personalized and not necessarily step-by-step fashion (e.g., Hudson, 1984). The Greenberg and Hudson volumes are very different, but both are intended in part to provide a first exposure, an initiation, into the linguistic sciences. *Language in Action*, by attempting "to give a picture of how linguists work, how they approach the study of any language" (p. iv), might for this reason be properly placed into this category.[1]

Chapter One ("Words") introduces basic concepts and terminology in semantics and morphology. Following introductory comments on the word as linguistic sign, whose composition is in most cases arbitrarily related to its meaning, Kenworthy summarizes four perspectives on meaning of central concern in lexical semantics: denotation (discussed primarily in terms of componential analysis; sense relations; collocation, and communicative value). The history of the word *enthusiasm* is recounted in some detail: how, over a period of "400 years the word has changed from a religious technical term to a desirable – or at least positive – human characteristic. The communicative value of words is described in terms of euphemism, slang and jargon.

By contrast, the presentation of basic concepts and terms in morphology is comparatively brief: free vs. bound morphemes, lexical vs. functional morphemes, derivational vs. inflectional morphology.

Phonetics and phonology are surveyed in Chapter Two, "Sounds." Articulatory phonetics is the focus of the first part of the chapter; in the second part of the chapter, a brief discussion of the syllable, of phonotactic constraints in different languages, and of similarities and differences in the sound inventory of different languages (the latter issue discussed in terms of information from the University of California Phonological Segment Inventory Database) sets the stage for the introduction of the phoneme as a basic unit of phonological analysis.

Unfortunately, in any attempt to present an accessible and condensed introduction, oversimplifications are almost inevitable. One such error mars the short discussion of distinctive feature analysis. Although /s/ and /ʃ/ are distinguished in traditional articulatory terms as alveolar and alveolar voiceless fricatives, respectively (p. 41), they are described in the discussion of assimilation on pages 50-51 as having the same bundle of binary features.

The chapter concludes with a discussion of sociolinguistic dimensions of sound production and variation: how the systematic phonological differences among groups of speakers that we call accents become the basis both of stereotypical social judgments and of the use of language by speakers to identify themselves and signal solidarity with a group.

Chapter Three ("Sentences") presents a conventional introduction to sentence structure. The first part of the chapter illustrates how word classes, word order, immediate constituent analysis, and the analysis of the hierarchical structure of constituents can offer insights into the structure of English and syntactic universals. These sections are followed by a brief introduction to transformational-generative grammar and an even briefer discussion of the description of sentence structure in terms of functional relations.

The chapter concludes with a "Grammar in action" section in which the role of syntax in information structure and pragmatics is introduced: how the passive is used to conform to the general principles of **end-focus** and **end-weight**, and how a negative assertion is interpreted pragmatically as a denial (illustrated through President Nixon's well-known, "I am not a crook").

Chapter Four ("Texts and conversations") introduces readers to a "functionalist perspective" on language: "language as it is used by speakers to accomplish communication goals" (p. 130). In slightly more than thirty pages, the author offers a well-organized survey of the key concepts and perspectives that have been drawn from text linguistics, pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and discourse analysis during the past three decades. The chapter begins with text analysis. Considerable emphasis is given to cohesion as a feature of textuality. The significance of cohesion in producing coherence is mentioned at the end of this section to introduce the role of **text macrostructure** in discourse processing. The **problem-solution** text pattern as used here, as it is elsewhere (see, for example, McCarthy, 1991), is a highly accessible example of a recurrent text pattern. The role of background knowledge in processing is discussed briefly; key concepts such as **schemata, frames, scenarios, scripts** and **mental models** are all introduced, as is **bottom-up** and **top-down processing.**

The second part of the chapter looks at conversation analysis: speech act theory, felicity conditions, indirect speech acts, adjacency pairs, the Cooperative Principle, and politeness. In the final section of the chapter, two examples of pragmatic analysis are presented. The first, drawn from Leech's *Principles of Pragmatics* (1983), focuses on a key utterance in a press conference involving an American hostage in Iran in 1980; the second, adapted from Napley's *The Technique of Persuasion* (1975), examines the strategy used by the prosecuting attorney in a famous turn-of-the-century murder case to shape the jury's "preception and interpretation of a set of agreed facts" (p.129).

Clearly, *Language in Action* would appear best suited to whetting the appetite of a student or of a teacher. In many respects, it does this very well. Linguistics is presented as anything but a dry subject; on the contrary, the volume provides numerous examples from a variety of domains of the insights that linguistic perspectives can offer into language and language use.

Nevertheless, *Language in Action* is no substitute for a course textbook. It offers no end-of-chapter questions, exercises, or activities; no glossary; no annotated reading lists for the reader who becomes interested in a particular topic. The usefulness of the volume will therefore depend in large part on whether potential readers are planning to have a formal course in linguistics. For those who will, *Language in Action* may be less valuable a resource than for those whose introduction to linguistics must take place through self-study. For this latter group – and perhaps for other groups as well – *Language in Action* is a well written and engaging presentation of concepts and perspectives in contemporary linguistics.

Note

1. One useful resource for introductory-level teaching and study of linguistics which falls into a category of its own is *Language Files* (Crabtree & Powers, 1991), which was developed out of materials prepared by course instructors at The Ohio State University. The fifth and most recent edition of this set of largely independent units of study is a valuable tool for supplementing whatever a particular text fails to treat in the detail that might be deemed necessary even in an introductory course.

1330

References

Clark, V.P., Eschholz, P.A., & Rosa, A.F. (eds.). (1985). *Language: Introductory readings (4th ed.).* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Crabtree, M., & Powers, J. (eds.). (1991) *Language files : Materials for an introduction to language (5th ed.).* Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

Finegan, E., & Besnier, N. 1989). *Language: Its structure and use.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Fromkin, V., & Rodman, R. (1993). *An introduction to language (5th ed.).* Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Gee, J.P. (1993). *An introduction to human language: Fundamental concepts in linguistics.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Greenberg, J.H. (1977). *A new invitation to linguistics.* New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday.

Hudson, R. (1984). *Invitation to linguistics.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of pragmatics.* London: Longman.

Napley, D. (1975). *The technique of persuasion.* London: Sweet and Maxwell.

O'Grady, W., Dobrovolsky, M., & Aronoff, M. (1989). *Contemporary linguistics: An introduction.* New York: St. Martin's Press.

Roberts, W.H., & Turgeon, G. (eds.). (1992). *About language: A reader for writers (3rd ed.).* Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

RELC JOURNAL VOL. 24 NO. 1 JUNE 1993

The Other Tongue (OT)

Braj B. Kachru (ed). 1992. English Across Cultures. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Reviewed by:
Makhan L. Tickoo
RELC

1) This second edition (hereafter OT2) comes ten years after the first (1982). It may therefore be viewed as a measure of the progress made in this young and vibrant field of linguistic scholarship. In his foreword the late Peter Strevens says this too: "The opportunity of a second edition has enabled the editor to make changes that reflect intensive developments during the past decade." With 8 new chapters replacing the 9 excluded and with a 6th part added to the original 5, OT2 "addresses the questions and challenges of the '90s more adequately." (Preface)

2) In his foreword to OT1 Charles Ferguson singled out the three-way contribution of that book - to the global spread of English, to the nature and extent of variation in natural languages and, to the structure and use of non-native varieties. OT2 adds a significant fourth i.e., 'teaching world Englishes'.

3) To view OT2 as a mere replacement of OT1 is perhaps unwarranted. On the other hand, if it is not wrong to assume that students of World Englishes (WEs) will turn to it as an alternate text, understanding the gains and losses should serve a purpose.

3a) Part VI - 'World Englishes in the Classroom: Rationale and Resources' is new. Far too brief to allow for a full discussion of the issues raised, this chapter nevertheless marks a phase in WE scholarship. Braj Kachru provides valuable insights into the lesser known or largely ignored aspects of English in the 'Outer Circle', exposes the 'fallacies' that currently dominate the field and argues for a paradigm shift in both research and teaching. In seeking a change of attitudes as a basis for meaningful, multidirectional reform, he rightly points a finger at influential interest groups that currently thrive on status quo.

'How helpful to the ELT planner/practitioner is this vision of WEs in tomorrow's classroom?' is not a question that can be answered so soon after the agenda has been set. What is possible to say with some certainty however is that if the tasks set in this chapter were to form part of linguistic research of the next decade, ESL in the 'outer' / 'expanding' worlds (Kachru, 1985) might be rid of many shibboleths and much sham that belong to it now. But is something missing in this agenda for change? Only this, that in viewing the phenomenon from the vantage point of a North American town, it may have failed to adequately articulate the unchanging attitudes, entrenched fetishes and unworkable, often imported, practices that dominate TES(F)L in countries where English is taught as an 'other' language. To bring about meaningful change in the third world EFL classroom the overturning of many favoured applecarts has become a priority.

3b) Not wholly new but substantially augmented is Part V (Chs. 16-18) on the discoursal strategies of WEs. Built on OT1's single-chapter analysis of non-native 'text in context' it offers new data and fresh argument in support of the view that the study and understanding of 'new Englishes' requires changed attitudes and altered frames of reference. On offer in these three chapters are not just additional instances of differential language use but insights to show how, for example, to convey his/her cultural meanings a writer of Indian English (IE) may use 'formal configurations of style' that measurably differ from those in American English (AE). Its obvious tentativeness notwithstanding, a main finding of Y Kachru's study of IE rhetoric, i.e. that "it reflects an attempt to create the Sanskritic neotics in English: it expresses the same cultural meaning that the Indian languages do", is a challenge alike to linguists and language teachers. Studies to confirm or question it have become a priority. So too have changed attitudes among users of IE whose attitudinal allegiance is a prerequisite to giving it acceptability and enabling it to serve all its 'stakeholders' (Tickoo, 1991).

3c) Of the two papers that constitute Part IV (Chs. 14-15) one comes from OT1. In it Ann Lowry looks at the language used by a few characters in the novels of three non-native writers - one from the Caribbean and two from India.

Lowry provides the reader a peep into the social contexts in which the novelists write and then focuses on features that set aside their work - one from another and all three from writers in the ENL world. The analysis is sound although for a reader who has read their works, it shows little that is new. The concluding statements like, for example, "Narayan and Anand have demonstrated their abilities to avoid the pitfalls of folksiness and provincialism" appear also to lack positive force.

Edwin Thumboo's 'The Literary Dimension of the Spread of English' (Ch. 15) is a slightly modified version of his 1987 paper (Lowenberg, 1988). In a style that stands out for its forceful elegance, it makes a case for giving non-native creativity and the works that embody it a special place: "This chapter is a plea for constructive understanding as a prelude to literary judgment". Having argued that creativity in the use of English in multilingual, multicultural nations is "shaped by the traditions of their other languages", Thumboo explains why it demands judgements other than those of a discipline which mainly reflects unilingual nations and Euro-American interests. In standing opposed to the view that "Learning English means an acculturation into its customary modes of use" (Widdowson, 1988), he upholds Kachru's finding that non-native writings "exhibit stylistic and discoursal characteristics that differ markedly from the traditions of English literature." (Kachru, 1986).

3d) Part III (Chs. 11-13) 'Contact and Change: Question of a Standard' remains almost unchanged except for the exclusion of a case study on English in Puerto Rico. With two of its three chapters on AE and one - 'The Life-Cycle of Non-Native Englishes' on WEs, this part serves mainly to offer a different type of support to the emerging themes on WEs.

In 'American English: Sub-standard to Prestige' Henry Kahane singles out three phases in the ascent of AE. He pays particular attention to those events in this ascent that show "a complex pattern of acceptance and rejections ... with the forces of tradition battling the magnetism of change." In looking at aspects of this prolonged battle Kahane refers to the part that is played by "the anti-attitudes" of those who feel threatened by change and growth. With similar attitudes becoming a roadblock to the evolution of WEs, Kahane's insights are more relevant today than they were in the early 1980s.

Shirley Brice Heath's 'American English: Quest for a Model' offers another type of insight. Part of a larger study on AE, it examines the seminal work of Francis Leiber, a "German-American political philosopher" who wrote well before the birth of modern linguistics. What gives Leiber's work topicality is that it anticipated many distinguished linguists who followed him in relating human languages to the social contexts that envelop them. His view that Americans did not know enough about their language use and the changes in it is true of the users of WEs today. If there is one thing that English in non-native contexts requires most of all for its growth, development and recognition, it is studies of the type Leiber proposed.

Rodney Moag's 'The Life Cycle of Non-native Englishes' is a case study "to set South Pacific English in its rightful place alongside the other recognized non-native varieties ...". It does more. In reviewing the changing status and roles of English - its 'life-cycle', it highlights problems which have hitherto received neither scholars' nor policy-planners' attention. One such is "the potential death of (a) new English variety" as a result of a reorientation toward an external model. A second, more consequential, is a bi(multi) lingual society's failure to engage in planning to delimit the roles for English vis-a-vis the vernaculars to conserve and effectively use its language resources.

3e) Part II (Chs. 7-10) occupies much smaller space in OT2 than it did in OT1. Excluded are studies of Singapore English, Caribbean English (two papers), Kenyan English and English in South India. The result is that 'nativization', a concept to which Kachru has given both power and precision, finds support in four (nine in OT1) studies. Two of these - English in China and Japanese English (JE) study performance varieties; the other two English in Africa.

Bokamba's 'The Africanization of English' argues that the Englishes used in Africa share properties which can be shown to reflect the characteristics of African languages. Although not all the examples provided lend support to this view and a few form part of WEs outside Africa, the study succeeds in showing that in serving characteristically African needs, English in use "deviates systematically from the standard dialect".

In analysing the reasons for such deviation Bokamba raises major issues for language-policy planners. Having argued, for example, that one of the reasons for such failure is "that learners have not quite mastered the official language", he makes the point that the use of foreign languages as media of instruction may be proving costly and counter-productive. Two other points made are: that the expanding roles of dominant foreign languages preclude the development of African languages and that "if African languages cannot be developed to serve as media of education and wider communication within and across national boundaries, then the emerging intelligentsias become culturally alienated from and useless to their societies." As I have also argued elsewhere (Tickoo, forthcoming), the long-term consequences of allowing English to reduce the local languages to subservient roles and status require urgent attention.

In 'Standard Nigerian English: Issues of Identification' Bamg-bose makes use of earlier studies to point to the birth of an educated variety of Nigerian English characterised by "remarkable unanimity". His main aim appears however to be "a combination of all approaches" including subjective judgment to the establishment of a "Standard Nigerian English".

Chin-Chuan Cheng's 'Chinese Varieties of English' relates the use of English in mainland China to the changing sociopolitical situation in that country. Similar to other non-native varieties in showing a cline of proficiency, it is different in that there is neither an English-speaking Chinese community nor does English serve "as an interlanguage among the nation's 56 ethnic groups."

James Stanlaw's 'English in Japanese Communicative Strategies' makes use of data and documents to explore the use of English loanwords as an integral part of the communicative strategies in JE. Much like English in China, JE is a performance variety. It differs however not only in being used a lot more but in the variety of changing patterns seen in its use in specific contexts.

When speaking of romance, sex or companions, for instance, Japanese men but not women often use more English loanwords than Japanese terms. They also use "more loanwords in academic discussion than in everyday speech." Not so women: "the women informants tended to use English loanwords less often when talking about things related to their major."

3f) The six chapters that make up Part I are, except for Joshua Fishman's 'Sociology of English as an Additional Language' either wholly new or substantially revised. Most raise issues that are not just provocative but, in good measure, contentious. Some at least suggest a scholarly reliance on aspects of language in life (e.g.

pragmatics, linguistic semantics and cross-cultural studies) that have hitherto occupied the peripheries of linguistics.

Fishman's brief essay brings together insights from across disciplines to explain why this Ugly Duckling - English - has become our world's 'powerhouse' that receives support and sustenance from even those societies that have reasons to dislike it.

Strevens, who pursues the same theme with a narrower focus, makes the point that ENL speakers having become a minority, have lost the right to sit on judgment on users who use English mainly for intranational communication. Quoting Smith (1983) he *avers* that they require as much help as EFL speakers in the fast growing contexts of global use. But Strevens, to whose memory the volume is dedicated, was in a minority in his world where vested interests reign supreme. On the other hand, in what he concludes about teacher education and ELT, he too may have found it difficult to distance himself from a populist stand. His view that British, as opposed to American answers to ELT problems, come from "a very rich classroom methodology"suggests a belief that he apparently failed to outgrow. For those working in acquisition poor environments that form the bulk of today's EFL, the models and paradigms that U.K. universities export are no less removed from real issues than those from elsewhere. What makes such models suspect is that they often lack support even in places of their origin.

In 'Models for Non-Native Englishes', Braj Kachru raises issues in an ongoing dialogue that has latterly assumed centrality. He rightly castigates the "brown sahib" in countries like his own. At the same time, however, he exposes the 'seven attitudinal sins' which make it difficult for even scholars of established eminence to accept the need for 'attitudinal readjustment' that the globalisation of English warrants.

Larry Smith in his data-based study 'Spread of English and Issues of Intelligibility' lends support to Kachru's thesis that in many contexts of English across cultures "being a native speaker does not seem to be as important as being fluent in English and familiar with several different national varieties" and that the increasing varieties of English, which some linguists now suspect, "need not increase the problems of understanding across cultures". And Sridhar and Sridhar take issue with aspects of L2 acquisition theory (e.g. interlanguage, fossilization and transfer) on grounds that it suffers from 'theory internal limitations' and lacks data from settings where indigenized varieties play institutionalized roles. Finally, Lowenberg extends the scope of WE scholarship to the relatively unexplored field of testing non-native proficiency.

4) Altogether OT2's 19 chapters which replace OT1's 20, have, as well as bringing about a renewal of contact with issues raised in the early 1980s, extended the scope of WE scholarship in measurable ways. That the field has lost none of its contentiousness and, in embracing new themes and seeking new answers to perennial problems, has given itself tasks that require an even higher degree of scholarly commitment, is obvious. What is equally obvious is the editor's success in making OT2 a rewarding experience for all students of English in cross-cultural contexts. In the introduction he claims credit for helping them to continue asking 'right questions in the right spirit in the 1900s' (sic): OT2 has achieved a lot more.

References

Kachru, Braj B. (1985). *Standards, Codification and Sociolinguistic Realism: the English language in the outer circle.* in Quirk, R and Widdowson H G (eds.) *English in the World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kachru, Braj B. (1986). *The Alchemy of English.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Lowenberg, P H (ed.). (1988). *GURT'87.* Washington, D.C: Georgetown University Press.

Smith, L (ed.). (1983). *Readings in English as an International Language.* Oxford: Pergamon.

Tickoo, M L (ed.) (1991). *Stakeholders and Standards: English for Tomorrow's India in Languages and Standards.* Singapore: RELC.

Tickoo, M L (forthcoming) *Kashmiri, A Majority - Minority Language.* In Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (eds). Linguistic Human Rights. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Widdowson, H G (1988). *Language Spread in Modes of Use.* in Lowenberg, ibid.

Training Foreign Language Teachers: A Reflective Approach

Michael J. Wallace. 1991. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ix. 180pp.
Paperback.

Reviewed by:
Hyacinth Gaudart
Department of Language Education, Faculty of Education
University of Malaya

Based on Michael J. Wallace's belief that a teacher has to be a "reflective practitioner", this nine-chapter text on the training of foreign language teachers offers a necessary and timely hand-book for teacher educators looking for ways of making their own practice more meaningful and rewarding.

It is a very readable book. Jargon is carefully explained and the practical applications of Wallace's ideas are clearly presented. It offers alternatives for teacher educators who would like to become practitioners themselves, not just theoreticians. It certainly provokes thought.

Wallace offers three reasons for advocating a reflective approach in foreign language teacher education. The first reason is that the approach is gaining wide acceptance in teacher education circles. Secondly, he feels that reflection is the way that "professionals in general learn their professions," and thirdly, the reflective approach is in line with current developments of making the learning environment more learner-centred.

He puts the reflective model into context for the reader in the first chapter of the book, "Teacher Education: Some Current Models", in which he briefly, but adequately, describes "The craft model" (learning from the "master and imitating what the "master" does) and "The applied science model" (solving teaching problems by applying "empirical science to the desired objectives" (p.8)). He then moves on to the merits of "The reflective model".

One major difference between the reflective model and the other two models is that the reflective model consciously attempts to move away from what Wallace terms "received knowledge". He feels that much of the input in education courses is not always based on research, but may remain as part of the programme simply because of "tradition or convention". In contrast, the reflective approach advocates "experiential knowledge". Reflection is very much part of that "experiential knowledge" as teachers are encouraged to reflect on the successes as well as shortcomings of their teaching practices, making constant changes in those practices, and thus contributing to their own personal growth. The model also answers another important need, that of relating theory to practice and helping the student teacher see the relevance of theory in her teaching.

In line with his own beliefs in reflective practices, Michael Wallace has interspersed every chapter a number of times with very important sections which he calls "Personal Review".

What each section boxed in "Personal Review" does is to set the reader thinking about the discussion Wallace has offered up till then, and then suggests that the reader consider the reflection as it would apply to the trainee teachers he is working with. The reflective model does not only apply to student teachers, therefore, but also, and rightly so, to the teacher educators in their own practice.

This point of view is carried over into the second chapter, "Acquiring received knowledge: The learner's perspective".

Wallace considers the issue of "learning strategies" and suggests that teacher educators need to introduce variety into their own teaching so that student teachers with a variety of learning modes can benefit from their teaching. He expands further on this in the third chapter, "Modes of teaching and learning in teacher education courses," when he examines ways of teaching and attempts to encourage the teacher educator to reflect on his own mode or modes of teaching. At the end of the chapter, Wallace offers a "glossary of some common modes of teaching and learning in higher education" which should be an eye-opener not only for teacher educators but for every teacher (or lecturer!) at the tertiary level. Although he insists that the list is "*very selective*", I have found it a very valuable stepping stone in the examination of my own and general tertiary pedagogical practices.

In the fourth chapter, "Relating theory and practice: The reflective model," Wallace expands further on the reflective model as a means of relating theory to practice in both preservice and in-service teacher education. Included as part of reflective practice is "action research" which encourages the teacher to do his or her own research in a problem area which would be of practical importance to himself. He takes this further in the next chapter when he looks at "Classroom observation: Recalling and analysing the data", discussing how classroom observation and reflection can interact together, each time improving on practice.

"Microteaching" is the subject of Chapter Six. He first of all discusses various training and teaching activities, of which microteaching is one, and then moves into what microteaching is and what it involves. He sees microteaching as a very flexible technique and offers suggestions as to how it could be utilised. One very important contribution which he makes is to show the difference between how microteaching is used in the "applied science model" and how it is used in the "reflective model". He is careful not to decry the former, but in explaining the use of microteaching in the latter model, his preference becomes clear. What he proposes would also be radical for many language teacher educators in Southeast Asia. One example of a radical move, for instance, is the question of assessment. He suggests that rather than a student being assessed on his performance during microteaching, the student could be assessed on his ability to reflect critically on and to self-evaluate his own teaching. Although he does not advocate such an assessment system in "Supervision and practical experience", the subject of his next chapter, it would, in my own opinion, be an interesting notion to consider.

Wallace considers two styles of supervision, "collaborative" and "prescriptive" and favours the former over the latter. The discussion makes his ideas very appealing. Moreover, his suggestions are extremely practical. For example, although he sees the problems in idealistic collaborative cycles like Cogan's eight-phase cycle, he offers suggestions on how such a cycle could be applied in more practical ways.

In Chapter Eight, Wallace discusses "Assessment in teacher education" and suggests how assignments could be made more reflective and thus more productive. One very important point which he makes, and which I feel I should draw special attention to, is that

> examinations should be given in order to achieve certain objectives, and not as a matter of tradition or

> routine. In other words, one should be clear why certain aspects of performance are being tested by one kind of test and others by another. (p. 129)

This is something which is often not given sufficient consideration.

Chapter Nine, "Course design and assessment: Checklist and case study" offers suggestions of issues to take into consideration when designing foreign language teacher education courses. This would seem to put the cart before the horse. Should not the planning of a teacher education curriculum precede discussion of its practice? But that is a minor consideration.

What is disappointing about this chapter is that it very briefly considers issues in planning a foreign language teacher education curriculum but does not go on to show us how the reflective approach would contribute to such a curriculum. The chapter is saved by the usual reflective "Personal Review" sections which provoke thinking about one's own curriculum.

Although it is a pity that Wallace does not go far enough with his final chapter, Chapter Nine does not seriously detract from the overall quality of the book which ends with a section of concluding remarks by the author, some suggestions for further reading, plus an extensive bibliography.

All in all, the book should offer any conscientious language teacher educator, not just a foreign language teacher educator, insightful and thought-provoking challenges to improve his or her own teacher education practices. Wallace's own wide experience as a teacher educator can be clearly seen in the very practical suggestions he proposes, suggestions the reader can be convinced to try out himself.

Study Speaking: A Course in Spoken English for Academic Purposes

Tony Lynch and Kenneth Anderson. 1992. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 99pp. Paperback Accompanying cassette.

Reviewed by:
Stephen Hall
RELC

Academic work is often seen as producing written text as the result of intensive thought. The text is readily assessable and available for analysis, so it is not surprising that there are a range of EAP writing and reading courses available. However, academics and students face other demands in the current growth of the international education marketplace.

The demands of speaking in an academic setting are many, with oracy in English playing an important role in content learning and the expression of ideas (Van Ments, 1990). Oral skills are necessary in many professional and academic situations which ESOL students aspire to or are involved in (Murphy, 1991). Yet there is a paucity of teaching material for speaking skills in an academic setting. *Study Speaking* addresses this need with a course in spoken English for academic purposes.

The course consists of a text which integrates teacher and learner material and a tape which includes listening material and sample performances. The text is organised into three sections. The first section of student's materials covers eight thematically organised units. The second section of resource materials includes extension suggestions, some brief supplementary material and transcripts of listening tasks. The final section in the book is entitled "Teacher's Guide". This includes text of sampled speaking and detailed teacher's notes which draw on current research into oracy tasks and learner-centred talk.

The authors show their experience of ESOL learners in an academic setting through their choice of a needs-based thematic organisation. The themes such as starting a course, university systems, accommodation and obtaining medical treatment are

1403

presented as individual unit structures. Tasks in each unit are described as information tasks, scenarios, listening activities (for Units 1-4), and seminar skills. The information pairwork, freer production scenarios and listening tasks relate to the well chosen themes, while seminar skills are presented in the unit with little focus on a content link. The seminar skills are just that: seminar starter ideas or skills-based tasks.

Each unit begins with information tasks which involve split information pairwork. Partner A material is presented in the Student's Materials section while the B versions are cleverly interspersed with B version scenarios in another section. This makes the text a workable tool for pairwork, as the B version takes quite some finding.

The information tasks are problem solving activities designed to improve the clarity of communication and provide situations for meaningful input and the often neglected aspect of comprehensible output (Swain, 1985). While the information is split and the content is well chosen there are still many tasks which are imbalanced in terms of design, learner responses and possibly in terms of the nature of the exchanges they would stimulate.

The unit on 'Starting a Course', for example, has Partner A completing a chart while Partner B is involved in telling his or her information. In this and other tasks, one partner holds more information than the other. The pairwork designers seem not to have considered the principle of equal distribution of information to create equity in the types of talk, especially given that visual imput plays an important role in dyadic talk (Nurss and Hough, 1985). If the written information and chart information in this and other units had been split equally between the partners, a wider range of negotiation strategies could develop in the framework of the two-way task (Doughty and Pica, 1986). The tasks could then parallel the scenario and be learner driven two-way tasks with the greater equity of information more fully employing the well chosen content.

The information tasks address students' needs and are supplemented by thorough explanations in the teacher's guide section. The pairwork is presented with clear guidelines which show the applicability of this type of task to the development of EAP skills. Split information tasks can therefore be seen to be applicable at a range of different levels (Jones, 1981; Nation and Thomas, 1988; Hall, 1992). The tasks in

Study Speaking are relevant information exchange pairwork situations in that they parallel real life concerns for the target group of the text and create situations for information exchange.

Real life situations motivate the use of scenarios, a model first developed by Di Pietro (1987). Scenarios involve a situation where two people such as a supervisor and a student have differing goals and each tries to get his own way. The scenarios focus on situations which are based on experiences of overseas students studying in Edinburgh, yet the situations will be familiar to many who have worked with ESOL students at the tertiary level. The A and B role instructions are well-detailed and the authors bridge the gap between structured guided dialogues and the often nebulous nature of role play through role description and procedural instructions for teachers.

The scenarios that are outlined provide a learning challenge which creates the social pressure to complete the talk (Bygate, 1988). Research suggests that this challenge in a peer-based discussion situation is empowering for students and as such may aid talk (Bruffee, 1984). The scenarios are challenging and draw strongly on the student's world knowledge. These "top-down" tasks (Richards, 1990) assume fluency skills which can be explored through interaction. Some brief guidance in the accuracy aspects of the role plays is provided by a "useful language" section in the teacher's guide.

The third phase of seminar skills involves many broad areas to the extent that some sections of the text are somewhat sketchy. The section on speech delivery, for example, briefly addresses word stress, sentence stress and speed and appears mainly concerned with awareness raising.

The questions for discussion and the speech presentation stages are clearly presented but a teacher misses the point if she assumes that she can teach the skills without taking time to discover the course rationale and learner centred approach. The seminar skills sections also appear to be placed in the thematically based units for organisational convenience. Yet Anderson and Lynch make a case for the integration of the information tasks, scenarios and presentation skills through stating that the third phase of seminar skills brings together the informational strand of the pairwork tasks and the interpersonal strands of the scenarios. Further research, along the lines of that begun by the authors, would clarify the links between information exchange tasks, scenarios of guided role play and presentation skills where oracy becomes performance oriented.

The three major approaches present a range of speaking strategies. Content is learner centred and the listening tasks in Units 1-4 are more than incidental, in that they are varied in presentation and relevant to the target audience. Transactional aspects of talk are addressed by the information tasks while interpersonal negotiation is covered in scenarios. The third phase of seminar skills, described as bringing together the strategies of the two earlier sections, tends to be a focus on public speaking techniques of a very specific sort, such as non-verbal signals and using visual aids. However, the skills selected are those needed in the specific academic settings that this course is developed for.

The speaking tasks cover a range of the needs of those preparing to study in a tertiary English speaking context. The text with its emphasis on fluency through interaction and the development of strategies cleverly integrates teacher and student material. It is well supplemented by listening activities and performance samples on the tape. *Study Speaking* is a course which integrates relevant content and the recent research findings into workable spoken English tasks for academic purposes.

References

Bruffee, K. 1984. *Peer Tutoring and the Conversation of Mankind.* College English 46. 635-652.

Bygate, M. 1987. *Speaking.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Di Pietro, R. 1987. *Strategic Interaction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Doughty, C. and Pica, T. 1986. Information Gap Tasks: Do they Facilitate Second Language Acquisition. *TESOL Quarterly* 20: 2.305-325.

Hall, S. J. 1992. Using Split Information Tasks to Learn Mathematics Vocabulary. *Guidelines* 14: 1.72-77.

Jones, P. W. 1981. *Pairwork A/B.* Middlesex: Penguin.

Murphy, J. M. 1991. Oral Communication in TESOL: Integrating Speaking, Listening and Pronunciation. *TESOL Quarterly* 25: 1.51-71.

Nation, I. S. P and Thomas, G. I. 1988. *Communication Activities.* Wellington: English Language Institute, Victoria University of Wellington.

Nurss, J. R. and Hough, R. A. 1985. Young Children's Oral Language: Effects of Task. *Journal of Educational Research* 78: 5. 280-285.

Richards, J. C. 1990. *The Language Teaching Matrix*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Swain, M. 1985. "Communicative Competence: Some Roles of Comprehensible Input and Comprehensible Output In Its Development." In S. M. Gass and C. G. Madden (eds). *Input in Second Language Acquisition* (pp 235-253). Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Van Ments, M. 1990. *Active Talk*. London: Kogan Page.

Publications Received

1. Collins COBUILD English usage. 1992. London: Harper Collins.

2. Kachru, Braj B. (ed.) 1992. The other tongue: English across cultures. 2nd ed. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

3. Maher, John Christopher. 1992. International medical communication in English. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

4. Malcolm, Ian G. (ed.) 1991. Linguistics in the service of society: essays to honour Susan Kaldor. Perth: Institute of Applied Language Studies, Edith Cowan University.

RELC

ANNOUNCEMENT

RELC REGIONAL SEMINAR

Reading and Writing Research:
Implications for Language Education
Singapore, 18-20 April 1994

For more information, please contact:

CHAIRMAN,
SEMINAR PLANNING COMMITTEE
SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
30 ORANGE GROVE ROAD
SINGAPORE 1025
TEL: (65) 747-9044
FAX: (65) 734-2753

PROSPECT

THE JOURNAL OF THE ADULT MIGRANT EDUCATION PROGRAM

Prospect is the national professional journal of the Australian Adult Migrant (Immigrant) Educational Program (AMEP). This Commonwealth-funded program offers English as a Second Language and Orientation tuition to approximately 100,000 adult immigrants to Australia from all over the world each year.

Jill Burton, Editor

Reference Panel includes
Professor J. Anderson
Flinders University of S.A.
Professor H. Holec
Universite de Nancy 11
Dr. D. Ingram
Brisbane College of Advanced Education
Mr. H. Nicholas
La Trobe University
Dr. M. Pieneman
University of Sydney
Professor J. Richards
University of Hawaii

It publishes articles, notes, reports and reviews on applied linguistic and teaching concerns related to the adult E.S.L. field. Prospect is published three times a year by the National Centre for English Language Teaching and Research. Information about subscription rates and advertisements can be obtained from:

GERD S. STABLER
SALES AND MARKETING MANAGER
NCELTR • SCHOOL of ENGLISH and LINGUISTICS • MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY•
SYDNEY • NEW SOUTH WALES 2109 • AUSTRALIA
TELEPHONE (02) 805 7673 TELEX MACUNI AA122377 FACSIMILE (02) 805 7849

CROSS CURRENTS

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Cross Currents is a semi-annual publication of the language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) which provides a forum for the interdisciplinary exchange of ideas within the areas of cross-cultural communication and language skill acquisition and instruction. At *Cross Currents*, we are particularly committed to issue concerning both the theoretical and practical aspects of ESL/EFL instruction, cross-cultural training and learning, English language teaching as it applies to Japan, and English as an International Language.

Recent contributors to *Cross Currents* include:

Robert O'Neill
Braj Kachru
Alan Maley
Walter Hirtle
Richard Via
Larry Smith
Paul LaForge

SUBSCRIPTIONS	Single issue	1 year	2 years
Inside Japan*	1,300	2,600	5,150
Outside Japan - Individual Subscription	$8.00	$15.00	$25.00
Outside Japan - Institutional Rate		$19.50	$35.00

**Special rates available for JALT members. (See postal form in the Language Teacher.)*

- ***Japan Subscriptions:***
School Book Service
F1 Building 4F
1-26-5 Takadanobaba
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 160
03-200-4531
(By postal transfer to Tokyo postal account No. 9-86192, or cash delivery - Genkin Kakitome.)

- Current issues are also available in major Japanese bookstores through **YOHAN** in Japan.

- Back Issues are available from Cross Currents.

- ***Outside Japan:***
Cross Currents
language Institute
of Japan
4-14-1 Shiroyama
Odawara, Kanagawa 250
Japan
(Make checks payable to *Cross Currents* (LIOJ) drawn on a U.S. bank.)

Selected Publications of the Department of English
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong

BOOKS

Perspectives on English for Professional Communication
@HK$110.00/@US$15.00.
Papers from the 1992 International Conference on English for Professional Communication.

Perspectives on Second Language Teacher Education
@HK$95.00/@US$15.00.
Papers from the 1991 International Conference on Second Language Teacher Education.

RESEARCH REPORTS **@HK$65.00/@US$8.50**

1. Valerie Arndt, *Writing in First and Second Languages*
7. Martha C Pennington, *Word Processing for ESL Writers*
11. Lindsay Miller, *Self-Access Centres in S.E. Asia*
15. Martha C Pennington, *Recent Research in Second Language Phonology*
19. Jack C Richards, Belinda Ho and Karen Giblin, *Learning How to Teach: A Study of EFL Teachers in Pre-service Training*
22. Ron and Suzie Wong Scollon, *A Critique of American Intercultural Communication Analysis*
24. Tim Boswood, Robert Dwyer, Robert Hoffman, Charles Lockhart, *Audiotaped Feedback on Writing*

ORDERS

Purchasers should send a US$ bank draft or cheque made payable to City Polytechnic of Hong Kong. Drafts should be drawn on a New York bank. Orders are sent surface mail.

Orders should be sent to:

Department of English
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong
83 Tat Chee Avenue
Kowloon
Hong Kong

ARE THESE ON YOUR READING LIST?

THE Language Teacher
全国語学教育学会
VOL. XII NO. 12 NOVEMBER 1988
THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS
JALT
¥350

JALT JOURNAL

Publications of

THE JAPAN ASSOCIATION OF LANGUAGE TEACHERS

The Language Teacher
A monthly magazine with features, reviews, meeting announcements, employment opportunities, etc.

JALT Journal
A semi-annual journal featuring articles relevant to language teaching/learning in Japan and Asia

Annual Membership Fees (including subscriptions to both publications)
Domestic: Regular, ¥6,000; Joint, ¥10,000; Student, ¥4,000; Associate, ¥50,000
Overseas: sea mail, US$30; air mail, US$40
Send remittance by bankers draft in yen drawn on a Japanese bank, or dollars drawn on an American bank.
The postal giro account may also be used by international subscribers.
Postal furikae (giro) account: Kyoto 15892, "JALT"

19th Annual JALT (The Japan Association of Language Teachers) Conference on Language Teaching/Learning

Theme : Language and Culture
Place : Sonic City Convention Center, Omiya, Saitama (Near Tokyo)
Dates : 8-11 October, 1993
Contact : JALT Central Office
Shamboru Dai 2 Kawasaki #305, 1-3-17 Kaizuka,
Kawasaki-ku, Kawasaki 210, Japan
Tel : +81-44-245-9753
Fax : +81-44-245-9754

Send requests for further information and remittances to:
JALT, Lions Mansion Kawaramachi#111, Kawaramachi Matsubara-agaru Shimogyo-ku, Kyoto 600, Japan.
Tel.:(075) 361-5428; Fax: (075) 3361-5429

Q. Where can you find out about the
latest developments in
stylistic analysis,
text-linguistics and literary theory?

A. In LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

This exciting *new journal* offers a uniquely broad-ranging coverage of stylistic analysis, the linguistic analysis of literature, and related areas. **Language and Literature** :

- Brings together the latest work from international scholars, along with articles on the teaching of language and literature.
- Features lively debate on new and controversial ideas.
- Includes up-to-date book reviews.

Published three times a year, **Language and Literature** is essential reading for students and academics working in stylistic analysis, text-linguistics and literary theory. It is also an invaluable source of reference for native and non-native teachers of English language and literature in secondary and higher education.

FREE VOLUME OFFER!

Why not take a look at **Language and Literature** with *no obligation* ? For a FREE copy of Volume One (1992, 2 issues), simply write to : Judy Higgins, Longman Higher Education, Longman House, Burnt Mill, Harlow, Essex CM20 2JE, UK.

Tel (0279) 623212; Fax (0279) 623862. LONGMAN

Language and Literature is the Journal of the Poetics and Linguistics Association (PALA)
Volume 2, 1993 (3 issues) ISSN 0963-9470
Institutional £51/$87/ Individual £29/$53 p.a.
Volume One available FREE
FREE Membership of PALA to individual subscribers

THUNDERBIRD

The American Graduate School of International Management

15249 N. 59th Avenue, Glendale, AZ 85306-6012

The Journal of Language for International Business

The only periodical devoted to the teaching and study of foreign languages and English for international business.

- A refereed journal for international faculty and scholars
- Published twice a year
- Articles on language for business, cross-cultural studies and language teaching
- Articles submitted for consideration must be previously unpublished, approximately 15 typewritten, doublespaced pages, submitted in duplicate, and prepared in accordance with the latest edition of the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA).
- Each manuscript will be sent to two readers. The editor, in consultation with the editorial board, will make the final decision.

Send manuscripts to: Robert Ramsey, Editor

Send subscription requests to: Leon F. Kenman, Business Manager

Subscription rates:	**Individual:**	**$15.00(must prepay)**
	Institutions, Libraries:	**$25.00**
	Foreign:	**$15.00, plus postage***

**Postage Rates: Mexico and Canada: $5.00; All other countries outside of U.S. add $10.00*

Subscription form

RELC JOURNAL

A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and a subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is eighteen Singapore dollars (S$18.00) for subscription within SEAMEO countries and US$18.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and send it to

The Publications Manager
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
RELC Building
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at S$7.00*/US$7.00+ per copy.

For the complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications Officer.

I enclose S$18.00*/US$18.00+. Please send me the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for ....

Name : ....

Address : ....

....

....

* within SEAMEO countries
+ other countries

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Clarification :

The present members of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) are : Negara Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, Democratic Kampuchea, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand

GUIDELINES

A PERIODICAL FOR CLASSROOM LANGUAGE TEACHERS

Every issue of *Guidelines* is a unique collection of practical ideas that have direct usefulness for the classroom teacher. Articles are written in a simple, readable style.

• Vocabulary Teaching	June 1980	• Drama Activities	Dec. 1983
• Audio-Visual Aids	Dec. 1980	• Guidelines (Vol 13 No 1)	June 1991
• Language Games	June 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 13 No 2)	Dec. 1991
• Writing Activities	Dec. 1981	• Guidelines (Vol 14 No 1)	June 1992
• Study Skills	June 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 14 No 2)	Dec. 1992
• Group Activities	Dec. 1982	• Guidelines (Vol 15 No 1)	June 1993
• Classrooms Tests	June 1983	• Classroom Interaction	Dec. 1986

From the June 1984 issues onwards each issue covers variety of topics in its selection of articles.

Guidelines is published twice a year, in June and December.
Individual copies can be ordered for S$7.00/US$6.00. Reserve future copies with the detachable money-saving coupon below. The annual subscription is S$14.00 (within SEAMEO countries) and US$14.00 for other countries.

Please begin my subscription for Guidelines with the issue for

(month) ____________________ 19____________________.

Enclosed is S$/US$ .... (Bank draft/Money order)

Name .... (Block letters)

Address (in full) ....

....

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copies must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: Only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: Where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: Only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, *e.g.*, the suffix-*s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text.

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221-222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14-16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman. 221-254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC PUBLICATIONS

Monograph Series

An introduction to Linguistics for the Language Teacher

Cultural Components of Reading

The Testing of Listening Comprehension

Problems of Learning English as a Second Language in Malaysia

Strategies for Communication between Teachers and Pupils in a Rural Malaysian School

Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in Multilingual Societies

An Historical Study of Language Planning

Anthology Series

(1) Reading: Insights and Approaches
(2) Teaching English for Science and Technology
(3) Curriculum Development and Syllabus Design for English Teaching
(4) Language Education in Multilingual Societies
(5) Papers on Southeast Asian Languages
(6) Applications of Linguistics to Language Teaching
(7) Bilingual Education
(8) Patterns of Bilingualism
(9) Language Testing
(10) Language Teaching Issues in Multilingual Environments in Southeast Asia
(11) Varieties of English in Southeast Asia
(12) Transfer and Translation in Language Learning and Teaching
(13) Trends in Language Syllabus Design
(14) Communicative Language Teaching
(15) Language Across the Curriculum
(16) Language in Learning
(17) Patterns of Classroom Interaction in Southeast Asia
(18) Language Syllabuses : State of the Art
(21) ESP : State of the Art
(22) Materials for Language Learning and Teaching
(23) Learners' Dictionaries : State of the Art
(24) Language Teaching Methodology for the Nineties
(25) Current Developments in Language Testing
(26) Languages & Standards : Issues, Attitudes, Case Studies
(27) Issues in Language Programme Evaluation in the 1990s
(28) Language Acquisition & the Second/Foreign Language Classroom
(29) Language Teacher Education in a Fast-Changing World
(30) Issues in Language Teacher Education
(31) Simplification : Theory and Application

Occasional Papers Series

(2) Research Proposals for Studies in Language Learning
(3) Controlled and Guided Composition
(5) Group Activities for Language Learning
(6) A Handbook of Communication Activities for Young Learners
(7) Form and Function in Second Language Learning
(8) New Varieties of English: Issues and Approaches
(9) Papers on Variation in English
(10) Error Analysis and Error Correction in Language Teaching
(11) Studies in Second Language Acquisition
(12) Developing Awareness Skills for Interethnic Communication
(13) Trends in Language Teaching and Bilingual Education
(14) Approaches to Communicative Competence
(15) Contrastive Instructional Materials Development
(16) An Error Analysis of English Composition by Thai Students
(18) Papers on Language Testing
(19) Measuring Affective Factors in Language Learning
(20) Studies in Classroom Interaction
(21) Ten Papers on Translation
(22) A Study of Hokkien-Mandarin Phonological Correspondences
(23) What Is Standard English
(24) Techniques and Approaches for Advances ESL Students
(25) On Conversation
(26) Psycholinguistic Dimensions of Language Teaching and Bilingualism
(27) Papers on Team Teaching and Syllabus Design
(28) Papers on Translation: Aspects, Concepts, Implications
(29) Varieties of English and Their Implications for ELT in Southeast Asi
(30) Concepts and Functions in Current Syllabuses
(31) Case Studies in Syllabus and Course Design
(32) Language, Identity and Socio-Economic Development
(33) Interlanguage of Learners of English as a Foreign Language
(34) On Composition
(35) Minidictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes
(36) A Quantitative approach to the Study of Sociolinguistic Situations i Multilingual Societies
(38) Studies on Sociocultural Factors Affecting Language Education
(39) Studies in Philippine English
(40) Language Attitudes
(41) Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning
(43) Developing Discourse Comprehension : Theory and Pratice
(44) Papers in Interlanguage
(45) Explanatory Combination Dictionary and Learners' Dictionaries

Guidelines. A Periodical for Classroom Language Teachers

June 1979 No.1 Communication Activities
Dec 1979 No.2 Teaching Reading Skills
June 1980 No.3 Vocabulary Teaching
Dec 1980 No.4 Audio-Visual Aids in Language-Teaching
June 1981 No.5 Language Games
Dec 1981 No.6 Writing Activities
June 1982 Vol.4 No.1 Study Skills
Dec 1982 Vol 4 No.2 Group Activities
June 1983 Vol 5 No.1 Classroom Tests
Dec 1983 Vol 5 No.2 Drama Activities

1984-1993 A Periodical for Classroom Language Teachers

RELC Newsletter. This publication is mailed quarterly to over 3,500 readers within and outside Southeast Asia. Each issue reports on the Centre's activities.

Printed by Sherson Publishing House P

RELC JOURNAL

A JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

VOLUME 24 NUMBER 2 **DECEMBER 1993**

Articles

Ronald Sheen **Double Standards in Research Selection and Evaluation: The case of comparison of methods, instruction and task-work** 1

Martha C. Pennington and Pei-yu Ku **Realizations of English Final Stops by Chinese Speakers in Taiwan** 29

Kam-yin Wu **Classroom Interaction and Teacher Questions Revisited** 49

Ken Hyland **Culture and Learning: A study of the learning style preferences of Japanese students** 69

Book Reviews

Ronald Boyle **Teaching English Overseas: An Introduction** 92

Timothy Riney **A Course in Phonetics** 97

Irene F.H. Wong **Corpus Concordance Collocation** 100

Charles Elerick **Teaching American English Pronunciation** 105

PUBLISHED BY THE SEAMEO REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE, SINGAPORE

Editorial Committee

Makhan L Tickoo - *Editor*
Audrey Ambrose-Yeoh - *Review Editor*
Yolanda Beh
Joseph Foley
V K Bhatia
Irene Wong

NOTES FOR SUBCRIBERS AND CONTRIBUTORS

Policy. *The RELC Journal: A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia* is one of the professional publications of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) which is located in Singapore. It appears twice a year: June and December. The Journal presents information and ideas on theories, research, methods and materials related to language learning and teaching. Articles and book reviews are of general interest and relevance to language teaching in Southeast Asia.

Subscriptions. The subscription is S$18.00 (Singapore currency) within Southeast Asia and US$18.00 outside Southeast Asia for a year. Payment should be sent to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. (Please use the Subscription Form in the back.)

Contributions. Contributions, which should be original and not published elsewhere, are welcomed from educationists and linguists, both within and outside the SEAMEO region. Main articles should be between 1000 and 5000 words in length. Manuscripts and books for review should be sent to the Editor, *RELC Journal*, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, RELC Building, 30 Orange Grove Road, Singapore 1025, Republic of Singapore. A contributor will receive two copies of the issue in which his article appears.

All opinions expressed in signed articles are those of the authors of the respective articles and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Regional Language Centre nor of any member government of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization.

(Continued on inside back cover)

RELC

© REGIONAL LANGUAGE CENTRE
Singapore 1993
ISSN 0033-6882

EXCHANGE

RELC JOURNAL

Volume 24

Number 2

December 1993

RELC P408-93

1421

Double Standards in Research Selection and Evaluation :

The case of comparison of methods, instruction and task-work

Ronald Sheen
Tottori University
Japan

INTRODUCTION

A major problem in the fields of second language acquisition and second and foreign language learning (SLA/SFLL) relates to research design and to the assessment of research findings. This issue has resulted in a number of publications addressing questions concerned with research design and methodology. (See among numerous others, d'Anglejan & Renaud, 1985; Chaudron, 1986; Henning, 1986; Seliger & Shohamy, 1989; Wolfson, 1986.). Although these authors have discussed a wide range of issues, they have not (because it is beyond their purview) addressed one which, if not resolved, will mitigate efforts to develop the most rigorous research designs and methods. This issue concerns the question of the selection and evaluation of publications for citation and discussion in the literature and the basing of rationales thereon. No matter what actually occurs during a research project, second language educators ultimately rely on the published report to establish a record of what transpired despite the discrepancy which may exist between reality and report (see Beretta, 1992; Reid, 1990.). Scholars select and evaluate such reports and cite them as a means of justifying the position they wish to advocate. Doing so will often entail supporting or criticizing a particular argument. It is generally assumed that in doing this, they evaluate all the relevant literature, make a representative selection in order to present all sides of an issue and comment on the strengths and weaknesses of the cited findings in the knowledge that the absence of such caveats will possibly result in the adoption of unsubstantiated positions and in the attribution of undeserved credibility to research findings.

Those who choose to cite other publications bear then a responsibility to the field in general. They are under an obligation to respect the necessity for rigorous and consistent evaluation in citing and discussing other works. Should they fail in this respect, and particularly if they are influential figures in the field, they risk creating an illusory basis for some apparently credible conclusions. Such conclusions have in the past often been the catalyst for change by the initiation of paradigm shifts which, we are all aware, have largely failed to fulfill their promise, a result which casts some doubt on the validity of the original conclusions.

Given this continual tendency to move from one paradigm to another without substantial concomitant progress, one might justifiably expect that the field might have finally become more circumspect and, therefore, have come to view a further new dawn as no more than a glimmering half-light with which we are all too familiar. Unfortunately, this does not appear to be the case for the current new dawn, in the form of the advocacy of the task-based syllabus (TBS) as "a central planning tool" (Nunan 1991:24) for syllabus design, has become the focus of substantial attention in the literature without its being subjected to critical analysis.

This paper is largely devoted to such an analysis with two purposes in mind. They are to show that the treatment of research used in TBS advocacy has not always been subjected to rigorous and consistent evaluation and to demonstrate that consequently, this advocacy has been partly founded on a hypothesis of unproven validity, and inferential evidence of dubious relevance, whilst at the same time it has tended to ignore relevant research findings.

DISCUSSION

In order to justify these claims, I will make reference to a number of major publications related to TBS which deal with three research areas : method comparison studies, instruction, and, particularly, TBS, itself. They are Long (1980, 1983, 1988), Long and Porter (1985), Long and Crookes (1992) and Nunan (1991). The positions which both Long (1980, 1983, 1988) and Nunan (1991) adopt with respect to method comparison research (MCR) and instruction, Long and Porter (1985) with respect to task-work, and Nunan (1991) and Long and Crookes (1992) in regard to TBS, taken as a whole, manifest three interesting features. The findings of MCR are devalued whilst a role is ascribed to some unspecified form of instruction, and great significance is given to the many recent classroom-based research studies, particularly those related to the interaction involved in task-work. The conclusions concerning these three are then combined with other findings in SLA in order to justify the replacement of syllabuses based on conventional methods by various forms of TBS.

First, it will be argued here that the generalization concerning MCR is overstated and that the substantial findings of that research cannot simply be dismissed out of hand. However, it is conceded that the rigorous demands made of it are valid and should, therefore, be equally applicable to all such research domains. Second, it will be maintained that given that MCR has demonstrated differentials in the effectiveness of different methods, it is necessary to specify the form of instruction used in research and that a failure to do so leads to obfuscation rather than enlightenment. Third, it is claimed that some of the task-work interaction research has not been subjected to sufficiently rigorous evaluation which would if applied cast some doubt on the conclusions derived therefrom. Fourth, it will be demonstrated that the proposal for the replacement of conventional methods by a form of TBS is based on an unrepresentative selection of research findings and unjustified conclusions concerning synthetic syllabuses. Finally, it will be suggested that TBS advocates should direct their efforts primarily to research which will demonstrate the effectiveness of TBS in promoting the learning of both receptive and productive skills in the formal language classrooms before proposing to the teaching public that conventional methods should be replaced by TBS.

Method comparison research

Nunan (1991:3) dismisses MCR on the basis of its failure to provide evidence in support of any one approach rather than another and the lack of control of what actually occurred in the classrooms. Not one of the method comparison studies appears in his bibliography. It would, therefore, appear that he regards his position as part of the body of contemporary received wisdom. On the basis of this assumed failure of MCR, he proposes justifiably that the concept of the "right method" should be abandoned and concludes the book with the assertion that "... we have yet to devise a method which is capable of teaching anybody anything." (p. 248), an astonishing statement for which, understandably, he provides no supportive evidence.

Nunan's general argumentation is not compelling. He dismisses MCR for the reasons discussed above but fails to provide any evidence from the literature. He then goes on to implicitly criticize the methods involved on the basis of their being based on the assumption of "a single set of principles which will determine whether or not learning will take place" (p. 3). It is not made clear what he actually objects to in a single set of principles, for further down the page he applauds methodologists involved in task-work for "the process of formulating principles for the design of classroom materials and learning tasks" which, he later affirms, will result in learning without, however, providing evidence of such learning. If there is a fundamental difference between "a single set of principles" and "principles", it is not made explicit. In fact, as will be seen later, the fundamental argument for TBS is based on a set of principles entailed in the comprehensible input (CI) hypothesis and the need to maximize the exposure to CI to promote learning, by providing for situations which will provoke the most appropriate interaction. In terms of this specific issue, Nunan does not make apparent the difference between such principles as those just cited and those of say an audio-lingual method based on behaviorist learning principles with its various means of promoting learning or a cognitive-code teaching method with its underlying principle of the need for explicit teaching and subsequent sentient practice.

What is striking in this general argument is that Nunan (p. 1) appears to believe that the task-work approach he advocates, putatively based on empirical findings, will "... overcome the pendulum effect in language teaching ...". This is truly woolly thinking. The pendulum swings basically because we are involved in a field where, because of the considerable degree of failure endemic to formal SFLL, new methods cannot possibly fulfill their promises. The swing will be particularly violent if the new method is at one of the extremes of the inductive-deductive continuum. As TBS is largely based (but by no means completely) on the effectiveness of inductive mechanisms, I would suggest that when its inevitable failure to fulfill its promise becomes apparent, it will produce a swing no less radical than those we have already experienced.

Long (1980) takes a similar view to Nunan on MCR but does apparently base it on an evaluation of actual studies. He states "In most cases, it seemed, method A, B or C made little or no difference" (p. 1). He then goes on, as does Nunan, to justifiably (at least, in the case of some studies) criticize the lack of control of all variables and, in particular, the failure to investigate what actually occurred in the classrooms during the studies. However, he includes in his list of references only five such studies. I say "only five" as Von Elek and Oscarsson (1973) cite and discuss some twenty-two such projects (but indicate their survey is not exhaustive) and Krashen (1982) makes mention of 12 studies not included in the Von Elek and Oscarsson survey.

Long's citing only five out of a minimum of 34 studies would be acceptable with respect to representativity if his generalization were borne

1425

out of the findings of all the studies. This is not the case. For example, of the 22 studies reviewed by Von Elek and Oscarsson, only three produced no significant difference for any of the effects of the methods compared, six demonstrated significant effects on specific skills and the rest produced significant findings in favour of a specific method. Interestingly, of these last studies, over three-quarters found that some variant of a deductive method produced better results than an inductive method either overall or in particular skills such as reading and writing. (See Casey, 1968; Chastain & Woerdehoff, 1968; Duskova & Benes, 1968; Levin, 1972 {summarizing 5 studies in the GUME Project}; McKinnon, 1965; Mueller, 1971; Scherer & Wertheimer, 1964; Smith, 1970; Sjoberg & Trope, 1968; Tucker, Lambert & Rigault, 1969; Xiem, 1969.). Furthermore, Von Elek and Oscarsson (1973), in tightly controlled research (including a large-scale replication study) on explicit and implicit methods, found such convincing evidence in favor of the former that they concluded:

> The only safe conclusion one can draw is that in teaching foreign language grammar to adults, such techniques as grammatical explanations, deductive presentation of the subject matter, translation, the use of the native language, and contrastive analysis, are jointly superior to the combination of techniques constituting the implicit method. (p. 201)

Clearly, Long's statement concerning "most cases" is of dubious validity. However, it is possible (in a charitable interpretation) that Long is only referring to the five studies he cites in his list of references. They are Freedman (1975) (to which I do not have access), Levin (1972), Oscarsson (1972), Scherer and Wertheimer (1964) and Smith (1970). Levin (1972) found that advanced learners benefited significantly more from pattern drill coupled with explanation in the L1 than two other groups which were taught by pattern drill with or without explanation in the target language. Oscarsson (1972) found in favor of deductive methods over those based on inductive principles. Scherer and Wertheimer (1964), in a comparison of groups using an audio-lingual method as opposed to traditional method based on translation, contrastive analysis input ar grammatical explanation, found no significant difference after four seme ters. However, after the first two semesters, the audio-lingual students were significantly better in aural-oral skills whereas the traditional method students were superior in reading and writing (but see Chastain, 1971, for criticism of this research.) The overall findings of Smith (1970)(2) indicated that students taught with a traditional method fared considerably better than those taught with audio-lingual methods. Long's "most cases" statement is, therefore, no more an accurate evaluation of the five studies he cites than it is of the majority of such studies.

Notwithstanding Long's failure to respect the obvious need for a representative selection of method comparison studies and a rigorous evaluation thereof and Nunan's apparent disregard for the necessity to support positions with evidence gleaned from the literature, they both make a valid point in attacking some MCR studies for their failure to control all the multiple variables involved, particularly in terms of what actually occurs in the classroom. The control of all such variables poses enormous problems for researchers. In fact, complete control of all variables is clearly practically impossible. However, researchers must make every effort in this regard, and those who evaluate their findings must do so in a rigorous and consistent manner. Therefore, one might justifiably expect that Long and Nunan would apply the implied criteria used in the evaluation of MCR to their review of other classroom-based research. Unfortunately, to a large degree, they fail in this regard. To justify this statement, I will first consider the treatment of the issue of instruction as presented in Long (1988), Long and Crookes (1992) and Nunan (1991), then examine some of the conclusions drawn by Long and Porter (1985) and Nunan (1991) on the effects of interaction and subsequently comment on the argument of Nunan (1991) to justify the exploitation of task-work as "a central planning tool" (Nunan 1991:24). Finally, I will examine the proposals in Long and Crookes (1992) in terms of their rejection of synthetic syllabuses and its advocacy of a specific type of TBS.

Instruction

What is striking in Long's devaluing of MCR is the implication that, as we can conclude nothing from such research, the question of choice of method is no longer of interest and we should, therefore, concentrate on TBS. In fact, in Long (1989), his plenary at RELC, he made the remark, "... methods don't matter because they don't exist..." - a clever comment causing some amusement but which does not withstand scrutiny. If we accept, which I do, the conclusion in Long (1988) that instruction results in learning and we further accept that MCR demonstrates that all the instruction methods used resulted in varying degrees of learning, which for the most part they did, then the inevitable conclusion to be drawn is that some set of pedagogical actions will be more effective in some clearly defined human and physical context than others. Now it is feasible that such a set is not necessarily co-terminous with that of any specific method involved in the method comparison research and that it is, therefore, necessary as Swaffer, Arens and Morgan (1982) conclude, to investigate the elements of various methods in terms of "task order and learning strategies" (p. 32). (3) However, what is important is that research focusing on such sets, hierarchies and strategies, whether one terms them "methods" or something else, is a legitimate concern of those involved in SLA/SFLL and certainly as valid, if not more so, as the current targeting of the myriad variables related to interactions during task-work, task-work which has not, as yet, actually been demonstrated to be more effective than a whole range of alternative pedagogical interventions. In fact, Long's (1988) work in marshalling the various research findings on instruction establishes a solid argument in favor of some form of instruction. However, as it is evident that the nature of that instruction needs to be identified, it is, somewhat surprising that neither Nunan (1991) nor Long (1988) nor Long and Crookes (1992) address this crucial issue in any serious way.

Nunan (1991) argues for an "empirically based methodology" (p. 8) based on "insights into what constitutes effective language teaching" (p. 15) However, apart from criticizing well-known methods and justifiably maintaining that methodology should be compatible with what teachers actually do in the classroom, he does not enlighten us further as to what constitutes "effective language teaching", aside, that is, from advocating a dominant role for task-work. Given the unproven capacity of task-work alone to promote adequate learning of both receptive and productive skills, it is possible that the burden of doing so must fall on instruction, the nature of which must, therefore, be specified.

Long (1988) is equally ambivalent concerning the nature of instruction. Throughout the article it is referred to as if it were some abstraction upon the nature of which we all agree. This would be perhaps justified if all forms of instruction were equally effective or ineffective as Long's (1980) interpretation of the findings of MCR would indicate. However, this is clearly false as the above analysis of the findings of such research demonstrates. It is, therefore, essential, when discussing instruction, to clarify its nature. This is particularly so when one is invoking research findings to support a position on the effects of instruction. This Long (1988) fails to do. For example, in discussing Pica (1983) which compares the learning of English in three types of situations, he fails to bring to light that in spite of the fact that two of the three groups compared received different forms of instruction, a conclusion is drawn about the effects of instruction without taking account of those differences. Similarly, Lightbown, Spada and Wallace (1980) in discussing the effects of instruction, do not specify the nature of the instruction concerned. However, Long (1988: 121, 123) considers both cases as examples of major studies on the effects of instruction. Thus we have an influential scholar in the field who in the case of MCR regards as a crucial flaw the failure to describe the exact nature of classroom instruction (Long, 1988:3), yet who, when attempting to demonstrate the effectiveness of instruction (Long, 1988), no longer apparently regards such a failure as worthy of mention.

However, it is made clear in Long and Crookes (1992) that the nature of instruction is important for, without providing empirical support, they maintain that "...the evidence for the positive effects of instruction does not support a return to a focus on forms in language teaching..." (p. 43). This is an astonishing conclusion to draw given the fact that the one common feature of the examples of instruction discussed in Long (1980) was varying degrees of focus on forms. What Long and Crookes do maintain is that their conclusion does support a strategy of utilizing pedagogic tasks to present "target language samples to learners - input which they will inevitably reshape via application of general cognitive processing capacities" (p. 43). Understandably, they do not provide empirical support for such inevitability.

Clearly, this overall failure to address the issue of the necessity to describe in adequate detail the nature of the instruction involved in research findings constitutes a weakness, a weakness actually acknowledged in the conclusion to Long (1988). However, it does, at least, serve to highlight the minor role ascribed to instruction in TBS as is implicit in the following discussion thereof.

The Task-based Syllabus

Before coming to the discussion proper of this section, a point concerning task-work needs to be clarified. The target of the criticisms herein is not task-work activity itself. To anyone with any experience of teaching, its advantages are readily apparent as is expertly demonstrated in Long and Porter (1985). What is specifically criticized here is the advocacy of a central role for task work with a minor and as yet minimally specified role for some undescribed form of instruction.

As justification for this advocacy, Nunan (1991:50) argues that as comprehensible input (CI), as in Krashen's (1982) input hypothesis, triggers acquisition, maximum exposure to it in the classroom is to be recommended. He then endeavors to show through research findings that such exposure will best be provided by various types of interaction involved in task-work.

Citing Long (1983), Nunan (1991) states:

> The theoretical point of departure for this work has been the inter pretation by Long (1983) and others of the so-called comprehensible input hypothesis which is based on the belief that opportunities for second language acquisition are maximized when learners are exposed to language which is just a little beyond their current level of competence: (Krashen 1981, 1982). The central research issue here is: what class-room tasks and patterns of interaction provide learners with the greatest amount of comprehensible input. (p. 50)

There is a crucial weakness here made manifest by Nunan's view of what constitutes the central research issue. Given the purely hypothetical status of the CI hypothesis, the central issue concerns its validity. Obviously, CI (henceforth, used to include both input and the subsequent interaction it provokes) is an element of the acquisition process. The crucial question concerns the sufficiency of CI alone to bring it about. Long and Porter (1985:214) certainly imply that it satisfies this criterion when they state that "... the more language that learners hear and understand or the more comprehensible input they receive, the faster and better they learn". The reader is then referred to Krashen, 1980 and 1982, without comment from which, one might assume that the authors endorse Krashen's position on CI and his interpretation of the relevant data. Nunan (1991:50) also appears to accept the hypotheses for he makes the above statement without qualification.

Yet the CI hypothesis has been the subject of frequent adverse comment in the literature (see Chaudron, 1985; Gregg, 1984; Ioup, 1984; McLaughlin, 1978; White, 1987). One of the major issues in this controversy concerns the necessity and sufficiency of CI to bring about acquisition and the role production plays in the process. Krashen (1982:61) appears to consider that CI alone will result in the development of both receptive and productive skills although he does acknowledge there is a problem entailed in the position he takes (see Krashen, 1982:80). Long and Porter (1985:214) and Nunan (1991:50) also demonstrate an awareness of the same issue and cite Swain (1985) who plausibly maintains that learners must also be afforded practice in production in order for acquisition to occur.

1430

This is quite simply inadequate as an account of the pertinent findings on CI. As far as I am aware, no research has demonstrated that exposure to CI in the formal language classroom alone is sufficient to bring about substantial levels of acquisition whether the learners are involved with production or not. In fact, Long (1983) specifically rejects such claims. He (1988) also cites Parvesi's (1984) findings as inferential evidence that instruction may be more effective than exposure alone to CI. Parvesi's findings indicate that naturalistic acquirers were outperformed by instructed school students who had appreciably fewer hours of exposure than the former group. However, as Long (1988:130-131) points out, there were a number of uncontrolled variables which render the findings as no more than suggestive.

There is, however, an abundance of pertinent findings on this issue provided by the results of immersion and bilingual programs in North America, particularly the French Immersion Program in Canada (FI). The reports on the latter (see, for example, Lapkin and Swain, 1983, among numerous others) provide ample evidence of the positive effects on receptive skills of thousands of hours of CI to which FI students have been exposed although, clearly, one can not necessarily extrapolate these findings to the formal language classroom with its severely limited exposure time. The findings on the effect on productive skills present something of a different picture, however. (4) Adiv (1980), Hammerly (1989a, 1989b, 1989c), Pawley (1985), Pellerin and Hammerly 91986) and Spilka (1976) have reported extensively on the high degree of error rate in production by FI students. Harley and Swain (1984:291), avid supporters of FI, also point out that "productive use of the second language still differs considerably in grammatical and lexical ways from native speakers". Furthermore, research findings of a similar nature from other programs are reported in Cohen (1974, 1976, (5).

Such findings are of crucial relevance for those advocating TBS. If thousands of hours (Hammerly, 1989a:570, calculates it at about 7000) in FI of CI do not enable students to produce acceptably accurate language, one can be but extremely skeptical of the effects on production of TBS in formal language classrooms with maximum potential exposure to CI in typical six-year high school courses at less than 1000 hours. As the failure of CI to promote accurate productive skills is clearly of direct relevance to task-work, it is surprising and unfortunate that Nunan (1991) did not deem it necessary to address the implications of the findings of the FI Program.

It is true, of course, that the FI program does not entail the implementation of some form of TBS although task-work is certainly involved

1431

in the FI learning process. However, this is hardly a valid reason for ignoring the relevance of the FI findings for TBS. TBS is predicated on the effectiveness of exposing learners to CI in its various forms by the use of task work which is deemed the most effective means of reaching that end. That is task work is purely a means to an end. What is crucial is to evaluate the effects of exposure to CI in the formal language classroom. That same end is achieved in the FI program by a wide variety of activities including task work. The findings thereon, therefore, provide valuable information on the effects of exposure to CI and as such constitute highly pertinent data for the advocates of TBS.

What is perhaps more remarkable in terms of the omission of reference to relevant research findings is the failure by Nunan (1991) to make any reference to a major attempt at the implementation of a task-work syllabus/curriculum. The Communicational Teaching Project, perhaps better known as The Bangalore Project, (a five-year project finishing slightly before term involving a small number of secondary schools in South India) which has been the subject of numerous international publications dating from 1982 (see Beretta, 1989; Beretta & Davies, 1985; Brumfit, 1984; Greenwood, 1985; Prabhu, 1982) and was regarded by Brumfit (1984:234) as "... an important project because it focuses on a central concern in contemporary discussion of syllabuses" (that is, learning language by using it). Much of the comment has been critical, particularly by Beretta (see for example, Beretta, 1989) in which one of his findings concerned the effects on productive skills of task-work. It constitutes inferential corroborative evidence of the failure of exposure to CI alone to enable students to develop accuracy in speaking. One of his conclusions underlines the fact that although the initial aims of the project entailed the encouragement of the development of both receptive and production skills, in the period after 1982, "... task types calling for production were phased out and ... only those that stressed reception were retained". Further on this issue, and of particular relevance to the focus on meaning of task-work, Beretta (1989:301) makes the following perceptive remark: "Thus, an important message of this study is that teachers who are involved in content-based curricula and who are interested in changing correction habits might wish to consider whether they are prepared to engage only in tasks that inhibit learner production in order to ensure that form does not become a focus". Although in using the phrase "content-based curricula" Beretta is here broadening the scope of his remark, the comment is made in direct reference to the TBS of the Bangalore Project in which task-work was very much a central planning tool.

Notwithstanding the weaknesses of this Project in terms of its failure to provide reliable findings, it does afford those interested in task-work an opportunity to examine a large-scale attempt at an actual implementation of a TBS albeit of a different nature to those advocated by the scholars discussed here. Nevertheless, the project is surely as worthy of attention as the wide array of quasi-experimental studies on variables related to the interaction involved in task-work which have become the focus of attention of advocates of TBS. Nunan is clearly not of the same opinion. In fact, given the apparent lack of focus on any findings derived from actual programmes based on substantial exposure to CI, it would appear that the demonstration of the validity of the CI hypothesis has a low priority. Nor, would it appear is there any interest in actually demonstrating that task-work as a central planning tool actually results in learning. As Nunan says (1991:50), "The central research issue here is : what classroom tasks and patterns of interaction provide learners with the greatest amount of comprehensible input". This is surely only of a second order of priority for the "central research issue" must concern the efficacy of task-work as a central planning tool in actually promoting the learning of both receptive and production skills.

However, let us set aside for the moment this major flaw in this research agenda and examine how the assumed central issue is addressed. This is done by marshalling evidence from studies on interaction in group work. Long and Porter (1985) analyse many such studies and in doing so provide valid psycholinguistic support for the pedagogical argument for the use of task-work in the classroom. Furthermore, they are careful to propose that task-work should only be regarded as a complement to teacher-fronted activities and not as some new panacea. However, their treatment of three of the studies raises some doubts concerning the general theme of this present paper. That is the need for rigorous and consistent evaluation. Interestingly, the findings of these studies are also used by Nunan (1991) in his proposals for task work as a central planning tool. The three studies are : Pica and Doughty (1985) who in their study found that levels of accuracy were no different between teacher-fronted and small group discussions and Bruton and Samuda (1980) and Porter (1983) who found that participants in interactions picked up few errors from each other. Initially, I will concentrate on Long and Porter's review of these studies and then deal with any differences in Nunan's treatment.

The findings of Pica and Doughty (1985) were based on a comparison of three examples each of the two types of discussion, one teacher-fronted and the other, small group work. Only two types of tasks are involved and students are only of the low-intermediate level. Furthermore, the authors fail to give an account of all the relevant human and environmental variables involved. Thus, for example no data is provided concerning the attitude or motivation of the participating students. Nor is any information given on the potentially crucial variable of the teaching style of the teacher. The study can, therefore, provide only findings of very limited external validity. Long and Porter appear not to regard such weakness of any importance for, unabashed, they (1985:223) conclude that Pica and Doughty's findings should "...allay the fears that lower quality is the price to be paid for higher quality of practice." Given the limitations of the study, some of which are accepted by the authors themselves (see Doughty & Pica 1986:307), such a premature conclusion is hardly justified. Yet, it is established as an additional element in the advocacy of TBS.

The findings (i.e., the picking up of few errors) of Bruton and Samuda (1980) and Porter (1983) provoke the immediate questioning of the means by which these authors arrived at this finding. In order to do so, it is not adequate to simply describe the errors produced during task-work and then test the participants to verify that they have or have not produced any of the errors. What is involved is much more complex. Minimally, it would first entail providing an account of the interlanguage of each participant in order to be sure of covering the domain related to the errors which may be produced in the subsequent spontaneous interactions of the group work.

This seemingly stringent demand is necessary for the following reason, which I shall illustrate with an example in terms of the possibility of "picking up an error" (say, the erroneous form of the present progressive, i.e. "I am go"). During interaction, there are at least three different relevant states of interlanguage: A) the correct form of the present progressive is already established; B) the erroneous form of the present progressive, "I am go" is established; C) no form of the present progressive is yet established. Now if, after the interaction in which the erroneous form occurred, interlanguage (A) is modified to integrate it, it would be both remarkable and surprising; we cannot know if interlanguage (B) has been influenced because the erroneous form was already there; if interlanguage (C) integrates the new form, it is both plausible and interesting. However, what is crucial is that without the knowledge of the interlanguage states before the interaction, it would be unwise to draw any conclusions about the possible effects on them of exposure to erroneous forms. Neither Bruton and Samuda (1980) nor Porter (1983) take this into account and with some good reason for, as far as I know, a complete interlanguage has not yet been described. Nevertheless, the failure to take full account of the participants' interlangauage before and after the task-work throws onto the findings a degree of doubt to which Long and Porter make no reference.

There is a further point concerned with this latter research and Long and Porter's unquestioning acceptance of it. Krashen's CI hypothesis does not address adequately the question of the quantity of the +1 in the i+1 input hypothesis formula required for acquisition to take place. The acquisition process would certainly require multiple intakes before being activated (but see Gregg 1984:87-88 for a discussion of this issue.) Therefore, unless in the interactions in question, there were numerous repetitions of the erroneous forms, it would be incautious to infer that the participants in interactive tasks pick up few errors. Moreover, the question of whether the multiple examples of input actually constitute intake represents another obstacle to the researchers' placing complete confidence in their findings.

There is also an inferential contradiction again related to CI. If we take at face value the findings on the picking up of errors, ignoring for the moment the major objections discussed above, what can we conclude as to what students actually do pick up during task-work? None of the studies cited in Long and Porter concerns itself with this seemingly crucial matter. However, surely if the conclusion concerning the "picking up of errors" is valid, a further plausible conclusion is that task-work results in the picking up of very little—erroneous or otherwise. There is, of course, another interpretation. One could propose that acquirers have some filter which enables them to recognize errors and therefore not acquire them. (See Schachter, Tyson & Diffley, 1975 for a discussion of such a possibility.) However, as Long and Porter fail to discuss the inferential contradiction, one can hardly expect them to address this latter question.

Nunan, unlike Long and Porter, gives but cursory treatment to these studies. Furthermore, he offers no comment on the quality of the research involved and apparently accepts at face value the findings thereof. So much so, in fact, that he considers that such studies as these "...provide a powerful rationale for the use of interactive groupwork in the classroom" (p. 51). Of course, such studies only provide for this rationale if the CI hypothesis is sustainable and if the findings of the studies are reliable. Nunan does, nevertheless, add a caveat. In the spirit of rigorous research criteria, he adds that "It remains to be seen whether the results hold up in genuine language classrooms that is, classrooms constituted for the purposes of learning, not research" (p. 51). But as it remains to be seen if the findings are reliable, the "powerful rationale" statement appears somewhat precipitate. It would certainly be wiser to await replication studies (as did Von Elek and Oscarsson 1973, for example, in the field of the much-maligned method comparison research) before making a leap to such a premature conclusion.

The above demonstrated failure of Long and Porter, and Nunan to provide any critical evaluation of the three studies, and the not necessarily reliable findings they cite with such confidence clearly constitute a failure on their part. The implications of this failure are further exacerbated by the implicit inconsistency when one takes into account the rigorous demands they make of method comparison studies. One can but wonder how Long (1980) and Nunan (1991), in the light of their benign approach to task-work studies, can be so dismissive of MCR, some of which exhibited rigorous control of many variables. It would certainly be acceptable to treat the findings on task-work as interesting indicators for future research orientation. It is unacceptable to quote them without qualification and without suggesting the necessity for multiple replication studies as is proposed by Beretta (1991), Lightbown (1984a), Ochsner (1979) and Santos (1989) in respect to SLA/SFLL research in general (however, given the stringent demands made of replication studies [See Reid, 1990, and Lightbown, 1984b] this solution will certainly provoke problems of implementation.

Long and Crookes (1992) continue in a similar vein to Nunan (1991) in their advocacy of TBS. They base their proposals on inferential evidence alone and provide no empirical evidence to demonstrate that TBS can actually achieve its putative "considerable potential" (p. 27). Their focus, however, is somewhat different. They have two purposes: first, to demonstrate the inadequacy of synthetic syllabuses (i.e., those characterized by the teaching of rules and structures as separate entities) and second, to argue for the superiority of their task-work language teaching (TBLT) to other task-work approaches. In order to do this, they appeal to research findings in SLA and in doing so apparently assume that scholars have reached some major consensus on the fundamental nature of language learning. At various points throughout the paper, the authors refer to research findings on language learning to support their positions, without however, citing references thereto (see pp. 27, 30, 31 & 33). This might be acceptable had such findings reached axiomatic status. That they have not is made abundantly clear on a general level throughout Lightbown (1984b) and more specifically (p. 248) when she points out in relation to universal patterns of development that for every study supporting them "...there are other studies which provide counter-evidence...". Ellis (1985) also empahsizes the lack of consensus. In discussing fundamental differences in research findings, he states (p. 286): "Until some means of reconciling these differences can be agreed upon, it must be acknowledged that, despite our increasing knowledge of what takes place in SLA, we are not yet able to produce a description that is both generalizable and reliable." Long and Crookes apparently disagree, for at various points in their paper they use unspecified SLA research findings to support their various arguments.

Ironically, on several occasions when they do cite support from the work of other scholars, close examination of that work reveals positions therein contrary to those taken by Long and Crookes. They mention Ellis (1985) without indicating the relevant pages as if he provides unequivocal support, which, as the above citation demonstrates, he clearly does not. Similarly, they cite Spolsky (1989), who discusses the many conditions for language learning. Certainly, Long and Crookes could have found specific proposed conditions in Spolsky's work to support their arguments (see, for example, conditions 10 and 27). Equally, however, one can find conditions which support a synthetic syllabus (see, for example, conditions 11, 14 and 16) which the authors reject as a viable syllabus option. It would, therefore, have been helpful if the authors had specified which parts of Ellis and Spolsky supported their arguments.

They also justifiably appeal to the work of Meisel, Clahsen and Pienemann (1981) to support their position on fixed developmental sequences. However, they fail to point out that Pienemann (1989) in reporting on the work of this team, makes it clear that he takes a position contrary to that of Long and Crookes in terms of the language learning process, for he speaks of it (p. 54) in terms of the accumulation of rules and of interlanguage as being "... the sum of all the rules the learner has acquired so far" which is contrary to the position taken by Long and Crookes.

I am not suggesting here that one should only cite other scholars if all of their work is compatible with the position advocated. I am, however, criticizing the practice of citing such work, one, without specifying which part thereof supports that position, and two, without indicating that there are other parts which offer counter-evidence to the positions one is adopting.

Where Long and Crookes do manifest some specificity is in demonstrating the flaws in synthetic syllabuses. They characterize them (p. 28) as assuming an "...ability to learn a language in parts (e.g., structures and functions) which are independent of one another, and also to integrate, or synthesize, the pieces when the time comes to use them for communicative purposes." This is simply untrue. No synthetic syllabus worthy of the name regards the parts as independent of each other. Although a part might be isolated for teaching purposes, it is often initially presented in context and subsequent practice entails its combination with other parts. Furthermore, all such syllabuses assume that a part is integrated into the interlanguage system. For Long and Crookes to portray such syllabuses as being based on the assumption that the parts remain isolated and are only combined for performance purposes is a distortion of the truth. One would expect that such a serious claim would be supported by citations from the literature. It is not.

Continuing their attack on synthetic syllabuses, Long and Crookes maintain (pp. 30-31) that they "...are flawed because they assume a model of language acquisition unsupported by research findings on language learning...". There are two serious problems with this affirmation. In the first place, it falsely assumes that research on language learning has already provided all the knowledge we need in order to justify the inclusion or exclusion of putative language learning processes as viable options. This is not the case. Despite the substantial amount of SLA research of recent years, we have only begun to scratch the surface of the incredible complexities of the language learning processes. It is, therefore, unwise and premature to make definitive statements about such processes. Secondly, it is undeniable that synthetic syllabuses can be an effective tool in producing successful language learners as is witnessed by results obtained, for example, in a number of European countries such as Denmark, Holland and Germany where deductive approaches still characterize mainstream teaching of English as they have done for decades (Fisiak, 1981; Nehls, personal communication, January, 1993). Yet, Long and Crookes (p. 31) maintain that research shows (once again without specification) that "...people do no learn isolated items in the L2 one at a time in additive, linear fashion, but as parts of complex mapping of groups of form-function relationships...". However, as we know they do (with the provision discussed above), it is clear that Long and Crookes' interpretation of the data is flawed. It is flawed initially by the false representation of synthetic syllabuses as treating items in isolation as already stated and secondly by an unsubstantiated assumption concerning mental processes. It is remarkable that in discussing learners using an analytic syllabus (i.e the one involved in TBLT), Long and Crookes ascribe to them such powerful mental processes that they are capable of analysing discourse into the appropriate "parts of complex mapping of groups of form function relationships" and then resynthesize them for communicative use; yet, they are not prepared to ascribed to students using synthetic syllabuses the much less powerful capacity of integrating constituent parts into a system, which is, indeed, apparently what many students do. Furthermore, these two scholars fail to discuss research which indicates that learners may be unable to analyze the formal aspect of language while focusing on meaning, an assumed integral process of TBS (Van Patten, 1988, 1990).

After dismissing synthetic syllabuses as viable options, Long and Crookes go on to discuss various choices in terms of types of TBS. Two aspects of this discussion are worthy of comment, one of a general nature related to task-work as a whole and the other specifically related to Long and Crookes' view of the best option.

As implied above, those who advocate the analytic type syllabus ascribe to students the same powerful acquisitional capacity possessed by children acquiring an L1. They assume, therefore, that the students have the capacity to subconsciously analyse discourse into the constituent parts of their interlanguage system and then use them appropriately both receptively and productively. They offer no empirical evidence in support of such a claim. Furthermore, they completely ignore the contrary findings on production provided by the FI program and, in discussing the Bangalore Project, are concerned only with dealing with those aspects which support their position. It is true they cite Beretta (1989) but conspicuously fail to discuss the highly relevent conclusions he reaches concerning productive skills, (cited above).

The specific task-work option of Long and Crookes, TBLT, raises serious questions concerning generalizability. Two important features of TBLT are the advisability for the negotiation between the teacher and students of "pedagogic options" (p. 45) and the selection of "target tasks" (p. 44) which will be similar to the actual tasks students will confront in the real world. These two characteristics certainly exclude the large majority of students learning English as a foreign or second language throughout the world. A very small sub-set of such students would be capable of negotiating the syllabus content on the necessary equal-footing basis with their teacher (anything else would be a corruption of the meaning of "negotiation"). A small sub-set of those would be in a position to carry out what amounts to rehearsing tasks which they are almost immediately going to face outside of class. If indeed, it is this very small sub-set of students which Long and Crookes is targeting, their proposal does not constitute a major issue for the students' assumed negotiating skill already indicates a level of proficiency with which most teachers would be already satisfied, and most students are not in situations where they will be able to immediately put into practice what they have just learned in the classroom. If this is not the case, and the two authors are indeed implying the suitability of TBLT for a far more general set of students, this should be made explicit. If it is, indeed, the case then the sort of program they are proposing should be subjected to the "rigorous controlled evaluation" (p. 47) which the authors regard as essential. However, if it is essential then one wonders why the authors did not wait for the results of such an evaluation before publishing their proposals in a journal of general appeal to practising teachers such as *TESOL Quarterly*. It would surely have been more circumspect to wait until the putative "considerable potential" of their preferred option had been proven.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the above discussion, I have argued that those scholars who cite research findings are under an obligation to subject them to rigorous and consistent evaluation and to cite a representative selection of findings when adopting a position. The analysis of a number of publications related to MCR, instruction and TBS has demonstrated that this obligation is not always respected. This failure has resulted in the unjustified dismissal of the findings of MCR, the reification of instruction without the crucial specification of the nature thereof and the creation of the false impression that the advocacy of TBS is based on solid research findings. (6)

I will conclude with a general query concerning the orientation of the current research on task-work which Long and Porter (1985) and Nunan (1991), and Long and Crookes (1992), among numerous others, appear to strongly endorse. Ultimately, the principal concern in all classroom-based research is to discover the optimal conditions which will result in acquisition/learning for, as Chaudron (1988:1) aptly points out, "...the ultimate objective of classroom research is to identify those characteristics of classrooms which lead to efficient learning of the instructional content...". Therefore, if researchers decide to focus on some particular classroom activity, the obvious first step is to endeavor to demonstrate that such an activity may lead to this desired end and that it is superior to available alternatives. As far as TBS is concerned, researchers have not addressed this crucial question in any serious manner, preferring to investigate a range of variables related to types of interaction. We, therefore, do no actually know if TBS can achieve its aims though relevant findings already discussed would not leave one sanguine in this regard. The scholars concerned here, however, have preferred to endorse and advocate a task-work research approach which does not address this issue and to support their questionable argument by not-always-stringent exploitation of research findings which, if subjected to rigorous evaluation, would reveal weaknesses which cast serious doubt on their reliability. I would, therefore, suggest a de-emphasizing of the TBS research of the type reported on herein, in preference to research focussing on two fundamental questions: 1) Does TBS result in actual acquisition/learning and, if so, does it have equal effect on receptive and productive skills? and 2) What is the role and nature of instruction in TBS? Until these issues have been adequately addressed, I would suggest that it would be preferable to limit TBS research to the specialist circles mentioned by Long and Crookes (1992:27) and carry it out in the spirit of "...the stimulation of rational inquiry and not for the purpose of pushing premature decisions about how to teach languages (my emphasis)" as Rutherford and Sharwood Smith (1988:7) propose in relation to work on consciousness-raising. (7)

Notes:

1. In singling out these scholars for scrutiny, I do not wish to imply that they are the only ones susceptible to criticism. I would maintain that the field, whilst ostensibly supporting the need for stringent standards, is characterized by lacunae which render findings unreliable and positions taken unfounded. Space limitations prevent the lengthy discussion required to support such claims. However, examples related to studies on field independence are to be found in Griffiths and Sheen (1991) and to the slanted discussion by Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982) of error analysis findings on the importance of cross linguistic influence in SFLL in Sheen (forthcoming). There is little doubt in my mind that close scrutiny of published articles and the reviews thereof in other areas would reveal weaknesses similar to those discussed herein.

2. The general negative reaction one finds in the literature to the findings of MCR, particularly to those of Smith (1970) presents an intriguing puzzle. As I maintain that the reaction is not justified by a thorough evaluation of the research, the reasons for such a reaction may lie elsewhere. I tend to agree with Smith (1970:373) who implies that the negative reactions to his findings were triggered by the fact they were contrary to the expectations and beliefs of many professionals involved. The bulk of the MCR has been carried out during the last three decades.

This is a period when salient contemporary wisdom would have the preferred option based on inductive methods founded on some assumed degree of equivalence between L1 and L2 in spite of persuasive counter-arguments offered by Anderson, 1980, Bley-Vroman, 1987, Buczowska and Weist, 1991, Johnson, 1988, and Schachter, 1988). Most of the relevant MCR has shown this to be the wrong option; naturally, those who propagate that salient contemporary wisdom have difficulty accepting this.

3. Interestingly, both Long (1984:420) and Nunan (1991:3) interpret the Swaffer, Arens and Morgan (1982) findings as tending to indicate that methodological differences are effaced in classroom practice. However, a careful reading of this paper reveals that teachers manifest those methodological differences in the exploitation of different hierarchical relationships between the various tasks, strategies and activities they use. The validity of this latter interpretation is confirmed by the first author, herself. (Swaffer, personal communication, June, 1993).

4. I am grateful to Hector Hammerly for this information on the Canadian FI programme. He has been in recent years something of a lone voice in Canada in pointing out the defects of FI in terms of productive skills (See Hammerly, 1989a, 1989b) and has, unfortunately suffered opprobium at the hands of those who prefer to emphasize the success of FI in receptive skills. (see Allen, Cummins, Harley, Lapkin, and Swain, 1989 and Collier, 1992).

5. In fact, these findings have caused the possible need for instruction in immersion programs to become the focus of interest among those involved in such programmes. (See, for example, Day & Shapson, 1991; Harley, 1989.)

6. These failures are particularly ironic in the case of Long for his 1988 paper is characterized by a number of cautionary remarks related thereto. For example, (p. 116) he maintains, "Yet it has been the inferences, not research, that have in turn formed a large part of the basis for prescriptions for language teaching". He offers no more than inferential evidence in support of task-work. He further advises delaying (p. 123) abandoning conventional instruction until the long-term effects of some new form of pedagogical intervention are available. This is particularly ironic as in the case of TBS; we have no reliable findings even on the short-term effects on learning and, furthermore, the proposals in Long and Crookes (1992) propose the abandoning of conventional methods in favor of TBLT.

7. Throughout this paper, I have made no mention of the role of editors and anonymous reviewers in deciding what should or should not be published. Clearly, however, if the criticisms formulated in this paper are valid, then such individuals are not without blame.

References:

Adiv, E. (1980) Analysis of second language performance in two types of immersion programs. Bulletin of the Canadian Association of Applied Linguistics 2:139-52.

Allen, P., Cummins, J., Harley, B. Lapkin, S. & Swain, M. (1989). Restoring the balance: a response to Hammerly. The Canadian Modern Language Review 45, 770-776.

Anderson, J.R. (1980) Cognitive Psychology and its implications. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.

d'Anglejan, A., & Renaud, C. (1985). Learner characteristics and second language acquisition. Language Learning, 35, 1-2.

Beretta, A. (1989). Attention to form or meaning? Error treatment in the Bangalore Project. TESOL Quarterly, 23, 283-303.

Beretta, A. (1991). Theory construction in SLA: complementarity and opposition. "Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 13, 493-511.

Beretta, A.(1992) Evalauation of language education: An overview. In (Eds.) Alderson, J.C., & Beretta, A. Evaluating Second Language Education. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beretta, A., and Davies, A. (1985). Evaluation of the Bangalore Project. The English Language Teaching Journal, 39, 121-127.

Bley-Vroman, R. (1989). What is the logical problem of foreign language learning. In (Eds.) Gass, S.M & Schachter, J. Linguistics Perspectives in Second Language Acquisition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brumfitt, C. (1984). The Bangalore procedural syllabus. The English Teaching Language Journal, 38, 233-240.

Bruton, A & Samuda, V. (1980). Learner and teacher roles in the treatment of error in group work. RELC Journal, 11, 49-63.

Buczowska, E., & Weist, R.M. (1991). The effects of formal instruction on the second-language acquisition of temporal location. Language Learning, 41, 535-554.

Casey, D.J. 91968). The effectiveness of teaching English as a foreign language to some Finnish secondary schools. Unpublished report, University of Helsinki.

Chastain, K. (1971). The development of modern language skills: Theory to practice. Philadelphia: Center for Curriculum Development.

Chastain, K.D. & Woerdehoff, F.J.A. (1968). A methodological study comparing the audio-lingual habit theory and the cognitive code-learning theory - a continuation. Modern Language Journal, 52, 268-279.

Chaudron, C. (1985). Intake: On models and methods for discovering learners' processing of input. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 7,1-14.

Chaudron, C. (1986). The interaction of quantitative and qualititive approaches to research: A view of the second language classroom. TESOL Quarterly, 20,709-717.

Chaudron, C. (1988). Second Language Classrooms. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, A.D. (1974). The Culver City Spanish immersion program: The first two years. Modern Language Journal 58, 95-103.

Cohen, A.D. (1976). The acquisition of Spanish grammar through immersion: Some findings after four years. The Canadian Modern Language Review, 32, 562-574.

Collier, V.P. (1992). The Canadian bilingual immersion debate: A synthesis of research findings. Studies in Second Language Acquisition 14:87-97.

Day, E.M., & Shapson, S.M. (1991). Integrating formal and functional approaches to language teaching in French immersion: An experimental study. Language Learning, 41,25-58.

Doughty C. & Pica, T, (1986). Information gap tasks: Do they facilitate second language acquisition? TESOL Quarterly 20(2), 305-325.

Dulay, H.C., Burt, M.K., & Krashen, S.D. (1982). Language Two. New York: Oxford University Press.

Duskova, L., and Benes, E. (1968). Audiooralni versus Kogntivni metoda. Cizi Jazyky Skole, 12, 362-65.

Ellis, R. (1985) Understanding second language acquisition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fisiak, J. (Ed.) 1981. Contrastive Linguistics and the Language Teacher. Oxford: Pergamon.

Freedman, E.S. (1975). Experimentation into foreign language teaching methodology. Paper presented at the British Association for Applied Linguistics. York, U.K.

Greenwood, J. (1985). Bangalore revisited: a reluctant complaint. The English Language Teaching Journal 39, 268-273.

Gregg, K. (1984). Krashen's monitor and Occam's razor. Applied Linguistics, 5, 79-100.

Griffiths, R.T., and Sheen , R. (1992). Disembedded figures in the landscape: A reappraisal of L2 research on field dependence/ independence. Applied Linguistics, 13, 133-48.

Hammerly, H. (1989a). French Immersion (Does it work?) and the Development of Bilingual Proficiency Report. Canadian Modern Language Review 45, 567-578.

Hammerly, H. (1989b) Toward fluency and accuracy: A response to Allen et al. The Canadian Modern Language Review, 45, 776-783.

Hammerly, H. (1989c). French Immersion: Myths and Reality. Calgary, Alberta: Datselig Enterprises.

Harley, B. (1989). Functional grammar in French immersion: A classroom experiment. Applied Lingustics, 10, 331-359.

Harley, B., & Swain, M. (1984). The interlanguage of immersion students and its implicaitons for second language teaching. In Davies, A., Criper, C., & Howatt, A.P.R. (Eds.) Interlanguage. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Henning, G. (1986). Quantitative methods in language acquisition research. TESOL Quarterly, 20, 710-718.

Ioup, G. (1984). Testing the relationship of formal instruction to the input hypothesis. TESOL Quarterly, 18, 345-350.

Johnson, K. (1988). Mistake correction. English Language Teaching Journal, 42, 89-96.

Krashen, S.D. (1980). The input hypothesis. In (Ed) James E. Alatis, Georgetown Roundtable on Language and Linguistics, 168-80.

Krashen, S.D. (1981). Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning. Oxford: Pergamon.

Krashen, S.D. (1982). Principles and Practice in Second Language Acquisition. New York: Pergamon Press.

Lapkin, SM., & Swain, M. (1983). The Trial Balloon That Flew.(co-sponsored by Canadian Parents for French). Toronto: OISE Press.

Levin, L. (1972). Comparative studies in foreign language teaching. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell.

Lightbown, P.M. (1984a) Input and acquisition in second language classrooms. TESL Canada Journal, 2, 55-67.

Lightbown, P. (1984b). The relationship between theory and method in second language acquisition research. In A. Davies, C. Criper & A.P.R. Howatt (Eds.) Interlanguage (pp. 241-252) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Lightbown, P.M., Spada, N., & Wallace, R. (1980) Some effects of instruction on child and adolescent ESL learners. In (Eds.) Sarcella, R.C., & Krashen, S.D. Research in Second Language Acquisition. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Long, M.H. (1980). Inside the "black box": methodological issued in classroom research on language learning. Language Learning, 30, 1-42.

Long, M.H. (1983). Does second language instruction make a difference? A review of research. TESOL Quarterly, 17, 359-382.

Long, M.H. (1988). Process and product in ESL program evaluation. TESOL Quarterly, 18(3), 409-425.

Long, M.H. (1988). Instructed interlanguage development. In Beebe, L.M. (Ed.) Issues in Second Language Acquisition - Multiple Perspectives. New York: Newbury House.

Long, M.H. (1989). Task, group and task group interactions. Plenary given at the RELC Annual Conference in Singapore.

Long, M.H., & Porter, P. (1985). Group work, interlanguage talk, and second language acquisition. TESOL Quarterly, 19 207-228.

Long, M.H., & Crookes, G. (1992). Three approaches to task-based syllabus design. TESOL Quarterly, 24, 27-56.

McKinnon, K.R. (1965). An experimental study of the learning of syntax in second language learning. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University.

McLaughlin, B. (1978). The monitor model: Some methodological considerations. Language Learning, 28, 309-332.

Meisel, H., Clahsen, H., & Pienemann, M. (1981). On determining developmental stages in second language acquisition. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 3, 109-135.

Mueller, T.H. (1971). The effectiveness of two learning models: the audio lingual theory and the cognitive code-learning theory. In P. Pimsleur and T. Quinn (Eds) The psychology of second language learning. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nunan, D. (1991). Language Teaching Methodology. New York: Prentice Hall.

Ochsner, R. (1979). A poetics of second language acquisition. Language Learning, 29, 53-80.

Oskarsson, M. (1972). Comparative method studies in foreign language teaching. Moderna Sprak, 66, 350-366.

Pavesi, M. (1984). Linguistic markedness, discoursal modes, and relative clause formation in a formal and an informal context. Paper presented at the IRAAL-BAAL Seminar on the formal and informal contexts of language learning. Dublin, Ireland.

Pawley, C. (1985). How bilingual are French immersion students. The Canadian Modern Language Review, 41, 856-76.

Pellerin, M, & Hammerly, H. (1986). L'expression orale aprestreize ans d'immersion française. The Canadian Modern Language Review, 42, 592-606.

Pica, T.(1983). Adult acquisition of English as a second language under different conditions of exposure. Language Learning, 33, 465-497.

Pica, T., and Doughty, C. (1985). Input and interaction in the communicative language classroom: A comparison of teacher-fronted and group activities. In Gass, S., and Madden, C. (Eds.) Input and Second Language Acquisition. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Pienemann, M. (1989). Is language teachable? Psycholinguistic experiments and hypotheses. Applied Linguistics, 10, 52-79.

Porter, P.A. (1983). Variations in the conversations of adult learners. Ph.D. Dissertation. Stanford University.

Prabhu, N.S. (1982). The communication teaching project. South India. Mimeo. Madras: The British Council.

Reid, J. (1990). The dirty laundry of ESL survey research. TESOL Quarterly, 24, 323-38.

Rutherford, W., & Sharwood Smith, M. (Eds.) 1988. Grammar in Second Language Teaching: A Book of Readings. New York: Harper and Row.

Santos, T. (1989). Replication in applied linguistic research. TESOL Quarterly, 23, 699-702.

Schachter, J. (1988). Second language acquisition and its relationship to universal grammar. Applied Linguistics, 9, 219-235.

Schachter, J., Tyson, A. & Diffley, F. (1976). Learner intuitions of grammaticality. Language Learning, 26, 67-76.

Scherer, G.A.C. & Wertheimer, M.A. (1964). A psycholinguistic experiment in language teaching. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Seliger, H.W., & Shohamy, E. (1989). Second Language Research Methods. Oxford : Oxford University Press.

Sheen, R. (forthcoming) The advantages of exploiting contrastive analysis in teaching and learning a foreign language. IRAL, May, 1994.

Sjoberg, K., & Trope, B. (1969). The value of external direction and individual discovery in learning situations: The learning of a grammatical rule Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research, 13, 233-240.

Smith, P.D. Jr. (1970). A comparison of the cognitive and audio-lingual approaches to foreign language instruction. The Pennsylvania Foreign Language Project. Philadelphia: The Center for Curriculum Development.

Spilka, I.V. (1976). Assessment of second-language performance in immersion programs. The Canadian Modern Language Review, 32, 543-61.

Spolsky, B. (1989). Conditions for second language learning. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Swaffer, J.K., Arens, K., & Morgan, M. (1982). Teacher classroom practices: Redefining method as task hierarchy. Modern Language Journal, 66, 24-33.

Swain, M. (1985). Communicative competence: some roles of comprehensible input and output in its development. In Gass, S., and Madden C. (Eds.) Input and Second Language Acquisition. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

Tucker, G.R., Lambert, W.E., & Rigault, A. (1969). Students' acquisition of French gender distinctions. IRAL, 7, 51-55. Van Patten, B. (1988). How juries get hung: Problems with the evidence for a focus on form in teaching. Language Learning, 38, 243-260.

Van Patten, B. (1990). Attending to form and content in the input. Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 12, 287-301.

Von Elek, T. & Oskarsson , M. (1973). Teaching Foreign Language Grammar to Adults: A Comparative Study. Almquist & Wiksell: Stockholm.

White, L. (1987). Against comprehensible input: The input hypothesis and the development of second language competence. Applied Linguistics, 8, 95-110.

Wolfson, N. (1986). Research methodology and the question of validity. TESOL Quarterly, 20,689-699.

Xiem, N.V. (1969). The role of explanation in the teaching of the grammar of a foreign language: An experimental study of two techniques. Unpublished thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.

Acknowledgement:

I would like to thank Bernard Spolsky, Jack Richards, Kevin Gregg, Kenneth Chastain, Doug MacArthur and two anonymous reviewers for helpful feedback on a previous version of this article. I am, however, entirely responsible for the good and bad herein.

1419

Realizations of English Final Stops by Chinese Speakers in Taiwan

Martha C. Pennington
City Polytechnic of Hong Kong

and

Pei-yu Ku
Ming Chuan College, Taipei

Abstract

This study examines the production of English final stops /p, b, t, d, k, g/ by native Chinese speakers in Taiwan. Sixteen females in four age groups performed structured production tasks involving the reading of CVC items in a word list, sentences, and a connected prose passage. Results show variation for task, final stop, age, and native linguistic variety (Amoy vs. Mandarin).

Introduction

Because languages vary considerably in the types of consonants which occur and because universal linguistic principles predict that certain types of consonants are easier to produce than others, the acquisition of the consonant system in a first or a second language has been a focus of much research. This research has often examined the production of stop consonants— /p, b, t, d, k, g/—in final position, where restrictions on occurrence and interlingual variation are extensive, and where certain linguistic processes (e.g., devoicing and deletion) are predicted to occur to varying degrees, depending on variables such as the speaker's age and language background, and the type of task (e.g., reading or free conversation) used to elicit speech.

The present study examines the production of English final stop consonants by native speakers of Chinese in Taiwan. Mandarin Chinese, which is widely spoken in Taiwan as an official language, is characterized as a monosyllabic tone language, having what Shibatani (1973) calls a Surface Phonetic Constraint (SPC) prohibiting word-final obstruents. Amoy Chinese, the native language of 80% of the population in Taiwan, is also a monosyllabic language like Mandarin. However, Amoy Chinese, like Cantonese and some other Southern Chinese varieties, allows unreleased /p, t, k/ in syllable-final position (Sung, 1973).

Unlike any of these varieties of Chinese, English has a word-final contrast in voiced and voiceless obstruents, that is non-liquid and non-nasal consonants. Therefore, it is expected that native Chinese speakers will have difficulties in producing the final stops of English words. This study attempts to identify the factors which determine which production strategies native Chinese speakers in Taiwan employ to produce final stops in English.

According to previous research on native and non-native speakers of English, the possible strategies include, first, addition, or epenthesis, of a vowel sound as the release of the final consonant. This vocalic release may be either a slight schwa (weak vowel) sound or full vowel sound. Other than these two types of epenthesis, the final stop may be produced with voicing (which is the normal English target for, /b, d, g/ but not for / p, t, k/), or a final voiced stop may be devoiced. Other possible production strategies are: deletion of final stop, production of final stop as glottalized and unreleased, and production of /p, t, k/ as both voiceless and released, which is standard in English and is generally considered the target for voiceless stops (though these are in fact often glottalized, unreleased, and even deleted in normal, casual English speech).

Background

According to Chomsky and Halle (1968), (see also Greenberg, 1966), the consonants /p, t, k/ are less marked—that is, more natural, phonologically speaking—than their voiced counterparts /b, d, g/. Thus, a language which has /b, d, g/ is predicted to have /p, t, k/, but not vice versa. Evidence for the less marked status of /p, t, k/ vis-a-vis /b, d, g/ comes from L1 (child language) acquisition studies and L2 (second language) acquisition studies showing that both groups of learners acquire voiceless consonants before voiced (Hecht & Mulford, 1982; Macken & Ferguson, 1981).

Tarone (1978) summarized the processes operating to shape interlanguage (IL) phonology as negative transfer from the native language (L1), first language acquisition processes, overgeneralization, approximation, and avoidance. Tarone (1980) claimed that the open CV syllable type is a universal preference, and that both epenthesis and deletion seem to be used as strategies of syllable simplification to achieve this universal C V type.

Following Tarone, Eckman (1981a) postulated an interlanguage rule of schwa epenthesis as the rule that Mandarin speakers would generally apply to the production of word-final voiced obstruents. Eckman argued that since Mandarin has no word-final obstruents—and indeed, no voiced obstruents except in word-medial position—Mandarin speakers have difficulty in producing these in English. Therefore, they tend to add a schwa to words ending in voiced obstruents to mirror the CV syllable structure of their native language, which reinforces the universal preference for the open CV syllable. Since Cantonese allows final voiceless stops, Cantonese speakers, in contrast to Mandarin speakers, devoice English final voiced stops in order to conform to the SPC of the L1 while also conforming to the underlying form of the word in English.

According to Major (1987), L2 learners usually do better at pronouncing isolated words because they can pay more attention to producing the word. In Major's view, in spontaneous speech, a speaker pays less attention to form and more attention to content, so that interference from the L1 appears in the surface forms of utterances in the L2. Thus, the production of consonants in final position should show more L1 interference in informal as contrasted with formal speaking tasks.

In Tarone's (1980) study, two Cantonese subjects from Hong Kong were asked to narrate a story from a sequence of pictures. The results showed that the Cantonese speakers in this relatively informal task slightly preferred consonant deletion over epenthesis as a strategy for producing English words that ended in a final obstruent. These results are in opposition to those of Eckman's study, where a variety of highly structured tasks were used. Anderson (1983, 1987) elicited spontaneous English speech by asking twenty Taiwanese Mandarin speakers, half of whom spoke Amoy Chinese as the native variety, to talk about a holiday in their home country. The results, in conformity with Tarone's findings for Cantonese speakers but in opposition to the findings of Eckman for Mandarin speakers, showed not epenthesis but a major preference for deletion.

While elicitation task may be a major factor influencing the strategy applied for producing English final consonants, Weinberger (1987) found in a study of the production of English obstruents by (Northern) Mandarin speakers that the rate of epenthesis remained relatively stable across tasks.

The rate of deletion, in contrast, was higher in a situation providing linguistic context (reading a paragraph or a story) than in a situation not providing linguistic context (reading a word list). For Weinberger, the operative process favoring epenthesis is that the language user values the notion of recoverability, which is the ability to work backward from the surface form of an utterance to obtain a unique underlying representation for that utterance. Whereas adding an epenthetic vowel to a word ending in a consonant maintains the underlying consonant in the surface form of the utterance, deletion of a final consonant makes it difficult to recover the underlying form, that is, the original consonant, which has now been deleted. In fact, it can only be recovered inferentially.

What this means in practice, according to Weinberger, is that a speaker will be less likely to delete a final consonant— and so more likely to select a preservation strategy such as epenthesis instead—when no contextual clues are available to help the listener recover the full form of the intended word. For example, in reading a word list, where there is no context provided beyond the one word that the speaker says, Weinberger predicts that deletion of final stops will occur less often than it would in reading or telling a story, since context ensures a good chance of recoverability of the underlying form of the word, even if it is uttered in an abridged form.

In the same study, Weinberger (1987) also found that his Mandarin subjects demonstrated a high rate of devoicing of word-final voiced obstruents. He proposed that devoicing, like epenthesis, is a strategy used by Mandarin speakers to maintain the integrity of the underlying form of a word. Eckman (1981b) noted the same tendency among his Cantonese subjects, who displayed devoicing of English final voiced stops but avoided deletion in relatively formal, de-contextualized tasks.

Purpose

This study has been developed to investigate the phenomena surrounding the production of final stops in interlanguage by testing whether differences in task, final stop, age, and native linguistic variety affect the production strategies used by Taiwanese speakers in pronouncing CVC words.

According to Weinberger's reasoning, it can be expected that epenthesis will occur more frequently in word list reading than in tasks where words ending in voiced stops are spoken in context. In such contextualized cases, deletion is predicted to occur with a higher frequency than in the word-list task.

Since voiceless /p, t, k/ are more basic consonants than voiced /b, d, g/ (Chomsky & Halle, 1968; Greenberg, 1966), it is expected that /p, t, k/ are easier to produce than /b, d, g/. In final position, it can also be predicted that native speakers of Chinese will have more difficulty with the production of voiced than voiceless stops since the latter but not the former occur finally in some varieties. Therefore, the nature of the stop involved may affect the strategy utilized to produce it.

As noted, L1 children and L2 learners are similar in their language acquisition process, as they both acquire voiceless consonants before voiced ones (Hecht & Mulford, 1982; Macken & Ferguson, 1981). Thus, it is speculated that younger or beginning L2 learners may have a higher frequency of devoicing than older or advanced L2 learners.

Because each variety of Chinese is different in terms of the types of consonants which occur, particularly in final position, it is assumed that Mandarin L1 speakers and Amoy Chinese L1 speakers may employ different strategies to produce the final stops of English words. In particular, it might be expected that the production of English final voiced stops by Amoy Chinese speakers would generally follow the same pattern as other Southern varieties such as Cantonese. According to Eckman's (1981b) line of reasoning, then, it can be predicted that Mandarin speakers would epenthesize English stops in final positon while Amoy speakers would devoice them as a way of conforming to the SPC of their respective L1's while at the same time maintaining the underlying form of the word.

From these spectulations, the following general hypotheses arise to be tested:

HYPOTHESIS 1. The strategies employed by Taiwanese speakers to produce final stops in English CVC sequences will vary by task.

HYPOTHESIS 2. The strategies employed by Taiwanese speakers to produce final stops in English CVC sequences will vary by final stop.

HYPOTHESIS 3. The strategies employed by Taiwanese speakers to produce final stops in English CVC sequences will vary by age group.

HYPOTHESIS 4. The strategies employed by Taiwanese speakers to produce final stops in English CVC sequences will vary by native linguistic variety.

Method

Subjects

The data for the investigation were gathered by the second author, a native Taiwanese. Sixteen Taiwanese subjects were selected, all female Chinese, with four subjects in each of four age groups. Except for the youngest group, subjects were selected in a balanced way, so that each age group includes 3 college graduates and 1 high school graduate. Usually, a high school graduate has 6 years of English schooling and a college graduate has 7 to 10 years of English study.

The first group were all second-year students aged 14-15 in a public junior high school in the suburbs of Taipei. As to the other subjects, some were housewives and some were working at the time of the investigation. Those in the second age group were 20-25 years old, those in the third group were 35-45 years old, and those in the fourth group were 55 or older. All sixteen subjects speak a mutual language, Mandarin, the official language of Taiwan. Nevertheless, they differ in their first language, in that 5 are native Mandarin speakers, 9 native Amoy speakers, 1 originally from Shanghai and 1 originally from Canton. This distribution of native varieties within the subject group represents a typical one for Taiwan. The speaker characteristics are as shown below:

	1st Group	**2nd Group**	**3rd Group**	**4th Group**
Age	14-15	20-25	35-45	55+
Education	1-2 years of junior h.s. [4]	college [3] hi.sch. [1]	college[3] hi. sch. [1]	college [3] hi.sch. [1]
Code Nos.	1A, 1B, 1C, 1D	2A, 2B, 2C, 2DH	3AH, 3B, 3C, 3D	4AH, 4B, 4C, 4D

Native Mandarin Speakers: 1A, 1B, 1C, 2A, 4D
Native Amoy Chinese Speakers: 1D, 2DH, 2B, 2C, 3AH, 3B, 3C, 3D & 4AH
Native Shanghai Dialect Speaker: 4B
Native Cantonese Speaker: 4C

Materials

The first author designed an investigative instrument to systematically vary the contexts in which all of the six English stops would have to be produced by a subject. In this instrument, each stop occurred in final position after the five vowels i, e, a, o, u in CVC syllables, all beginning with the same consonant b. By using each possible voiced/voiceless obstruent after each vowel, 30 CVC items—some real English lexical items and some nonsense words—were produced as test items. These are *bip, bib, bit, bid, bik, big, bep, beb, bet, bed, bek, beg, bap, bab, bat, bad, bak, bag, bop, bob, bot, bod, bok, bog, bup, bub, but, bud, buk,* and *bug*.

The tasks, which vary in the type and amount of context, include reading words in a list, reading the first part of pair sentences shown on a card, reading the second part of pair of sentences shown contiguously on the same card, and reading a short reading passage in which there are 13 occurrences of target words. For the second and third tasks, the card is of the form "The word on the card is ______. ______ is/is not a real English word."

Procedure

Each subject was interviewed individually in Taiwan. The interview took about half an hour and was tape-recorded with a SONY ECM 120 mini-microphone pinned on the collar of the interviewee. The interviews, which were conducted primarily in the subjects' homes, started with a warm-up conversation between the subject and the interviewer to obtain some background information.

After some initial training and discussion, both authors independently transcribed part of the data and compared their transcriptions. This procedure was repeated twice until the authors had each transcribed approximately 30% of the data and had reached agreement on the decision-making procedures and conventions to be used in transcription. The second author then completed transcriptions of the body of recorded data. She later retranscribed the same data, obtaining 95% agreement in her two transcriptions. In cases where her two transcriptions did not agree, a decision was made in consultation with the first author. The hypotheses were tested by one-way chi-square tests or t-tests. For statistical analysis, the decision level was set at .05.

From the transcriptions, the strategies used to produce final stops were tallied in the categories: full vowel release, schwa release, voiced (consonantal) release (= voiced stop target), devoicing, deletion, glottalized unrelease, and voiceless release (= voiceless stop target).

Results

Task

In total, the 16 subjects produced 480 (30 x 16 = 480) final stops for the word list and sentence tasks, and 208 (13 x 16) stops for the reading passage task, as shown in Table 1a. A one-way chi-square test was conducted for each strategy for the three tasks which had equal numbers of items (the word list and sentence reading tasks). The results show significant between-task differences (indicated by * in the table) for full vowel release ($X^2 = 6$, d.f. = 2, $p<.05$), schwa release ($X^2 = 12.97$, d.f. = 2, $p<.05$), devoicing ($X^2 = 47.90$, d.f. = 2, $p<.05$), deletion ($X^2 = 215.67$, d.f. = 2, $p<.05$), glottalized unrelease ($X^2 = 193.86$, d.f. = 2, $p<.05$), and voiceless release ($X^2 = 48.27$, d.f. = 2, $p<.05$). The between-task difference for the word list and sentence reading tasks is not significant in the production of voiced release ($X^2 = 0.53$, d.f. = 2, n.s.). Since significant between-task differences occur for all of the production strategies except voiced release, Hypothesis 1 is supported.

Table 1a. Frequency of Production Strategies for Each Task

STRATEGIES		Word List	1st Sent.	2nd Sent.	Passage
full vowel release	*	8	11	2	2
schwa release	*	52	40	21	12
voiced release		64	62	70	22
devoicing	*	81	62	13	10
deletion	*	13	25	42	19
glottal unrelease	*	36	65	227	96
voiceless release	*	226	215	105	47
		480	480	480	208

Table 1b. Percentage Scores and Rank Orders (in parentheses) of Production Strategies for Each Task

STRATEGIES	Word List	1st Sent.	2nd Sent.	Passage
full vowel release	1.7% (7)	2.3% (7)	0.4% (7)	0.9% (7)
schwa release	10.8% (4)	8.3% (5)	4.4% (5)	5.8% (5)
voiced release	13.3% (3)	12.9% (3)	14.6% (3)	10.6% (3)
devoicing	16.9% (2)	12.9% (3)	2.7% (6)	4.8% (6)
deletion	2.7% (6)	5.2% (6)	8.7% (4)	9.1% (4)
glottal unrelease	7.5% (5)	13.6% (2)	47.3% (1)	46.2% (1)
voiceless release	47.1% (1)	44.8% (1)	21.9% (2)	22.6% (2)
	100%	100%	100%	100%

1457

To compare the reading passage task with the other three tasks, percentage scores and rank orders were calculated for each production strategy. As can be seen in Table 1b, the rank orders of production strategies for the reading passage task and for the second part of the sentence reading task are the same. It can therefore be concluded that the reading passage task is most similar to the second part of the sentence reading task in terms of the distribution of production strategies elicited. It can also be noted that the proportion of glottalized unrelease and deletion is higher, and voiceless release correspondingly lower, in the latter two tasks than in the word list and first part of the sentence reading task.

Final Stop

Again, since only the word list and sentence tasks have the same number of words in each task, they are the basis for the chi-square analysis for final stop. The one-way chi-square values indicate that final stop may be related to its production with schwa release ($X^2 = 88.75$, d.f. = 5, $p<.05$), voiced release ($X^2 = 195.68$, d.f. =5, $p<.05$), or glottalized unrelease ($X^2 = 37.84$, d.f. = 5, $p<.05$). However, the values for devoicing of /b, d, g/ ($X^2 = 2.14$, d.f. = 2, n.s.), for voiceless release of /p, t, k/ ($X^2 = 3.29$, d.f. =2, n.s.), and for deletion of voiced and voiceless stops ($X^2 = 10.04$, d.f. = 5, n.s.) are non-significant, and the frequencies for full vowel release too low for chi-square to be computed. Because some of the production strategies vary by type of final stop, Hypothesis 2 is supported.

Table 2. Frequency of Production Strategies for Each Stop

		VOICED			VOICELESS		
STRATEGIES		**b**	**g**	**d**	**p**	**k**	**t**
full vowel release		7	10	3	2	0	0
schwa release	*	23	39	40	0	3	6
voiced release	*	45	71	75	1	2	1
devoicing		57	57	44	--	--	--
deletion		19	12	19	11	9	7
glottal unrelease	*	89	51	59	64	39	31
voiceless release		--	--	--	162	187	195
		240	240	240	240	240	240

1458

Age

For the analysis in the age categories, the frequencies of all tasks are combined. In this case, each subject produced 103 final stops (30 x 3 = 90 + 13). As a result, the four subjects in each age group produced 412 (4 x 103) final stops in all the tasks.

As can be seen by examining Table 3, the one-way chi-square values show that age may be related to the production of full vowel release (X^2 = 20.65, d.f. = 3, $p<.05$), schwa release (X^2 = 17.93, d.f. = 3, $p<.05$), voiced release (X^2 = 17.16, d.f. = 3, $p<.05$), devoicing (X^2 = 37.01, d.f. = 3, $p<.05$), and deletion (X^2 = 106.85, d.f. = 3, $p<.05$). The age differences are not significant in the production of glottalized unrelease (X^2 = 3.93, d.f. = 3, n.s.) and voiceless release (X^2 = 6.19, d.f. = 3, n.s.). Except in the categories of glottalized unrelease and voiceless release, the production strategies show significant differences by age group. Hence, Hypothesis 3 is supported.

Table 3. Frequency of Production Strategies for Each Age Group

STRATEGIES		Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
full vowel release	*	0	13	9	1
schwa release	*	26	52	23	25
voiced release	*	34	66	75	51
devoicing	*	69	28	19	52
deletion	*	24	9	70	2
glottal unrelease	*	115	109	90	115
voiceless release	*	144	135	126	166
		412	412	412	412

Native Linguistic Variety

The production strategies for all tasks of the five Mandarin and nine Amoy speakers are compared in Table 4. A non-directional (two-tailed) t-test shows significant group differences in the production of full vowel release (t = 2.19, d.f. = 12, $p<.05$) Schwa release (t = 3.83, d.f. = 12, $p<.05$), and devoicing (t = -2.27, d.f. = 12, $p<.05$) for the Amoy and Mandarin speaker groups. The differences between the two groups are not significant in the production of voiced release (t = 0.08, d.f. = 12, n.s.), deletion (t = 0.37, d.f. = 12, n.s.), glottalized unrelease (t = -0.08, d.f. =

Table 4. Descriptive Statistics of Production Strategies for 9 Amoy Chinese and 5 Mandarin Chinese Speakers

		Amoy		Mandarin	
STRATEGIES		Mean	SD	Mean	SD
full vowel release	*	2.4	3.3	0	0
schwa release	*	11.4	6.7	2.4	1.7
voiced release	*	14.3	9.9	13.8	12.8
devoicing	*	7.6	5.5	17.4	8.8
deletion	*	8.6	22.8	5.6	4.9
glottal unrelease		25.4	10.7	25.8	5.8
voiceless release		33.2	11.4	38.0	4.7

12, n.s.), and voiceless release (t = -1.1, d.f. = 12, n.s.). Hypothesis 4 is thus supported.

Discussion

Task

As can be seen in Figures 1a-1c, the "recoverability strategies" of epenthesis (combining the frequencies of full vowel and schwa release), devoicing, and voiceless release have a high occurrence in the word list and first part of the sentence reading task as compared to their occurrence in the reading passage and second part of the sentence reading task. In contrast, the "non-recoverability strategies" of glottalized unrelease and deletion show the opposite pattern, i.e., their occurrence is higher in the latter two tasks than in the former two. It can also be observed from those figures that reading a word list has the highest occurrence of epenthesis, while reading the second part of a pair of sentences and reading a connected prose passage show the highest occurrence of deletion. The ratio of epenthesis to deletion is highest in the task that provided no context, as predicted, and lowest, also as predicted, in the most contextualized tasks. Note, however, that the occurrence of devoicing is higher than that of epenthesis in the non-contextualized task.

Since the results for task show that the proportion of epenthesis to deletion is higher in the non-contextualized task and lower in the contextualized tasks, the earlier result of Weinberger (1987) in regard to recoverability is confirmed. In support of both Eckman (1981b) and Weinberger (1987), final devoicing, which maintains the integrity of the underlying form, is also employed by these subjects.

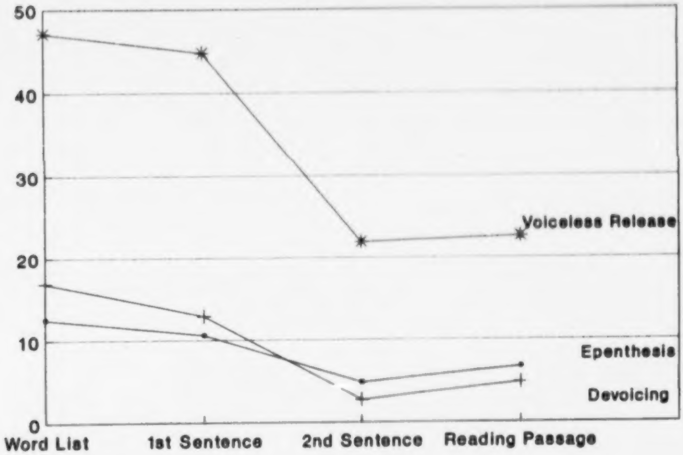


Figure 1a: Percentage of "Recoverability" Strategies by Task

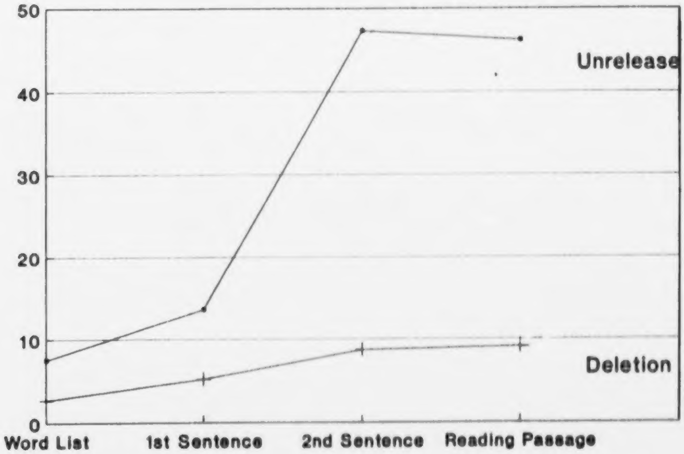


Figure 1b: Percentage of "Non-Recoverability" Strategies by Task

1431

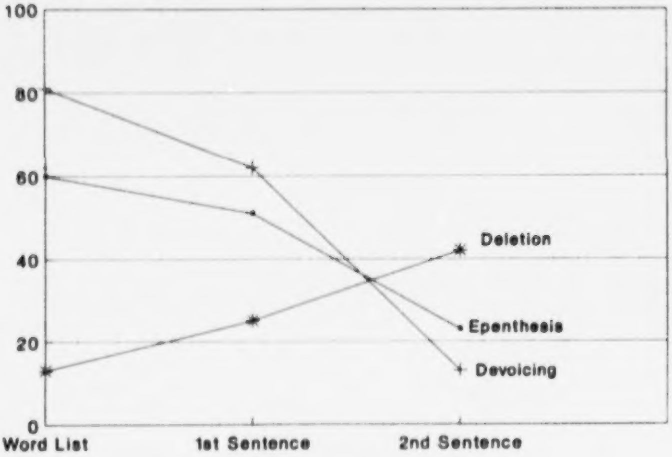


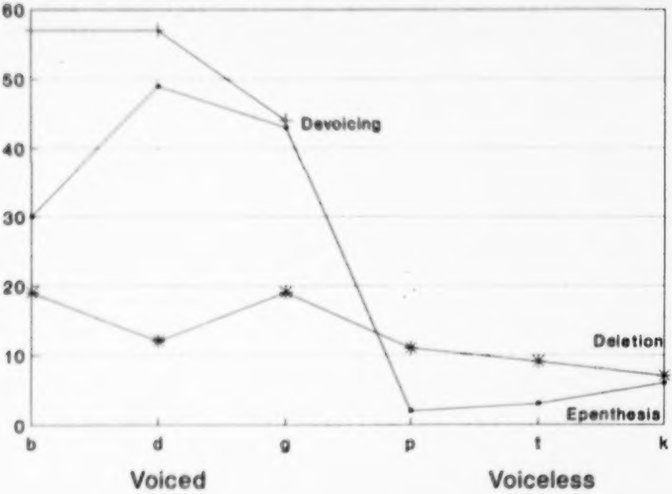
Figure 1c: Selected Strategies by Task

Final Stop

As expected, voiceless stops are produced in a native English manner with higher frequency than their voiced counterparts. These results are consistent with the structure of Chinese, in which voiceless stops and other obstruents predominate over voiced, and with the claim of Chomsky and Halle (1968) that voiceless stops are less marked than their voiced counterparts. As can be seen in Figure 2, the production strategy of epenthesis (full vowel and schwa release) is relatively common for the voiced stops. This strategy, which produces a CVC syllable structure, might also indicate L1 influence, since there is a much greater variety of open syllable types than closed syllable types in all varieties of Chinese. At the same time, the CVCV patterning which results from epenthesis in final position may also indicate the influence of language universals, if, as maintained by authors such as Tarone (1980), there is a universal preference for open syllables. As would be expected, voicing and epenthesis occur only sporadically as production strategies for voiceless stops.

It is noteworthy that among the subjects of this study, glottalized release and deletion are more common production strategies for voiced than voiceless stops. The higher frequency of these non-recoverability

Figure 2: Selected Strategies by Stop



strategies for the final voiced stops is perhaps another indication of their relative unfamiliarity and difficulty for these speakers.

It can be noted that /g/ and /d/ are most often released via some kind of epenthesis—i.e., with full vowel or schwa—while the voiced and voiceless labials /b/ and /p/ are more often glottalized and unreleased. The higher proportion of deletion to epenthesis for /p, b/ as contrasted with /t, d/ and /k, g/ may be a result of the fact that the production of the bilabials is visually recoverable, whereas that of the dentals and velars is not. It is also possible that there is a transfer-based explanation for this phenomenon. The use of a non-recoverability strategy for the bilabial consonants and a recoverability strategy for the alveolar and velar consonants could be a reflection of the relative weakness in Mandarin of bilabial consonants in comparison to other two types, as no bilabial (nasal) consonant occurs in final position in Mandarin, whereas alveolar and velar (nasal) consonants do.

Age

Strategy use appears related to age. As shown in Figure 3, Group 1, the youngest group, as predicted, has the most devoicing. This result may be interpreted as the continuing activation or the re-activation of L1 developmental strategies (Pennington & Richards, 1986). Alternatively, it may be attributed to the fact that the adolescent subjects might have had the least exposure to the target language—and thus to voiced final stops—because of their age. The same observation, i.e., relatively less exposure to English might also explain the fact that the youngest group—although their success in hitting the voiceless release target for voiceless stops was similar to that of the other groups—hit target voicing (voiced release) for the voiced stops the least often of all the other groups. Other differences in results for the different age groups are difficult to interpret because of the lack of a relevant theoretical basis and confounding by the variable of native variety.

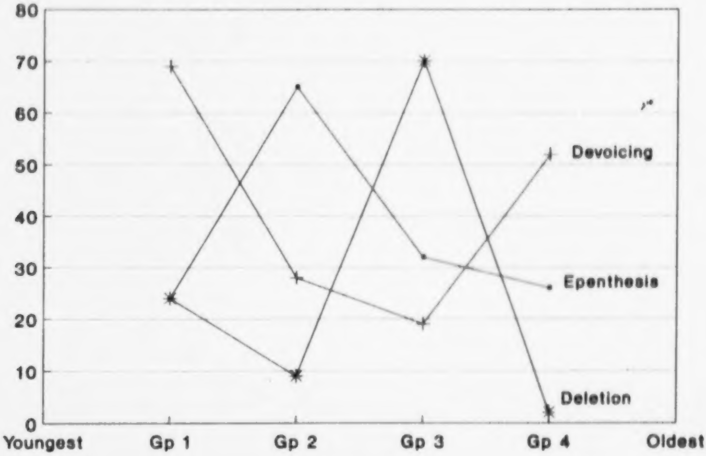


Figure 3: Selected Strategies by Age Group

Native Linguistic Variety

As illustrated in Figure 4, in the present study, the high frequency of devoicing in the Amoy group is consistent with Eckman's (1981b) claims, and the preference in the Mandarin group for devoicing over either epenthesis or deletion is consistent with the findings of Weinberger (1987). The low frequency for epenthesis in the Mandarin group and their preference for deletion over epenthesis does not, however, support Eckman's (1981a,b) claims. The preference in our Taiwanese Mandarin group for

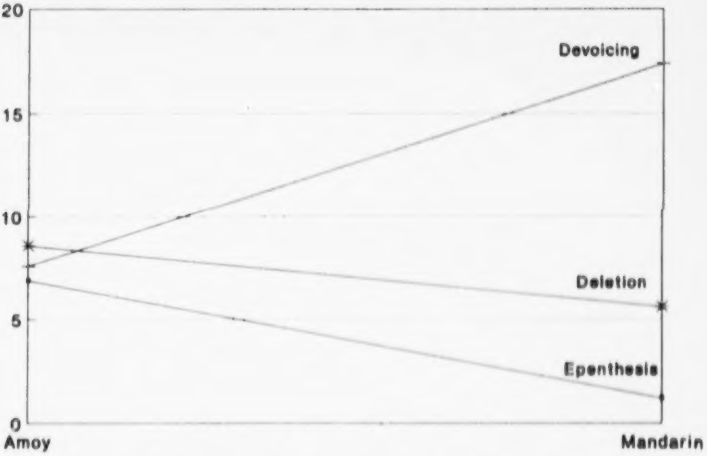


Figure 4: Selected Strategies by Native Linguistic Variety

deletion over epenthesis is consistent with Anderson's (1983, 1987) results for her Taiwanese subjects. However, since her group also included Amoy speakers, the differences in findings for the Amoy and Mandarin groups in fact call Anderson's (1987) findings into question. The higher frequency of deletion over epenthesis in the Mandarin group is consistent with Tarone's (1980) findings for Cantonese speakers. However, one might expect that the distribution of strategies in a group of Cantonese speakers would have more in common with another Southern dialect such as Amoy than a Northern one such as Mandarin. Yet the Amoy group in the present study favors epenthesis over deletion.

The differences in the two groups are not easy to explain, particularly because they do not show a clear relationship to the findings of most of the other researchers cited. This is no doubt in part due to differences between the present study and those which we have reviewed in the areas of elicitation tasks used and types of consonants investigated—generally the voiced but not the voiceless obstruents. Disregarding these differences in design for the moment, we will consider here some new directions for constructing possible explanations for the results.

1435

One possibility is that the tendency of the Amoy Chinese speakers to use epenthesis more than the Mandarin group might be related to the timing differences in the two varieties: Amoy Chinese, like other languages where epenthesis is common—e.g., Portuguese and Japanese— is fairly isosyllabic ("syllable-timed"), while Mandarin is more isoaccentual ("stress-timed"). According to Donegan and Stampe's (1983) theory of accent, languages of the first type tend towards a CV(CV) structure. Another possibility is that the higher use of epenthesis in the Amoy group is an indication that this recoverability strategy is part of a system of stylistic choices for producing final stops in formal contexts in Amoy Chinese but not in Mandarin. Thus, an underlying stylistically motivated epenthesis rule, or an underlying alternate form for words produced under specific (formal) conditions, might exist in Amoy but perhaps not in Mandarin.

The foregoing speculations regarding the causal factors that might underlie the relative proportions of stops produced with a strategy of epenthesis as opposed to one of deletion all invoke the primary influence of the native variety, the L1, as a source of the patterns in the L2. They would therefore run counter to some of the explanations proffered by the authors cited, as many of these centrally invoke L1 developmental patterns and language universals. On the other hand, we note that the comparatively high value for devoicing in the Mandarin group as contrasted to the Amoy group could indicate a reliance on language universals as the "default value" for producing sounds which have no parallel in the L1. Recall that Mandarin has no final stops whereas Amoy Chinese allows unreleased, generally glottalized, final voiceless stops.

The differences in the two groups' results suggest that when subjects representing the two varieties of Amoy and Mandarin are grouped together for purposes of description and analysis, certain differences may be obscured. At the same time, we must hasten to point out that the differences in the two groups of speakers reported here may well represent random or patterned variation in speaker characteristics other than native variety. Thus, for example, the Amoy group contains only one speaker in the youngest age group as well as three adult speakers with only a high school education, while the Mandarin group contains three speakers in the youngest age group and no adult speakers with only a high school education.

As another possibility, Weinberger (1987) speculates that L2 proficiency may affect the use of epenthesis vs. deletion:

> As a learner becomes more proficient, he or she not only acquires target language underlying representations but also becomes more and more cognizant of potential ambiguity. Indeed, these two abilities are related to the development of the notion of recoverability. (p. 413)

Weinberger believes that this line of argument may help to explain the differential results of the studies by Anderson, Eckman, and himself:

> Perhaps, then, Anderson's Mandarin speakers used deletion more than Eckman's Mandarin speakers because they were relatively less proficient in English—they had yet to fully develop an L2 notion of recoverability. Within this framework, the Mandarin subjects in this [i.e., Weinberger's 1987, MCP] study should be categorized with an English proficiency somewhere between Anderson's subjects and Eckman's subjects, since they generally exhibit fairly equal rates of deletion and epenthesis. (pp. 413-414)

According to this line of reasoning, one can speculate— although we have no independent evidence to back up this speculation—that the Mandarin speakers in the present study are less proficient in English than the Amoy speakers.

It could also be that the differences for task, as described earlier, obscure the patterns for native variety. At any rate, since our findings do not converge very sharply with those of others who have worked in this area, there would seem to be a definite need to investigate such variables as the ones discussed here in more detail in relation to native variety of Chinese.

Conclusion

The results of the present study indicate that the type of strategy employed to produce English final stops varies according to the four dimensions of task type, place of articulation of final stop, age of subject, and native linguistic variety. The findings reinforce the claims made by Weinberger (1987) about recoverability of underlying form, while raising some issues for further investigation with respect to other research. In particular, they raise questions about potential differences in performance related to age and native variety that might be fruitfully addressed in future studies.

Acknowledgement

This paper is a substantially revised version of one given on July 3, 1991, under the same title at the conference on SLA in the Chinese Context, which was held at Chinese University of Hong Kong, and published in the earlier version under the title, "Realizations of English final stops by native Chinese speakers," in *Perspectives: Working Papers of the Department of English,* City Polytechnic of Hong Kong, 4(1), 67-77, 1992.

References

Anderson, J. (1983). The markedness differential hypothesis and syllable structure difficulty. In *Proceedings of the Conference on the Uses of Phonology*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University. Reprinted in adapted form in G. Ioup & S.H. Weinberger (Eds.), *Interlanguage phonology*, 1987,279-291. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.

Donegan, P.J., & Stampe, D. (1983). Rhythm and the holistic organization of language structure. *Chicago Linguistic Society, 19*, 337-353.

Eckman, F. (1981a). On the naturalness of interlanguage phonological rules. *Language Learning, 31*, 195-216.

Eckman, F. (1981b). On predicting phonological difficulty in second language acquisition. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 4*, 18-30.

Greenberg, J.H. (1966). Synchronic and diachronic universals in phonology. *Language, 42*, 508-517.

Hecht, B.F., & Mulford, R. (1982). The acquisition of a second language phonology: Interaction of transfer and developmental factors. *Applied Psycholinguistics, 3*, 313-328.

Macken, M.A., & Ferguson, C.A. (1981). Phonological universals in language acquisition. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 379*, 110-129.

Major, R.C. (1987). A model for interlanguage phonology. In G. Ioup & S.H. Weinberger (Eds), *Interlanguage phonology*, 101-124. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.

Pennington, M., & Richards, J.C. (1986). Pronunciation revisited. *TESOL Quarterly. 20*, 207-225.

Shibatani, M. (1973). The role of surface phonetic constraints in phonology, *Language, 49*, 87-106.

Sung, M.M.Y. (1973). A study of literary and colloquial Amoy Chinese. *Journal of Chinese Linguistics, 1*, 414-436.

Tarone, E. (1978). The phonology of interlanguage. In J.C. Richards (Ed.), *Understanding second and foreign language learning*, 15-33. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Tarone, E. (1980). Some influences on the syllable structure of interlanguage phonology. *International Review of Applied Linguistics, 18*, 139-152.

Weinberger, S.H. (1987). The influence of linguistic context on syllable simplification. In G. Ioup & S.H. Weinberger (Eds.), *Interlanguage phonology*, 401-417. Cambridge, MA: Newbury House.

Classroom Interaction and Teacher Questions Revisited

Kam-yin Wu
Chinese University of Hong Kong
Hong Kong

Abstract

As questioning is an important method of teaching, it has received much research attention for many years. However, the studies that have been conducted have so far not exhausted this area of investigation.

The present study aims to investigate the relationships among these four variables in the ESL classroom in Hong Kong: (1) question types, (2) questioning strategies, (3) student attitudes, and (4) patterns of interaction.

The questions of four ESL teachers in Hong Kong were analyzed. The findings indicate that the overwhelming number of responses generated by these questions are restricted rather than elaborate, irrespective of the types of question that elicited them. In addition, referential and open questions are less effective than display and closed questions in eliciting responses from students.

This study suggests that in Hong Kong, ESL students prefer to be modest rather than to show off by giving lengthy responses to teacher questions. In this situation, the use of appropriate questioning strategies, e.g. probing, deserves special attention if teachers want their students to produce longer and syntactically more complex answers.

Introduction

It is now generally agreed that questioning is an important method of teaching. Aschner (1961), for example, calls the teacher "a professional question maker" and suggests that question asking is "one of the basic ways by which the teacher stimulates student thinking and learning" (quoted in Gall 1970:707). Gall regards the belief that questions play a significant role in teaching as "a truism" (1970:707).

Given their importance to education, it is not surprising that questions "have been the focus of research attention in both content classrooms and language classrooms for many years" (Nunan, 1990:187). In the content classroom, cognitive levels of questions have been studied in relation to student achievement (Winne, 1979; Redfield & Rousseau, 1981). In the language classroom, questions have tended to be examined as a means of eliciting more or less linguistic output and involving students in interaction. (See review of the literature below.)

While these studies have shed much light on the relationships between teacher questions and student performance, they have not exhausted the subject. Indeed, in his review of teacher questions in the language classroom, Nunan (1989:30) claims that research into the relative effects of display and referential questions is still in its initial stages. He further points out that previous studies have not taken into account a few factors that may have an effect on student responses - factors like "the topic area, the learner's background knowledge, and contextual and interpersonal variables" (1989:31).

It was against this context that the present study was conceived. Its purpose is twofold. First, it aims to investigate the relationships among these four variables in the ESL classroom in Hong Kong: (1) question types, (2) questioning strategies, (3) student attitudes, and (4) patterns of interaction. Second, it attempts to explain how this classroom-based research can inform and guide classroom practices.

The sections that follow can be divided into six main parts. The first part defines some key terms used in this paper. It is followed, in the second part, by a review of three related studies on teacher questions in the language classroom. Part 3 describes the sample of data on which this study is based, and gives the procedures used in collecting it. The next two parts then examine the relationships among question types, questioning strategies, student attitudes and patterns of interaction. The last part offers some suggestions on the use of teacher questions in the ESL classroom in Hong Kong. Analysis and findings in this paper are illustrated by classroom transcripts.

Definition of terms

Before reviewing the literature on teacher questions, some terms need to be defined:

Question

For the purpose of this paper, the term "question" is used as a functional or speech act label, and refers to an utterance that seeks information. A question is characteristically expressed in the interrogative form, but "question" and "interrogative" are not synonymous terms. For example, "Would you speak louder?" is syntactically an interrogative, but functionally a request. For this reason, it is not regarded as a question in this study. As another example, consider: "Tell me why." Grammatically, this is an imperative, but its illocutionary force is to seek information. As such, it is classified as a question in this study.

In English, questions can be expressed through these linguistic means:

(1) Interrogative sentences:

e.g. "Who belongs to Group 1?"

(2) Imperative sentences:

e.g. "Tell me why."

(3) Declarative sentences:

e.g. A: "That means your brother is 11 years younger than you." (uttered with falling intonation)

B: "Yes."

Referential question

This is Long and Sato's (1983) term, and refers to a question to which the teacher does not already know the answer. For example: "Have you finished?"

Display question

This is also Long and Sato's (1983) term, and refers to a question to which the teacher already knows the answer. In asking a display question, the teacher does not seek an answer to resolve some doubts. Rather, her/his purpose is to make the students display some previously-learned knowledge. For example: "What do we call this kind of person?"

Closed question

This is a question which expects a small number of possible responses as its acceptable answers. For example, "Can everybody see that?" is answerable by "yes" or "no".

Open question

This is a question to which a number of different answers would be acceptable. For example: "Why do you think four is a very good number?"

Related studies

A number of studies have been conducted on the use of teacher questions in the second language classroom. Three will be reviewed here. In the first study, Long and Sato (1983) examined the forms and functions of ESL teachers' questions by comparing them with questions found in real-life discourse. They concluded that: (1) ESL teachers ask more display questions than referential questions; and (2) ESL teachers ask more display questions than native speakers in informal conversation with non-native speakers outside the classroom.

In the second study, White and Lightbown (1984) counted the number of questions in four ESL classes, and found that: (1) teachers they observed asked almost all the questions; and (2) students were rarely given enough time to formulate their answers before the teachers rephrased their questions or asked another student to answer.

In the third study, Brock (1986) investigated the effects of referential questions on ESL classroom discourse. Working in simulated classroom situations, Brock carried out experimental studies with four experienced ESL teachers, two of whom were trained to include referential questions in their teaching. It was found that these questions elicited longer and grammatically more complex responses from students than display questions. This conclusion was also reached by Nunan (1987) in his analysis of five communicative language lessons.

To summarize, research findings in the literature reveal that: (1) teachers in general ask most of the questions; (2) most teacher questions are display questions; and (3) display questions elicit shorter and syntactically less complex answers from students.

As there is some consensus on these issues, one may ask: "Why this study?" There are two reasons for it. First, most studies on teacher questions have so far been carried out in classrooms in the West. Relatively little research has been conducted in language classrooms in places like Hong Kong, where cultural values are different and where the unfavourable teaching context (e.g. large class size) is a practical constraint on what teachers may be able to achieve. Second, as pointed out above, previous studies have tended to neglect factors like student attitudes and interpersonal variables on questioning and answering behaviour in the classroom. It is hoped that the present study will shed some light on these issues.

The Study

Research questions

The research questions for this study are:

What are the patterns of display vs. referential questions?

What are the patterns of open vs. closed questions?

What questioning strategies do teachers use?

What kinds of response are elicited by different types of teacher questions?

What types of question and questioning strategy are most effective in eliciting responses from students?

What are the patterns of classroom interaction?

Subjects and data collection procedures

The data which this study draws on come from a videotape and an audiotape of four English language lessons recorded of four teachers who taught in two secondary schools.

The four teachers are native speakers of Cantonese and have all received teacher-training in either a College of Education or a local university. All have taught English for at least five years. Teacher A is male whereas Teachers B, C, and D are female.

The two schools, S1 and S2, are Anglo-Chinese schools, and are quite representative of: (1) the academically good schools and (2) the average standard schools in Hong Kong respectively.

The classes whose lessons were recorded range from F.1 to F.4. Details about the school and the level, type, and duration of classes selected from each teacher are given below:

Teacher	School	Level	Type of lesson	Duration
TA	S1	F.2	General English	35 mins.
TB	S1	F.3	Reading Comprehension	15 mins.
TC	S1	F.1	General English	15 mins.
TD	S2	F.4	Reading Comprehension	10 mins.

TA = Teacher A, TB = Teacher B, TC = Teacher C, TD = Teacher D, S1 = School 1, S2 = School 2

At the time of recording, the four teachers were attending a teacher refresher course for teachers of English at a government institution in Hong Kong. The lessons they taught were part of their action research. The students they had were not their regular students.

The lessons by Teachers A, B, and C were videotaped by a laboratory technician using a video camera. The one by Teacher D was audiotaped. In none of these lessons was this researcher present as an observer.

Analysis of data

The videotapes and audiotape were transcribed by this researcher, who then analyzed the transcripts with reference to the research questions stated above.

What are the patterns of display vs. referential questions?

In terms of display vs. referential questions, the four teachers in the sample, quite contrary to what the literature may lead one to expect, do not ask significantly more display questions than referential questions. Indeed, the reverse is true for Teachers A, B, and D, as shown in the following table:

Table 1: Number and percentage of display and referential questions asked by the 4 teachers

	Display questions		**Referential questions**	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**
TA	37	40.7	54	59.4
TB	11	39.3	17	60.7
TC	21	56.8	16	43.2
TB	16	23.2	53	76.8

What are the patterns of open vs. closed questions?

With reference to the use of open vs. closed questions, the patterns found in the data conform with the generalization made in the literature. All four teachers asked more closed questions than open questions. In particular, over 85% of all the questions asked by Teachers B and C are closed questions, as indicated in Table 2 below:

Tabel 2: Number and percentage of open and closed questions asked by the 4 teachers

	Open questions		Closed questions	
	n	%	n	%
TA	39	42.9	52	57.2
TB	4	14.3	24	85.7
TC	5	13.5	32	86.5
TB	31	44.9	38	55.1

What questioning strategies do teachers use?

Questioning strategies refer to strategies teachers use to elicit verbal responses from students. The following categories are found in the data:

(1) Rephrasing: A question is expressed in another way. For example:

[TB/F3][1]
T: Then can anybody tell me the advantages of being an air stewardess? The advantages.
Ss: φ
T: How can they benefit from being an air stewardess?

(2) Simplification: This may be regarded as a kind of rephrasing by means of which a situation is simplified so that students can cope with it. For example:

[TD/F4]
T: Er, if you were the only child in your family, then what other advantages you may have? What points, what other good points you may have?

This is an instance of linguistic simplification which pertains lexical substitution, i.e. "good points" is used instead of "advantages".

(3) Repetition: A question is repeated in the hope that a verbal response will be elicited. For example:

[TB/F3]
T: Have you been to the airport before?
Ss: φ
T: [points to a girl] Have you been to an airport before?

(4) Decomposition: An initial question is decomposed into two or more parts so that an answer may be obtained. For example:

[TD/F4]
1 T: Who are they?
2 S: φ
3 T: Your? How many sisters?
4 S: No sister.
5 T: No sister. How many brothers?
6 S: Three brothers.

In this example, the teacher's initial question is decomposed into two questions (turns 3 and 5).

(5) Probing: A question is followed up by one or more other questions so that the teacher can solicit more responses from a student. For example:

[TD/F4]
T: Do you think it's a good number?
S: Yes.
T: Yes? Why do you think it's good to have two brothers and one sister?

Tabel 3: Frequency of the questioning strategies used by the 4 teachers

	Rephrasing	Simplification	Repetition	Decomposition	Probing
TA	14	2	13	1	1
TB	1	3	11	2	1
TC	1	3	0	0	1
TB	1	3	8	3	22

While strategies (1), (2), (3) and (4) are typically used when an initial question fails to elicit any verbal replies, strategy (5) is employed to encourage students to expand upon their answers. Table 3 indicates the number of times these strategies are used by each of the four teachers.

What kinds of response are elicited by different types of teacher question?

In this paper, responses solicited by teacher questions are classified into two categories: (1) restricted and (2) elaborate. A restricted response consists of a word or a simple sentence, for example, "Yes" and "They can increase their knowledge". In contrast, an elaborate response contains two or more sentences which are linked by various cohesive or coherent devices. An example is: "In China, my mother is a teacher, my father is a teacher. Oh, she go finish by bicycle, er, got to ...".4

The overwhelming number of responses generated by the teacher questions in the sample are restricted answers, irrespective of whether the questions that elicited them are display, referential, open, or closed. Here are some examples:

Display, closed

[TC/F1]
T: Can you touch the ceiling?
Ss: No.

Display, open

[TA/F2]
T: You have to know people's what? People's? Yes?
S: Name.

Referential, closed

[TB/F3]
T: Have you been to an airport before?
S: N[illegible].

Referential, open

[TD/F4]
T: Where do you see it?
S: On television.

Not all teacher questions succeeded in generating responses. In each of the four lessons analyzed, a significant number of display and referential questions fail to solicit any verbal responses from students. The exact numbers are given below:

Tabel 4: Number and percentage of display and referential questions that do not elicit any verbal responses from students

	Display questions		Referential questions	
	n	%	n	%
TA	24	64.9	45	83.3
TB	9	81.8	13	76.5
TC	2	9.5	11	68.8
TB	4	25.0	22	41.5

It can be seen that, compared with display questions, referential questions tend to be less effective as a means of eliciting responses.

The number of open and closed questions that are unanswered in the four lessons is presented in the next table.

Tabel 5: Number and percentage of open and closed questions that do not elicit any verbal responses from students

	Open questions		Closed questions	
	n	%	n	%
TA	30	76.9	39	75.2
TB	4	100.0	18	75.0
TC	5	100.0	8	25.0
TB	12	38.7	14	36.8

Note that closed questions are more effective than open questions in eliciting verbal responses from students.

What are the patterns of classroom interaction?

The findings of this study confirm the dominance of the IRF (initiation, response, follow-up) pattern of teacher-student discourse. This three-part structure of classroom conversations is illustrated below:

[TC/F1]
T: [points to a student] Can you? I
S: Yes. R
T: Yes, good. F

In this exchange, the teacher asks a display question in the first utterance. It elicits an answer from the students in the second utterance, which is then evaluated positively by the teacher. Here is another example:

[TA/F2]
T: Do you think that your interview is good? I
S: No. R
T: No. F

In this exchange, the teacher's referential question elicits a negative reply from the student. The teacher's follow-up move acknowledges that this response has been heard.

A scrutiny of the exchanges in the four lessons reveals that in all of them, initiative lies largely with the teacher (cf. Sinclair and Brazil, 1982, quoted in Tibbetts, 1991:151). Consider:

[TC/F1]
1 T: Can you touch the ceiling?
2 Ss: No.
3 T: [points to a student] Can you?
4 S: No, I can't.
5 T: [points to a student] What about you?
6 S: No, I can't.
7 T: [points to another student]
8 S: (...)
9a T: OK. All of you can't touch the ceiling, right?
9b Now, er, it seems that you enjoy doing exercise. And for my school, it is going to have a sports day next month.

In this example, the teacher asks questions (turns 1, 3, 4) and nominates students to answer them (turns 3, 5, 7). She chooses the topic for discussion (turn 1), closes it (turn 9a), and introduces another topic for conversation (turn 9b). In short, she is in complete control of turn-takings and the direction of classroom discourse. The students have no influence over its development.

The submissive role of the students is also evident from the fact that in the four recorded lessons, no students take the initiative to seek clarification or check confirmation from the teachers. In addition, there is not a single learner question. There is no doubt that power distribution is unequal in all four lessons.

Discussion

Three issues arising from the findings given above will now be discussed.

Types of teacher question and interaction

Contrary to the conclusions reached by Brock (1986) and Nunan (1987), referential questions do not result in longer and more complex language by students in the present study. Indeed, they tend to be less effective than display questions in eliciting student responses. The following is a typical example of what happens when the teacher asks referential questions:

[TD/F4]
T: So do you like them all?
S: Er, yes.
T: Yes. Tell me why.
S: Er, they are, er, they help me, er, they help me very much.
T: How do they help you?
S: Er, ... they
Ss: [laughter]
S: They teach my er homework.
T: Yes. When you don't understand how to do your homework, they help you. Did they do your home-, do the homework for you?
S: Of course not.

Two features are apparent here: (1) the student's responses are restricted, and (2) the teacher output is longer than that of the student.

The longest answer solicited by a referential question occurs in the lesson by Teacher D:

[TD/F4]
T: Why do you think it's too many?
S: Because my brother is very little. He was born when I was 11 years old. I think my brother is very noisy.

This is the only elaborate response found in the data, and it consists of only three sentences.

In his study, Nunan (1987) suggests that other features besides "an increase in the length and complexity of student turns" also appear when teachers ask referential questions. These features are (1) content-based topic nominations by learners, (2) student-student interactions, and (3) the negotiation of meaning by students and teacher, with a concomitant increase in the number of clarification requests and comprehension checks. In his study, "there is even an instance of student disagreeing with the teacher".

None of these features, some of which were already discussed in the previous section, are found in the present study. Consider the following example, where the teacher shifts from referential questions (turns 1, 3b) to display questions (turns 5b, 7b):

[TD/F4]
1 T: Er, if you were the only child in your family, then what other advantages you may have? What points, what other good points you may have?
2 S: It's quieter for my study.
3a T: Yes? It's quieter for you to study.
3b Yes? Any other? Any?
4 S: No more.
5a T: OK. Fine. Now, another picture.
5b What can you see from this picture? ... Yes? Now, what can you see from this picture? Er, [name of a student]
6 S: A child and a man.
7a T: Yes. There are a child and a man.
7b Can you tell what their relationship is?
8 S: Father and son.

Both types of question generate similar patterns of interaction. The tripartite IRF structure appears, and student responses are restricted.

This discussion suggests that in the Hong Kong context, referential questions may not necessarily result in more student output or better-quality classroom interaction. Other factors, e.g. students' attitudes towards questioning and answering behaviour in the classroom, and the questioning strategies used by the teacher, need to be considered, too.

Student attitudes and interaction

Student attitudes play a significant role in shaping the patterns of classroom interaction. In a paper entitled "Sociocultural factors counteract the instructional efforts of teaching through English in Hong Kong", Wong (1984) suggests some "rules" governing the use of English in Hong Kong secondary schools. Those that are relevant to the present study are as follows:

(1) You should not demonstrate verbal success in English in front of your peers.

(2) You should hesitate and show difficulty in arriving at an answer.

(3) You should not answer the teacher voluntarily or enthusiastically in English.

(4) You should not speak in fluent English.

Taken together, these "rules" suggest two patterns of classroom interaction, both of which appear in the data.

First, students are reluctant to volunteer to answer questions in class. In the data, general solicits almost invariably fail to elicit any verbal responses. For example:

[TB/F3]
T: Girls, have you ever thought of being an air stewardess?
[a pause of 5 seconds] You, have you? Yes, the girl sitting in the third row. Yes, you.,
S: No.

Here, the teacher's first question is followed by a 5 second wait-time, which White & Lightbown (1984) regard as reasonable. However, it does not succeed in getting any student to speak up, so the teacher has to nominate. This nomination works, as a question demands an answer in an adjacency pair theory. Other examples from the data reveal that students in general have a habit of waiting to be called upon before answering. Of all the questions asked in the four lessons, only one is answered by a student without nomination (in lesson TA/F2).

Second, when students are called upon to respond, they may prefer to hesitate and give short answers where possible so that they do not give their peers the impression that they are showing off. This partly explains why even though a large number of referential and open questions are asked in the four lessons, only one elicits an elaborate answer.

Questioning strategies and interaction

If teachers are concerned with the quantity of student output (and this concern is justified as students need the chance to produce "pushed output", see Swain, 1985), it is not enough to focus on the types of teacher questions only. Questioning strategies must be considered as well.

An ineffective strategy is to ask a series of questions before a student is given the chance to speak. If this strategy is used, only the last question is likely to elicit any answer. The other questions are often ignored. For example, in the next excerpt, Teacher A's first two questions are not answered in subsequent student turns:

[TA/F2]

T: What did you do in your interview? What questions did you ask in your interview? What did you do before asking questions? What did you do before asking questions? [points to a student] Yes, you look very smart today.

Indeed, in this particular example, the series of questions confuse the students rather than help them to recall what they did.

Two effective questioning strategies are identified in the data. The first one is probing, which involves encouraging students to elaborate on their answers. Compare:

[TB/F3]

T: Girls, have you ever thought of being an air stewardess? You, have you? Yes, the girl sitting in the third row. Yes, you.

S: No.

T: No, you haven't thought of that. OK? Now, maybe it's too young for you to make your decision for your future career. OK? Therefore you can't make up your mind yet.

[TD/F4]
T: Then, what is the numb-, the ideal number of children.
S: Er, ...
Ss: [laughter]
S: Just one child is enough.
T: Yes. You think one child is enough. Why?
S: No more fighting.
Ss: [laughter]
T: No more fighting. Then, er, what other advantages do you think you may have, if you were the only child in the family?
S: It's quieter for my study.

In the first excerpt, Teacher B accepts the student's reply which she herself then elaborates on. As a result, she produces 54 words whereas the student says only one. By contrast, Teacher D in the second excerpt follows up her initial question with two related questions. This enables the student to have more chances to speak. As another example, compare:

[TA/F2]
1 T: Do you think that your interview is good?
2 S: No.
3 T: No. [uttered with falling intonation]

[TD/F4]
1 T: How many brothers and sisters do you have?
2 S: Er, I have one brother and one er sister.
3 T: Yes? [uttered with rising intonation]
4 S: And, er, one little, one younger brother.

In the first excerpt, the teacher's "No" (turn 2), said with falling intonation, closes the exchange. In contrast, the teacher's follow-up move in the second excerpt (turn 3), uttered with rising intonation, indicates that she wants the student to continue to speak. This is followed by a student turn, which keeps the conversation going. Had Teacher A in the first excerpt pronounced his "No" with rising intonation (and used appropriate gestures), he could perhaps have elicited more information from the student.

Another effective questioning strategy identified in the data is decomposition. This involves breaking down an initial question into several parts so that a response may be obtained. The following example, which was quoted above, indicates how the strategy can help students to respond to questions they find difficult to answer:

[TD/F4]
T: Who are they?
S: φ
T: Your? How many sisters?
S: No sister.
T: No sister. How many brothers?
S: Three brothers.

Conclusion and implications for teaching

The small sample of teachers, students, and schools involved in this study means that generalisations should not be made too hastily. However, a few implications for English teachers and teacher educators are worth discussing.

First, both display and referential questions have important functions to perform in language teaching and learning, and will thus always have a place in the ESL classroom. However, the use of different types of teacher questions does not guarantee that the quantity or quality of classroom interaction will be improved. Attention must also be paid to questioning strategies, which this study suggests should be better made use of to elicit oral responses from students and develop their grammatical competence. In this connection, Swain (1985) contends that for grammatical competence to develop, it is insufficient for learners to receive comprehensible input only. They must also be encouraged to produce output so that their hypotheses about their second language (L2) can be tested. She suggests that when learners produce output, they will pay attention to grammar or the means of expression. Sufficient output, then, will help learners improve their grammatical knowledge of L2. The question is: "How can output be elicited from learners?" This study suggests that one way is through questioning. The analysis presented above demonstrates that referential questions do not necessarily lead to more output from learners, but appropriate questioning strategies, e.g. probing, do. The implication of this is that these questioning strategies should be fully exploited in the classroom to help students develop their grammatical competence. Teachers also need to know that in some classrooms, it may not be too helpful to expect a voluntary answer to a general solicit. Students, especially the shy ones, may need to be nominated, at least occasionally.

Second, if appropriate questioning strategies can bring about desirable educational goals, it implies that teacher training courses should make teachers aware of these strategies and their value. In addition, workshops should be conducted to provide teachers with practice in using these effectively. More importantly, teachers should be guided to view questioning strategies in their proper perspective: as a means to help students develop and improve their L2.

Third, students in general seem to be reluctant to answer questions voluntarily or enthusiastically. This implies that the traditional question-answer-feedback teaching model should be supplemented by (but not replaced with) an alternative pattern of discourse. One possibility is the use of pair work and group work, where students are given chances to engage in exploratory talk and negotiation of meaning. The advantages of group work are given in Long and Porter (1985).

To conclude, this study demonstrates that student attitudes play a very significant role in shaping classroom interaction. One reason why some students in Hong Kong are reluctant to answer questions in the classroom is that they are afraid of being evaluated negatively by the teacher in front of their peers. To improve this situation, teachers need to know what follow-up moves are most conducive to second language learning, and what most harmful. This can be the subject for another piece of classroom-based research.

NOTES

1. For a study done in the Hong Kong context, which deals with teacher questions as well as some other issues, see Tsui (1985).
2. These are equivalent to grades 7-10 in the American system.
3. The transcription conventions used are:
    a. The teacher and class are given as follows, for example:
    TB/F3 : Teacher B, Form 3
    b. Pauses : A pause is indicated by ...
    c. No response : This is indicated by
    d. Inaudible items : These are indicated by dots and parentheses, for example: (...).
4. This example is taken from Nunan 1990:197.

REFERENCES

Allwright, D. & Bailey, K. M. 1991. Focus on the language classroom. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Banbrook, L. & Skehan, P. 1989. Classrooms and display questions. Research in the language classroom, ed. by C. Brumfit & S. Mitchell, pp. 141-152. London; MEP/British Council.

Brock, C. 1986. The effects of referential questions on ESL classroom discourse. TESOL Quarterly 20:1. 47-59.

Chappelle, C. A. & Roberts, C. 1986. Ambiguity tolerance and field independence as predictors of proficiency in English as a Second Language. Language Learning 36, 27-45.

Dunn, R., Beaudry, J. & Klavas, A. 1989. Survey of research on learning styles. Educational Leadership 46. 50-58.

Gall, M. D. 1970. The use of questions in teaching. Review of Educational Research 40:5. 707-721.

Griffiths, R. T. & Sheen, R. "Embedded figures in the landscape : A reappraisal of L2 research on Field Dependence/Independence". Applied Linguistics, 13:2, 133-148.

Long, M. H. & Sato, C. J. 1983. Classroom foreigner talk discourse : forms and functions of teachers' questions. Classroom oriented research in second language acquisition, ed. by H. W. Seliger & M. H. Long, pp. 268-286. Rowley, MA : Newbury House.

Long, M. H. & Porter, P. A. 1985. Group work, interlanguage talk and second language acquisition. TESOL Quarterly 19:2. 207-228.

Nunan, D. 1987. Communicative language teaching ; making it work. ELT Journal 41:2. 136-145.

Nunan, D. 1989. Understanding language classrooms. New York; Prentice Hall.

Nunan, D. 1990. The questions teachers ask. JALT Journal 12:2. 187-202.

Redfield, D. L. & Rousseau, E. W. 1981. A meta-analysis of experimental research on teacher questioning behavior. Review of Educational Research 51:2. 237-246.

Sinclair, J. McH. & Coulthard, R. M. 1975. Towards an analysis of discourse. Oxford ; Oxford University Press.

Swain, M. 1985. Communicative competence: some roles of comprehensible input and comprehensible output in its development. Input and second language acquisition, ed. by S. Gass & D. Madden, pp. 235-253. Rowley, MA : Newbury House.

Takeuchi, O., Edasawa, Y. & Nishizaki, K. 1990. Do films improve EFL students' listening ability? Language Laboratory, 27.

Tibbetts, R. 1991. Planning for interaction in the Hong Kong classroom. Where from here? Issues relating to the planning, managing and implementation of language teaching and training programmes in the 90s, ed. by V. Bickley, pp. 150-162. Hong Kong : Institute of Language in Education, Education Department.

Tsui, B. M. A. 1985. Analyzing input and interaction in second language classrooms. RELC Journal 16:1. 8-32.

Wallace, W. & Oxford, R. 1992. Disparity in learning styles and teaching styles in the ESL classroom; does this mean war? AMTESOL Journal, 1 45-68.

White, J. & Lightbown, P. M. 1984. Asking and answering in ESL classes. Canadian Modern Language Review 40. 228-244.

Winne, P. H. 1979. Experiments relating teachers' use of higher cognitive questions to student achievement. Review of Educational Research 49:1. 13-50.

Wong, C. 1984. Sociocultural factors counteract the instructional efforts of teaching through English in Hong Kong. University of Washington. Ms.

1439

Culture and Learning: A Study of the learning style preferences of Japanese Students

Ken Hyland
International Pacific College
New Zealand

Abstract

Following a brief review of recent research on learning styles and the learning experiences of Japanese students, this article describes a replication of a study by Reid (1987) of learning style preferences of ESL learners in the US. A questionnaire asking students to identify their perceptual learning preferences was administered in either Japanese or English to 440 students at 8 Universities in Japan and to Japanese students at a tertiary college in New Zealand. Statistical analysis shows that variables such as sex, college level, years of English study, number of semesters with a foreign teacher and study overseas are all related to learning style differences. Japanese students appear to exhibit no major learning style but have multiple minor learning styles. The study concludes by discussing the implications of the results for TESOL teachers working with Japanese students.

Introduction

Culture is an important, but often neglected variable in second language learning. ESL teachers have long suspected that the meanings students assign to classroom activities and the success they achieve in them may be at least partially due to their previous learning experiences, but this has been difficult to determine with certainty. The significance of culture in learning is becoming increasingly apparent however and an important area where culture and education overlap is that of learning styles. Interest in learning styles is closely related to the idea of "learner-centred" instruction as it implies a need to consider information about the learner when designing methods and content.

Learning style refers to a person's natural, habitual and preferred ways of learning. Keefe defines it as "characteristic cognitive, affective and physiological behaviours that serve as relatively stable indicators of how learners perceive, interact with and respond to the learning environment" (Keefe, 1987:5). Every person has " a consistent way of responding to and using stimuli in the context of learning" (Claxton & Ralston, 1978:1) which is created by the individual's psychological make-up and socio-cultural background. Style is said to be "the most important concept to demand attention in education in many years [and] is at the core of what it means to be a person" (Guild & Garger, 1985:viii).

Learning style research therefore suggests that people make sense of the world in different ways, more importantly however, these ways are partly created by cultural experiences. As Oxford et al (1992:441) point out:

> *Although culture is not the single determinant, and although many other influences intervene, culture often does play a significant role in the learning styles unconsciously adopted by many participants in the culture.*

The importance of these personal characteristics to EFL teachers is that the same teaching technique may be effective for some learners and useless for others. Learning style is therefore central to the growing interest in individualised instruction as it can help provide a basis for a more personalised approach to student counselling, teaching and assessment. By selecting appropriate teaching styles, methodologies and course organisation, improvements in learner satisfaction and performance can be achieved (e.g. Dunn et al, 1989). Despite the growing interest in learning styles however, little is known about the learning styles of specific cultural groups.

This article briefly reviews the recent literature on learning styles and on Japanese learning experiences. It goes on to discuss a study into the perceptual learning style preferences of Japanese students. Finally the implications of the data for EFL instruction are reviewed.

Learning Styles Research

Learning style has generated considerable attention and research in recent years as a means of identifying the significance of various individual characteristics on learner achievement. Essentially the concept expresses the simple idea that each learner has a clear and coherent set of learning likes and dislikes, but studies have addressed an enormously wide range of factors. Keefe (1988) lists some 40 ingredients of style including cognitive processing habits, personality traits, perceptual responses and study and instructional preferences. Until recently research focused on the cognitive dimension of style, emphasising the individual psychological strategies of information processing. These studies tended to describe bi-polar characteristics of a single dimension such as serialist/holist, extrovert/introvert, reflective/impulsive, holistic/analytical, studial/experiential, and so on.

These are all incorporated into Witkin's influential construct of Field Dependence/Field Independence, or global versus analytic approaches to experience (Witkin et al, 1977). In the context of L2 acquisition, this research suggests that Field Independent learners out-perform Field Dependent learners in both form focused and communicative tests (e.g. Day, 1984; Chappelle & Roberts, 1986; Hansen & Stansfield, 1981). The theoretical significance of these concepts as components of second language aptitude is uncertain however (Skehan, 1989; Chappelle & Green, 1992).

The research has been criticised for ignoring learning contexts and describing invisible mental phenomena (e.g. Riley, 1988) while the central constructs of Field Dependence/Independence have come under increasing attack as unreliable, unscientific, culturally biased and irrelevant to an explanation of second language learning (Ellis, 1985; Willing, 1988:44; Griffiths & Sheen, 1992).

A rather different approach to the study of learning style has sought to incorporate physical and effective aspects of learning as well as the psychological functioning dimension. This concept of learning style is more general and socially based than the cognitive orientation, focusing on the more external and concrete aspects of style. There are numerous models which examine different aspects of learning styles. Some consider the effect of environmental elements such as lighting, temperature or seating arrangements. Some focus on perceptual preferences for visual or auditory input. Others examine instructional factors such as grouping methods or time of day preferences. Comprehensive studies include the NASSP task force which profiled 24 independent subscales (Keefe, 1987, 1988) and Dunn and Dunn (1979) who identified 21 learning styles.

This paper focuses on two elements of learning style which I believe are of the most practical concern to teachers because they directly influence methodological decisions. These are grouping preference and perceptual modalities.

Perceptual learning styles refer to "the variations among learners in using one or more senses to understand, organise and retain experience"

(Reid, 1987:89). It is possible that some 90% of traditional classroom instruction is accomplished through talk (Hodges, 1982) and some researchers have argued that audio-based methodologies are most effective for EFL instruction (Takeuchi et al, 1990). However, people tend to have an innate preference for the way they receive information in a learning situation, and research shows that they use four basic perceptual modalities (Dunn, 1983 & 1984; Hodges, 1982; Guild & Garger, 1985):

1. Visual: reading texts or notes, attending to diagrams;
2. Auditory: listening to lectures or tapes, discussing;
3. Kinesthetic: experiential learning, role-play, physical involvement in learning;
4. Tactile: "hands-on" creativity, model building, note-taking, experimentation.

Perceptual learning style research has typically relied on self-reporting questionnaires. Various studies have shown that students can accurately identify their own learning style preferences (e.g. Dunn, 1984). This approach may be open to criticism, but we should respect students' self-definitions while expecting expressed preferences to influence at least some learning decisions (Willing, 1988). The literature on accommodating learning styles is less clear, but evidence suggests that matching students to their preferred style increases both learner satisfaction and achievement. Reid (1987), Willing (1988) and Dunn et al (1989) provide extensive reviews of this literature.

Learning style and cultural background

Learning styles appear to vary according to culture, although research into the cultural antecedents of styles is a major priority. Learning style research, with few exceptions, has been done from a "Western, white, middle class perspective and value system" (Claxton & Murrell, 1987:71). While Witkin (1976) and Kaplan (1966) have hypothesised that different modes of thinking are characteristic of different cultures, little is known about cross-cultural differences in learning styles.

Willing's (1988) survey of adult migrants suggests that the various learning preferences and styles are represented in similar proportions in all ethnic groups. Guild and Garger however claim that "socialisation plays a role in the development of style differences of people of various cultures

1433

and in both sexes" (1985:78). Similarly, Young argues that "children from identifiably different cultural groups overwhelmingly exhibit certain learning styles" (1987:18). The only published research in this area has been carried out by Reid (1987) who examined the perceptual learning style preferences of 1,234 NNSs of English studying in US language programmes, and a follow-up study by Melton (1990) of 331 university students in China. These studies confirm that learning style preferences of ESL students often differ significantly from those of native speakers and that students from different language and cultural backgrounds sometimes differ from one another in their preferences.

Japanese learning experiences

There is no published research which specifically examines the learning style preferences of Japanese speakers although a recent study found that a multi-media lesson plan using visual, auditory and kinesthetic methods was more effective than single modalities in a vocabulary learning activity (Hinkelman and Pysock, 1992). Reid found that the Japanese differed significantly from all the language groups in her study by not, as a group, identifying a single major perceptual learning style (Reid, 1987). Reid speculates that culture may play a role in this variance, and it is clear that the language learning experiences of Japanese students differ considerably from those found in Western classrooms.

While English is one of the most widely studied subjects in Japan, its study is regarded as an academic pursuit, and students apparently have little motivation to learn the language or use it outside the classroom (Day & Iida, 1988; Benson, 1991). The Japanese education system does not seem to value independence nor assign creative or imaginative tasks. At both secondary and tertiary levels traditional methods and materials tend to predominate, classes are teacher-centred and students are expected to be passive. Written examinations alone determine grades and future success (e.g. White, 1987; Ritsuko, 1991).

English classes often involve the use of a reading text in English which students translate into Japanese (Widdows and Voller, 1991). Memorisation and rote learning play important roles in classrooms (Tinkham, 1989), and there is generally no expectation that students will use libraries or research papers from source materials (Hendricks, 1991). English exams are primarily tests of grammatical knowledge and vocabulary (Morrow, 1987). Instruction is therefore likely to be focused on imparting declarative facts about the language and is often carried out in Japanese (Ellis, 1991; Kobayashi et al, 1992). This is not to suggest that Japanese learners prefer such approaches. Students seem to doubt the effectiveness of their instruction (Kobayashi et al, 1992) and may favour interactive and student-centered learning methods over the traditional teacher-focused approaches they are familiar with (Widdows and Voller, 1991). This study was undertaken to help resolve such issues and provide information to enhance students' awareness of their learning style preferences.

Questionnaire modifications and procedures

Reid's (1987) original study involved the use of a self-reporting questionnaire based on existing learning style instruments. The purpose of the study was to determine respondents' visual, auditory, kinesthetic, tactile, group and individual learning preferences. The questionnaire consists of randomly arranged sets of 5 statements on each of the preferences. Validation for second language speakers was done using the split-half method. Reid's sample consisted of only 130 Japanese respondents.

The present study used the same questionnaire in order to determine whether Japanese learners have perceptual learning style preferences and whether these change as a result of overseas study. The background information required by the questionnaire was slightly amended to make it more relevant for Japanese learners (Appendix A). TOEFL data were removed and added to the survey were questions concerning the length of time respondents had studied English, the number of semesters they had been taught by native speakers and whether they had studied abroad. The questionnaire was reduced to one page and translated into Japanese (Appendix B) in order to facilitate learner response. An explanation of the preferences was distributed with the forms, and teachers decided whether to distribute the English or Japanese language versions to their students.

Eight Japanese universities participated in the survey with 265 undergraduate students responding. The questionnaire was also administered to 140 Japanese students at various English proficiency levels at a tertiary college in New Zealand to determine whether overseas study influenced modality and group preferences. Most of the respondents were English majors, and therefore field of study was not considered a variable. A total of 405 questionnaires were returned. Table 1 summarises the information on respondents according to six background variables.

The student responses and background data were extrapolated and preference means calculated for each variable. These means were scaled and classified into three ranges accordingly to Reid's original study: major, minor and negative learning style preferences. An analysis of variance and multiple comparison of means were run on the preference means using the Minitab version 8.1 statistical package. Following Melton (1990), the Tukey test was used at a significance of 0.1 to determine significance in the comparison of means as the Scheffe test which Reid originally used was not available.

Table 1:Learning Style Variables

Language of Questionnaire	**No.**	**Sex**	**No.**
English	116	Male	182
Japanese	289	Female	223
Level of Study		**Overseas Study**	
Non-University	140	Never	176
Year 1	69	Three months or less	55
Year 2	94	Four to eleven months	60
Year 3	102	Twelve or more	114
Years with a NS teacher		**Years of English Study**	
Less than one	147	Two to seven years	60
One to two	141	Eight to nine years	279
More than two	117	Ten or more years	66

Results and discussion

The overall means of this study indicated that Japanese learners prefer auditory, tactile, kinesthetic and individual learning as minor styles, F (5,2424) = 34.1, p = 0.000. It concurs with Reid's findings that Japanese speakers are distinctive as learners in not identifying a single strong (major) learning style. Visual and group learning were considered negative learning styles.

Reid's means for Japanese students are all higher than those obtained in the present study although they are not markedly different in their preference order (Table 2). Both studies identify tactile, kinesthetic and auditory modalities as the three strongest preferences and distinguish group learning as the weakest mode of learning. The greatest difference occurs in the means for visual modality, although Reid found that Japanese were the least visual of her eight NNS language groups. The differences in means could be attributed to the fact that all Reid's respondents were above upper intermediate ability in English and had lived and studied in the USA for between three months and three years. The students in the present survey included a much wider proficiency range and a high proportion of students who had never been overseas.

Table 2: Summary of Learning Style Preference Means

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Reid's Japanese sample	12.52	12.67	13.29	13.32	10.35	12.05
Present total means	10.93	12.33	12.00	12.18	10.06	11.62

Note: Means 13.5 and above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or less = Negative Learning Style Preference

The fact that both studies suggest that Japanese speakers do not have a major learning style preference may be a factor in the difficulties often experienced by Japanese when studying abroad. Without a strong learning preference many students may be unable to develop the strategies necessary for educational success and high academic achievement. Nevertheless, the fact Japanese speakers have multiple minor preferences could allow them to compensate for the lack of a clearly articulated learning channel. In addition to the overall preferences of Japanese learners, the study investigated a number of variables with a possible relationship to differences in learning styles, and these will be discussed in detail below.

Language of the Questionnaire

Statistical analysis showed no significant variation in students' answers as a result of the language of the questionnaire (Table 3). It appears therefore that despite the possibility of students differently interpreting the concepts underlying such terms as 'model' (q. 11), or 'project' (q. 14 & 25) as a result of different cultural connotations, respondents understood the questions in the same ways. The data from the two languages was therefore combined for analysis.

Table 3: Learning Style Preference Means according to Language of Questionnaire

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Japanese language	10.83	12.28	11.85	12.14	9.86	11.47
English language	11.11	12.45	12.37	12.27	10.25	11.78

Note: Means 13.5 and above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Gender

Female students demonstrated stronger preferences than males in each modality and were significantly more tactile than males, F (1,403)= 8.74, p=.003. Neither group identified a major learning style but both males and females chose auditory, kinesthetic, tactile and individual learning as minor styles. Both sexes identified group and visual learning as negative styles (Table 4). Males and females only differed in the order of their choices by favouring tactile and auditory learning respectively. It is possible that these differences in preferences may be a result of the considerable differences in socialisation practices experienced by children of different sexes in Japan (Condon, 1985).

Table 4: Learning Style Preference Means according to gender

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Male	10.73	12.17	11.57	11.71	9.69	11.53
Female	11.11	12.48	12.33	12.52	10.40	11.73

Note: Means 13.5 and above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Level of Study

Statistical analysis of this variable revealed a number of significant differences but fewer trends than expected (Table 5). Seniors were significantly more kinesthetic and tactile than sophomores, F(1,194) = 13.63, p = .000, and F (1,194) = 22.56, p = .00 respectively, and more visual than non-university students, F(1,240) = 16.91, p = .000. They also indicated a stronger tendency towards group learning, although this was a negative learning style for all groups. All levels chose auditory learning as a minor learning style, and all groups except sophomores selected tactile and kinesthetic as minor styles. Sophomores favoured individual learning and freshmen a kinesthetic style. All levels but seniors indicated a negligible liking for visual learning. Once again, no group expressed a major preference.

Table 5: Learning Style Preference Means according to level of study

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Pre-University	10.30	12.49	11.76	12.14	9.96	10.93
Freshmen	11.00	12.03	12.25	11.91	9.96	11.32
Sophomores	10.92	12.13	11.37	11.46	9.96	12.29
Seniors	11.76	12.50	12.75	13.06	10.75	11.71

Note: Means 13.5 and above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Years of English Study

Statistical analysis of this variable demonstrated a number of interesting trends but only one significant difference (Table 6). Students who had studied English for ten to thirteen years were significantly more tactile than those who had studied for two to seven years, F (1,124) = 11.38, p = .001. Students who had studied English for more than seven years chose tactile, auditory, kinesthetic and individual learning as minor preferences. The group who had studied for the shortest time selected only auditory and kinesthetic as minor styles.

Although the differences in the means are not marked, there are a number of interesting trends with students appearing to expand their range of modalities and strengthen their preferences the longer they studied English. Preferences for individual, kinesthetic and group learning increased but, as with previous variables, tactile learning showed the strongest trend, perhaps because writing notes, actively working with materials and physical involvement in class related tasks becomes increasingly necessary to successful language learning and academic study. It is also possible however that students are not self-reporting their own preferences but simply reporting on modalities they have adapted to during years of study. Although the statistical differences are minor, the failure of the auditory and visual means to increase, and particularly the stronger preference for visual learning by students in the eight to nine group is puzzling, given the emphasis on the written word in Japanese schools and university environments.

Table 6: Learning Style Preference Means according to years of study

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Two to seven years	10.79	12.55	11.87	11.28	9.98	11.05
Eight to nine	11.09	12.34	12.09	12.42	10.14	11.61
Ten to thirteen	10.02	12.18	12.30	12.66	10.33	11.99

Note: Means 13.5 and above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Years of Native Speaker Instruction

Many Japanese students experience English native speaker instruction, and statistical analysis of this variable suggests this factor may influence style preferences (Table 7). Students who had attended classes taught by native speakers for more than two years were significantly more kinesthetic and auditory than those who had attended for less than one year, F(1,262) = 21.78, p = .000, and F(1,262) = 10.57, p = .001 respectively. In addition, these students also favoured group learning significantly more, F (1,262)=8.4, p = .004. The group with the shortest period of native speaker teaching chose auditory and individual learning as minor styles while students with 12 months or more with a native speaker chose auditory, tactile and kinesthetic styles. Once more, the means indicate that visual and group learning are of negligible importance to Japanese students.

Auditory, kinesthetic and group learning showed interesting trends with preference means increasing over time with native speaker instruction. This may reflect the teachers' training in or preferences for communicative methodologies which emphasise the use of spoken English, risk-taking, interactive tasks, role-play and active participation in group work. The means for the visual modality, on the other hand, suggest that preferences for traditional text-based learning approaches decline the longer students attend classes with a native speaker teacher.

These hypotheses cannot be substantiated conclusively on this evidence, but it appears that foreign teachers may have an important influence on learning style preferences. Clearly teachers have a variety of instructional styles which may reflect their own learning styles (Witkin, 1976; Dunn & Dunn, 1979), result from their reading or training, or involve more personal factors (Willing, 1988). Tentatively, however, it seems likely that the activity-focused and learner-centered teaching styles fundamental to current EFL methodology will be more characteristic of native speaker classrooms than the traditional grammar-translation approaches which dominate language learning in Japan. Whether foreign teachers rather than non-native teachers are likely to favour these methods is a question for further research, but this survey suggests that native speaker teachers have more of an impact on student preferences for group, auditory and kinesthetic learning than years of study.

Table 7: Learning Style Preference Means according to period of native speaker instruction

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
Less than one year	11.31	11.95	11.18	11.35	9.40	11.87
One to two years	10.83	12.24	12.16	12.65	10.18	11.43
More than two years	10.50	12.92	12.73	12.41	10.68	11.44

Note: Means 13.5 and above = Major Learning Style Preference
Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference
Means 11.49 or less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Overseas Study

The statistical analysis of this variable did not provide as many significant differences as expected, but the trends are logically consistent with the results above and demonstrate close correspondence with the previous variable (Table 8). All groups indicated auditory and kinesthetic as minor learning styles and group and visual learning as negative styles.

Students who had never studied overseas or who had gone for less than three months favoured individual learning as a minor style while those studying abroad for longer reported this as being of negligible importance. Students studying abroad for less than three months were significantly more individual, for example, than those studying for 4 - 11 months, F (1,113) = 8.58,p =.004.

Although less marked, the trends here mirror those revealed by analysis of the native speaker teacher variable discussed above, with preferences for auditory, kinesthetic and group learning strengthening the longer students had studied abroad. Students who had studied overseas for 12 months or longer were significantly firmer in their preference for auditory learning than students who had studied entirely in Japan, F (1,288)=9.63, p=9.63, p=.002. Reid also found that preference means for auditory learning increased the longer students lived in the United States but hesitated to suggest whether learners become "more comfortable with auditory learning ... or ... become more auditory as they adjust to US academic classrooms" (Reid, 1987:95).

Table 8: Learning Style Preference Means according to period of overseas study

	Visual	Auditory	Kinesthetic	Tactile	Group	Individual
None	11.48	11.87	11.75	11.94	9.92	11.71
Less than 3 months	11.27	12.20	12.09	12.24	9.52	12.46
4 -11 months	10.28	12.28	12.17	11.87	10.15	10.48
12 or more months	10.25	12.77	12.46	12.68	10.65	10.81

Note: Means 13.5 and above = Major Learning Style Preference

Means 11.5 - 13.49 = Minor Learning Style Preference

Means 11.49 or less = Negative Learning Style Preference

Another interesting trend indicated that students who had studied overseas became progressively less visual in their learning style preferences. Students who had no overseas study experience were the only group to choose visual learning as a minor learning style and were significantly more visual than those who had studied abroad for 12 months or more, F(1,288)=13.49, p=.000.

Overview of Japanese learning style preferences

This study confirms Reid's findings that Japanese learners appear to have no strong learning style preferences, a fact which might help explain the language learning difficulties experienced by many Japanese students (Benson, 1991; Ellis, 1991; Kobayashi et al, 1992). Moreover, because the visual modality is a negative style for many Japanese, many students are unable to take full advantage of an education system which emphasises the importance of reading texts, composition and written grammar exercises.

On the other hand, students with mixed modality strengths are able to process information in a numbers of ways and "often have a better chance of success than do those with a single modality strength" (Guild & Garger, 1985:64). This research suggests that while Japanese learners have no major learning style preference, they appear to favour three modalities and individual learning as minor styles. The expressed preferences for auditory, tactile and kinesthetic learning confirms Widdows & Voller's findings that "students do not like classes in which they sit passively, reading or translating" (1991:134), nor is full advantage taken of learners' auditory preference by a teaching methodology which circumscribes the use of spoken English (Morrow, 1987).

Analysis of the variables further suggests that sex, length of study, level of study, semesters with a foreign teacher and time spent studying overseas are related to learning style differences. The extent to which learning styles are malleable is uncertain, but it appears that Japanese students adapt to different learning experiences and that the modification and extension of learning styles occur to facilitate this. It is important to note however that these generalisations do not apply to all Japanese learners in a stereotypical way. Learning style preferences are also affected by personal as well as cultural factors and many individual exceptions obviously exist. The results do, however, help us to understand something about the way Japanese students learn and prefer to learn.

Implications

The obvious advantage of moving towards ways of identifying and catering for learner cognitive and instructional differences is that learning may be thereby improved. Learning style is a consistent way of functioning which reflects cultural behaviour patterns and, like other behaviours influenced by cultural experiences, may be revised as a result of training or changes in learning experiences. Learning styles are thus "moderately strong habits rather than intractable biological attributes" (Reid, 1987:100). While many of the instructional implications of differing learning styles have yet to be investigated, this work therefore proceeds under the assumption that learning styles are adaptable, that preferences can be modified, and that sub/unconscious learning styles can become conscious learning strategies. The relationship between learning style and successful L2 acquisition is uncertain however with the literature divided between the need to accommodate learners' preferred styles (Dunn & Dunn, 1979; Young, 1987; Wallace and Oxford, 1992) and training learners to adopt what are seen as more effective styles (Rubin, 1975). Overall, the research evidence favours matching teaching methods and learning styles to increase learner satisfaction and achievement. It is clear from recent studies, moreover, that style conflicts between teachers and students my have a negative effect on the success of many EFL learners (Bialystok, 1985; Ellis, 1989; Wallace & Oxford, 1992). Matching Japanese learning styles and instruction can be accomplished by careful lesson planning. Clearly the objective must be to make students aware of their own learning style and encourage them to be versatile in their learning activities by assisting them to extend and develop their preferred modalities.

Students must be helped to identify their preferred styles and to recognise their effects on learning. Japanese students are generally very interested in this metacognitive level of learning and are keen to discover their own and their peers' styles. Sharing information about different modalities can also help explain the purpose of language learning activities. Teachers need to be cautious with group learning however and balance the advantages of encouraging greater style flexibility against the discomfort students are likely to experience in using a negative learning style.

An effective means of accommodating learning styles in the classroom is to offer a range of activity types to the whole class. This will both suit the preferences of different learners and also help to strengthen the skills associated with their negative learning styles (Melton, 1990; Ellis, 1989). Teachers need to be aware of their learners' modality preferences and to consciously include various styles in their lesson plans. Hinkelman and Pysock (1992), for example, have demonstrated the effectiveness of a multi-media methodology for vocabulary building with Japanese learners. This approach is effective in tapping a variety of learning modalities. By consciously accommodating a range of learning styles in the classroom in this way, it is possible to encourage most students to become successful language learners.

As teachers it is important that we are aware of our students' different learning style preferences and are able to prepare a learning environment that responds to those differences. Because Japanese speakers seem to have multiple minor learning styles and are able to process information in a variety of ways, there is a need for teachers to respond flexibly using a broader range of teaching approaches which more ideological methodologies tend to constrict. The research presented here provides some information to teachers working with Japanese students about how their students learn. I also hope that it will encourage teachers to consider how best to accommodate their learners' style preferences while providing guidance in developing and extending them further.

Conclusion

In this paper I have discussed the cultural foundations of perceptual learning style preferences and provided some empirical evidence to suggest that Japanese speakers exhibit distinctive learning style characteristics. The research indicates that teachers can benefit from a clearer understanding of Japanese students' learning style preferences by developing culture-sensitive pedagogies which take account of learner characteristics. Clearly much more research needs to be conducted, both into Japanese learning style preferences and the relationship between learning style and types of instruction. It is clear however that by helping students to understand their learning styles and to exercise active control over their cognitive skills, we can assist them in becoming more effective language learners.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Takahiro Kojima for translating the questionnaire into Japanese, Joy Reid for her helpful comments and the many people, both in Japan and New Zealand, who encouraged this project and helped conduct the survey.

References

Benson MJ, 1991 "Attitudes and motivation towards English: a survey of Japanese freshmen" *RELC Journal* 21 (1)

Bialystok, E 1985 "The compatibility of teaching and learning strategies" *Applied Linguistics* 6, 255-262

Claxton CS & Y Ralston 1978 *Learning styles: Their impact on teaching and administration*. Washington, DC: American Assn for Higher Education

Claxton CS & PH Murrell 1987 *Learning styles: Implications for improving educational practices*. Washington, ASHE-ERIC.

Condon, J 1985 *A half step behind: Japanese women today* Tokyo:Tuttle

Day, RR & Iida, M 1988 "Use, attitude and motivation in foreign language acquisition" *University of Hawaii working papers in ESL*, 7 (1): 109-118.

Dunn, R 1984 "Learning styles: State of the scene "*Theory into practice*, 23, 10-19

Dunn, R & KJ Dunn 1979 "Learning styles/teaching styles: Should they..can they...be matched? "*Educational Leadership*, 36, 238-244.

Ellis, R 1985 *Understanding second language acquisition*. Oxford, OUP.

Ellis, R 1989 "Classroom learning styles and their effect on second language acquisition: A study of two learners". *System*, 17 (2), 249-262

Ellis, R 1991 "Communicative competence and the Japanese learner" *JALT Journal* 13 (2)

Griffiths, R.T & Sheen, R. (1992) Disembodied figures in the landscape: A reappraisal of L2 research on field dependence. Applied Linguistics, 13, 133-48.

Guild, PB & S Garger, 1985 *Marching to different drummers* Alexandria, VA: Assn for supervision & curriculum development

Hansen J & C Stanfield 1981 "Relationship of field dependent-independent cognitive styles to foreign language achievement" *Language Learning*, 31, 349-367

Hendricks Y, 1991 "The Japanese as library patrons" *College and research libraries news* April.

Hinkelman, DW & Pysock, JM 1992 "The need for multi-media ESL teaching methods: A psychological investigation into learning styles" *Cross Currents*, 19(1):25-35.

Hodges H 1982 "Madison Prep-alternatives through learning styles" in JW Keefe (ed) *Student learning styles: Diagnosing and prescribing programs*. Reston, VA: NASSP

Kaplan, RB 1966 "Cultural thought patterns in intercultural education "Language Learning 16, 1-20.

Keefe JW 1987 *Learning style theory and practice* Reston, Virginia: NASSP

Keefe JW 1988 "Development of the NASSP learning style profile" in JW Keefe (ed) *Profiling and utilising learning style* Reston, Virginia: NASSP

Kobayashi S, B Redekop & R Porter 1992 "Motivation of college English students" *The Language Teacher* 16 (1)

Kolb, D 1984 *Experiential learning* Englewood Cliffs, NJ:Prentice Hall.

Melton CD, 1990 "Bridging the cultural gap: a study of Chinese students' learning style preferences" *RELC Journal* 21 (1):29-58

Morrow PR 1987 "The users and uses of English in Japan" *World Englishes* (6)49-62

Oxford RL, 1990 *Language learning strategies: what every teacher should know New York*: Newbury House

Oxford RL, ME Hollaway & D Horton-Murillo 1992 "Language learning styles: Research and practical considerations for teaching in the multicultural tertiary ESL/EFL classroom" *System* 4, 439-456.

Reid JM, 1987 "The learning style preferences of ESL students" *TESOL Quarterly* 21 (1):87-109

Riley P, 1988 "The ethnography of autonomy" In A Brookes and P Grundy *Individualisation and autonomy in language learning.* ELT Docs 131. MEP/BC.

Ritsuko Y, 1991 "Harvest of the standard score greenhouse" *Japan Quarterly* April-June

Rubin, J 1975 "What 'the good language learner' can teach us" *TESOL Quarterly* 5

Tinkham T, 1989 "Rote learning, attitudes and abilities: a comparison of Japanese and American students" *TESOL Quarterly* 23(4): 695-8

White, M 1987 *The Japanese educational challenge* Tokyo: Kodansha.

Widdows, S & Voller, P 1991 "PANSI: A survey of the ELT needs of Japanese University students" *Cross Currents* 18 (2) 127-141.

Willing K 1988 *Learning styles in adult migrant education.* Sydney: NCELTR

1537

Witkin et al, 1976 "Cognitive style in academic performance and in teacher-student relations" in S Messick & Associates (eds) *Individuality in learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Witkin HA, CA Moore, P Oltman, DR Goodenough, F Freedman, DR Owen & E Raskin 1977 "Field dependent and field cognitive styles and their educational implications" *Review of Educational Psychology*, 69, 179-211

Young R, 1987 "The cultural context of TESOL - a review of research into Chinese classrooms" *RELC Journal* 18 (2): 15-30

Appendix A

Perceptual Learning Style Preference Questionnaire

Name ______________________________ Age _____ Male/Female ____

Place of Study: ☐ High School ________________________ year ______

☐ University ________________________ year ______

What is your major field? ______________________________________

How long have you studied English in Japan? ______________________

Have you ever studied English overseas? _________________________

If yes, for how long? ____

Have you ever been taught by a foreign teacher? ___________________

If yes, for how many semesters? _________________________________

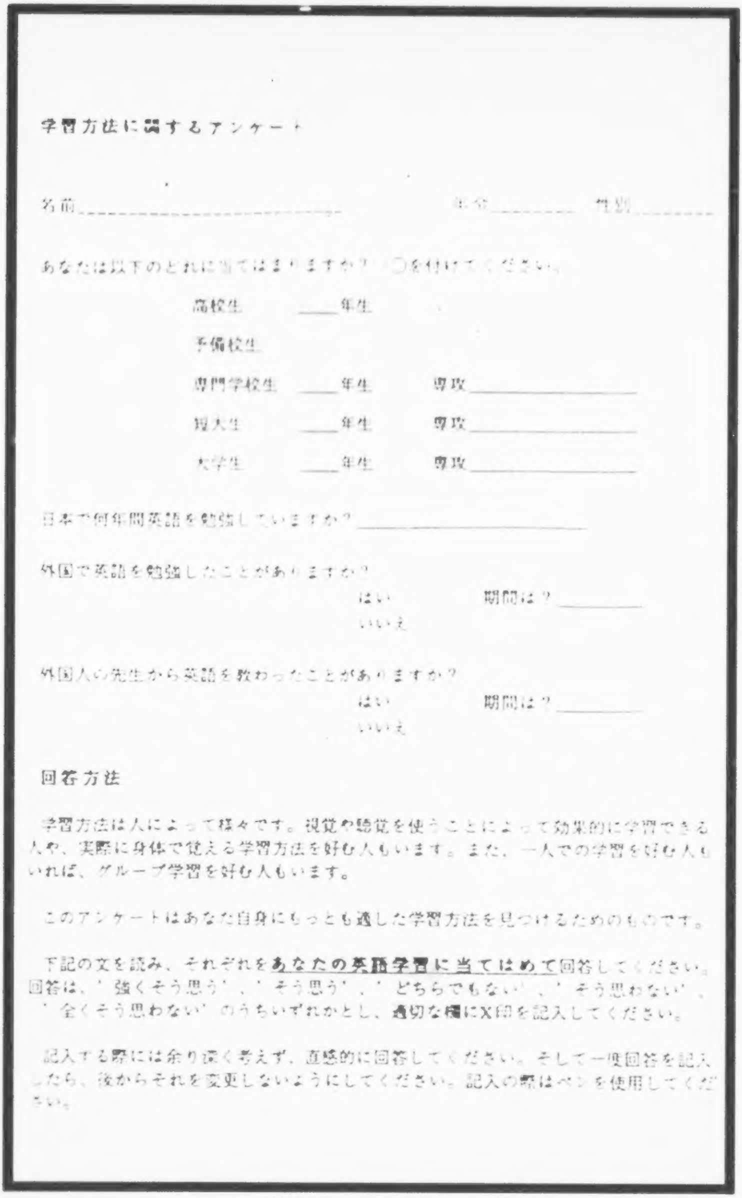
Directions:

People learn in many different ways. For example, some people learn mainly with their eyes (visual learners) or with their ears (auditory learners); some people prefer to learn by experience and/or "hands on" task (kinesthettic or tactile learners); some people learn better when they work alone, while others prefer to work in groups.

This questionnaire has been designed to help you identify the way(s) you learn best - the way(s) you *prefer* to learn.

Read each statement below. Please respond to the statements AS THEY APPLY TO YOUR STUDY OF ENGLISH. Decide whether you strongly agree, agree, are undecided, disagree or strongly disagree. Mark an x in the appropriate column.

Please respond to each statement quickly without too much thought. Try not to change your responses after you chose them. Please use a pen to mark your choices.



学習方法に関するアンケート

名前____________________ 年令________ 性別________

あなたは以下のどれに当てはまりますか？ ◯を付けてください。

高校生 ____年生
予備校生
専門学校生 ____年生 専攻____________
短大生 ____年生 専攻____________
大学生 ____年生 専攻____________

日本で何年間英語を勉強していますか？____________

外国で英語を勉強したことがありますか？
はい 期間は？________
いいえ

外国人の先生から英語を教わったことがありますか？
はい 期間は？________
いいえ

回答方法

学習方法は人によって様々です。視覚や聴覚を使うことによって効果的に学習できる人や、実際に身体で覚える学習方法を好む人もいます。また、一人での学習を好む人もいれば、グループ学習を好む人もいます。

このアンケートはあなた自身にもっとも適した学習方法を見つけるためのものです。

下記の文を読み、それぞれを**あなたの英語学習に当てはめて**回答してください。回答は、’強くそう思う’、’そう思う’、’どちらでもない’、’そう思わない’、’全くそう思わない’のうちいずれかとし、**適切な欄**にX印を記入してください。

記入する際には余り深く考えず、直感的に回答してください。そして一度回答を記入したら、後からそれを変更しないようにしてください。記入の際はペンを使用してください。

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Questionnaire statements.

1 When the teacher tells me the instructions, I understand better
2 I prefer to learn by doing something in class
3 I get more work done when I work with others
4 I learn more when I study with a group
5 In class, I learn best when I study with others
6 I learn better by reading what the teacher writes on the board.
7 When someone tells me how to do something in class I learn it better
8 When I do things in class, I learn better
9 I remember things I have heard in class better than things I have read
10 When I read instructions, I remember them better
11 I learn more when I can make a model of something
12 I understand better when I read instructions
13 When I study alone, I remember things better
14 I learn more when I make something for a class project.
15 I enjoy learning in class by doing experiments
16 I learn better when I make drawings as I study
17 I learn better in class when the teacher gives a lecture
18 When I work alone, I learn better
19 I understand things better in class when I participate in role playing
20 I learn better in class when I listen to someone
21 I enjoy working on an assignment with two or three classmates
22 When I build something, I remember what I have learned better
23 I prefer to study with others
24 I learn better by reading than by listening to someone
25 I enjoy making something for a class project
26 I learn best in class when I can participate in related activities
27 In class, I learn better when I work alone
28 I prefer working on projects by myself
29 I learn more by reading textbooks than by listening to lectures
30 I prefer to work by myself

	strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	strongly disagree
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					
21					
22					
23					
24					
25					
26					
27					
28					
29					
30					

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

アンケート

1 先生がやり方を説明してくれるとわかりやすい。
2 クラスでなにかをやりながら学習するのが好きである。
3 ほかの学生と一緒になにかをやるほうが能率的に学習できる。
4 グループ学習のほうが効果的に学習できる。
5 クラスでは、ほかの学生と一緒に勉強するときが 一番良く学習できる。
6 先生が黒板に書いたものを読むほうが、良く学習できる。
7 クラスで誰かにやり方を教えてもらうほうが、良く学習できる。
8 クラスでなにかをやると良く学習できる。
9 クラスで聞いた事のほうが、読んだことよりも良く覚えている。
10 読んだときのほうが説明を良く覚えている。
11 なにかを学習するとき、モデルを作ったほうが良く学習できる。
12 自分で説明を読んだときのほうが良く理解できる。
13 一人で学習するほうが物事を良く覚えられる。
14 クラスの課題でなにかを作成するほうが良く学習できる。
15 クラスでなにか実験をしながら学習するのが好きだ。
16 図などを描きながら勉強するほうが良く学習できる。
17 先生が講義をするほうが良く勉強できる。
18 一人でやるほうが良く学習できる。
19 クラスでロールプレイをやるほうが良く物事が理解できる。
20 クラスで誰かの話しを聞くほうが良く学習できる。
21 2、3人の生徒と一緒にひとつのアサインメントをやるのが好きだ。
22 なにかを作ると、学習したことを良く覚えている。
23 ほかの学生と一緒に勉強するほうが好きだ。
24 人のいうことを聞くより、読むほうが良く学習できる。
25 クラスの課題としてなにかを作成するのが好きだ。
26 クラスで、関連ある活動に参加するとき一番良く学習できる。
27 クラスでは一人のほうが良く学習できる。
28 一人で課題に取り組むほうが好きだ。
29 講義を聞くより教科書を読んだほうが良く学習できる。
30 一人で勉強するのが好きだ。

	強くそう思う	そう思う	どちらでもない	そう思わない	全く そう思わない
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					
21					
22					
23					
24					
25					
26					
27					
28					
29					
30					

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

BOOK REVIEWS

Teaching English Overseas: An Introduction

Sandra Lee McKay. Oxford : Oxford University Press. 1992. xi.155pp

Reviewed by
Ronald Boyle
Asian Institute of Technology, Bangkok

Almost every reader of this journal will have experience of life in a foreign country, either as a student, a teacher, a visiting expert, or in some other capacity, and will understand that the further one travels geographically and culturally, the more disturbing life can be. For many, the disturbances are enlightening and enriching, but for others they are merely something to be endured and forgotten. Sandra Lee McKay's aim in writing this book is to help more EFL teachers to be counted among the former than among the latter. Many others writers have shared her concern and her contribution to this literature, therefore, involves distancing herself from the acronyms, the methodologies, and the research perspectives, and looking instead at the socio-political, cultural and economic factors that affect language teaching. She argues that this broader perspective has been neglected, and the purpose of this slim volume is to rectify that omission.

The book is an introductory text and it is intended for in-service and pre-service teachers who have no overseas teaching experience. The author divides her five chapters into two sections, with the first covering "The Larger Context", and the second "The Educational Context". Within the former, she discusses "Language teaching and the sociopolitical context"; "Language teaching and the economic context"; and "Language teaching and the cultural context". Chapters four and five, which comprise Part Two, deal with "Language teaching and the language education context", and "Language teaching and the institutional context". Each chapter is followed by two or three "Case Studies" drawn from a total of nine countries, mostly in Africa and Asia, with shorter examples from another eight or nine countries, and these illustrations contribute to a very satisfactory relationship between theory and practice. In addition, each chapter is followed by one section called "Exploring the ideas", a second called "Researching the ideas", and a short annotated bibliography, and the ideas and suggestions in the two supplementary sections will be of value to teacher trainers as well as to the teacher who is planning to work abroad. Both groups will also welcome the fact that the text is lucid and well-organized, and that it is attractively written and refreshingly free of unnecessary jargon.

The opening chapter, "Language teaching and the sociopolitical context", describes the relationship between nation building and language planning. The latter involves "status planning" (establishing the function of a language in society) and "corpus planning" (the development of the vocabulary of a language, the determination of a standard of usage, the development of a writing system, and so forth). This process of language planning is described and illustrated in terms of the concept of "nations" and "nationalities". The former Yugoslavia was an example of a nation, with the Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and others as its constituents nationalities. The author considers the consequences of basing language on the interests of the nation rather than the nationalities, and vice-versa. To this distinction, she adds that between "A-modal nations", "Uni-modal nations", and "Multi-modal nations", and the corresponding case studies are drawn from Cameroon, Malaysia, and the Philippines. This succinct account provides a useful introduction to the debate over the role of English in Hong Kong, the Philippines, and other countries.

The second chapter, however, is likely to prove less useful, insofar as Professor McKay has fewer observations to make about "Language teaching and the economic context" than about the other four factors which affect language teaching. Her main point appears to be that very many foreigners learn English for instrumental reasons, most of which are connected to money. In the first paragraph she states that, "Throughout the chapter we examine how economic incentives to learn English affect language teaching", but the reader who remembers this could well be disappointed, as the examination reveals little more than that a demand exists in many countries for ESP. Furthermore, the author's repeated distinction between integrative and instrumental motivation might prove somewhat misleading to a teacher new to Asia and new to ESP. Oxford *et al.* (1993) and Boyle (1993), among others, have discussed the complexity of students' motivation for learning English and the pedagogical implications of this situation. In addition, few visitors to Hong Kong or Bangkok could fail to notice the popularity of English language songs, films, or satellite broadcasts, most of which are not being listened to or watched for solely instrumental purposes.

Chapter Three, "Language teaching and the cultural context", focuses on "cultural differences in classroom expectations and how these differences may create conflict". It also offers suggestions for the resolution of those difficulties, and it is, for this reviewer, the most stimulating chapter in the book. In the first of three sections, the author discusses expectations about teacher and student behaviour in different societies, the potential for cross-cultural misunderstanding, and the ways of anticipating difficulties or resolving them. The second section describes how certain principles of ethnographic research can help the foreign teacher to understand the educational environment which he or she has generally entered abruptly, and it provides a clear and simple account of *emic* and *etic* approaches to such research. The third section considers the more familiar topic of cultural influences in materials and offers examples of the pitfalls that await the Anglo-American teacher. What the author does not refer to, though, are the more substantial efforts that have been made to appreciate the students' culture and relate that to language learning. A brief description of work such as Barron's (1991), on traditional engineering in Papua New Guinea, would have been of real value.

This chapter is very largely concerned with perceptible cultural differences: with Western texts that may describe culturally alien objects or behaviour, and with teacher and student behaviour that, for one or the other, is culturally inappropriate and jarring. The opportunity that the author appears to have missed in her advocacy of ethnographic research is that of advising the teacher to focus on the pragmatic aspects of language use in different cultures.

Flowerdew (1992), Thomas (1983), Wierzbicka (1991), and others have discussed the speech acts which are present in particular languages, the varying ways in which they are realized, and the potential for cross-cultural pragmatic failure. A native English speaker who has not learnt a foreign language and who has limited experience of other cultures perhaps needs more help in understanding this area of difficulty than in learning that shoes should generally be removed on entering an Asian house (p.59) or in recognizing that religion is of paramount importance in Saudi Arabia (pp. 60-64). Although there is a reference to speech acts in Chapter Four, it is confined to a few lines and could be overlooked.

The role of schools in carrying out national language-in-education policies is the focus of Chapter Four, "Language teaching and the language education context". It examines how the teaching of English is affected by the specification of a medium of instruction and the required foreign languages; the specification of learning objectives; and the specification of a standard of language usage. The discussion of these areas is followed by a consideration of the implications of each for language teaching. Thus, after the first, the specification of English as either the medium of instruction or as a required subject, the author's suggestions include having the teacher find out at what stage the language is introduced, how the various languages are used in the curriculum, and if an official policy of using English as a medium of instruction is actually reflected in the practice of the schools.

The longest and most detailed discussion concerns the question of the variety of English or the standard of usage to be adopted. Here the author draws on a wide variety of sources and offers a definition and examples of "New Englishes", describes their characteristics, explains their rationale, and avoids offending anyone. She also raises a large number of interesting questions, particularly that of the standard to be adopted when, for example, a Japanese speaks to an Indonesian in English. Although this question has been raised by Brown(1989) and investigated by Varonis and Gass (1985), the study of spoken interaction between one non-native speaker and another is still in its infancy. The study of "New Englishes", however, is far more advanced and it is one of the most important, intriguing, and contentious of our time. Prof McKay has provided a stimulating introduction to it, and the questions she poses and references she supplies will surely encourage the teacher who is unfamiliar with this area to read further.

In the final chapter, the focus narrows from the language education context to the institutional context and the concern here is to show how different institutions (public, fee-paying, and privately-funded) can have quite dissimilar goals, curricula, methods, personnel, and resources. The case studies, which are of a government university in Turkey, a Catholic boarding school in Tanzania, and private language schools in Japan and Spain, paint an accurate picture of the varied working conditions an EFL teacher can encounter. Here, and throughout the text, the author suggests the type of preparation that will help the teacher to minimize the difficulties of a new post overseas and maximize the rewards. I wish that such a book had been available twenty years ago.

References

Barron, C. (1991). Material Thoughts: ESP and Culture. English for Specific Purposes, 10, 173-187.

Boyle, E.A. (1993). EST or EGP: a question of priorities. System, 21(1). 79-85.

Brown, G. (1989). Sitting on a rocket: an interview. ELT Journal 43(3). 167-173.

Flowerdew, J. (1992). Pragmatics in L2 Teacher Education. I. J. Flowerdew, M. Brock, and S. Hsia (Eds.), Perspectives on Second Language Teacher Education, Hong Kong, Department of English, City polytechnic of Hong Kong Publications.

Oxford, R.L., Park-Oh, Y., Ito, S., and Sumrall, M. (1993). Learning a Language by Satellite Television: What Influences Student Achievement. System, 21(1): 31-47.

Thomas, J. (1983). Cross-Cultural Pragmatic Failure. Applied Linguistics, 4(2): 91-112.

Varonis, E., and Gass, S. (1985). Non-native/non-native conversations: A model for negotiation of meaning. Applied Linguistics, 6, 71-90.

Wierzbicka, A. (1991). Cross-cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter.

A Course in Phonetics.

Peter Ladefoged. 3rd ed. Fort Worth, Tx.:Harcourt Brace Jovanovich
College Publishers. 1993.

Reviewed by
Timothy Riney
International Christian University, Tokyo

An authority in his field, Ladefoged directed the UCLA phonetics lab from 1962 to 1991. He intends for this edition, like the previous one to be a course in phonetics, and not a book about phonetics, and to introduce the sounds of languages while giving particular attention to English. His preface points to two events that led to changes in this third edition. One is the revised IPA (1989), which he places conveniently inside the front and back covers of the book, and refers to throughout the text. The other event is the publication of *Well's Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 1990), which Ladefoged assumes to be the new standard reference for English pronunciation, and which he uses for the description and transcription of English in this edition.

Ladefoged's discussion of "English" focuses on that spoken by "many British" and "many Americans", provides pedagogically useful comparisons of dialects, and acknowledges variation within idiolects. A native of the UK, Ladefoged often writes in first person about "my form of British English" and even provides palatograms of his own mouth. Phonetics texts are notoriously dry, but this one has a personal touch that makes it a pleasure to read.

The first five chapters focus almost exclusively on English. Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 provide an introduction to articulatory phonetics, a few basis concepts in phonology, variation, and phonetic transcription and symbols for describing English. Chapter 3 describes English consonants. Chapter 4, titled "Vowels and Phonological Rules" describes English vowels, and introduces 23 "rules" for English allophones. The allophones described are worth presenting, but they are presented in an awkward mix of prose and ad hoc binary and multivalued "features" that have been partly revised but not improved in this edition. Ladefoged should have devoted one page to establishing a set of features and a few conventions for rule writing, and then used those features and conventions to present his rules clearly. Chapter 5 provides a brief and general discussion of intonation, strong and weak forms of the same word, word stress and sentence stress.

Chapter 6 and subsequent chapters turn to the description of languages other than English, and provide numerous details about English sounds not presented earlier. Chapter 6 includes a number of new languages, visuals and tables that support a revised discussion of airstream mechanisms, the glottis, and voicing onset time. Chapter 7 describes the places and manners of articulation of consonants for a variety of languages. In his preface, Ladefoged may overstate the case when he says that the section on instrumental phonetics, Chapter 8, "has been rewritten to reflect the more common use of computers as a way of displaying speech wave forms and pitch analyses" (p.viii); the text has been somewhat rewritten but the visuals are the same as in the previous edition. Chapter 9 presents cardinal and secondary vowels, rhotacized vowels, secondary articulations and a new section on "advanced tongue root" based on Akan of Ghana. Chapter 10 explain the problems of defining "syllable" before going on to describe suprasegmentals (stress, length, tone, and intonation) in English and other languages; much of the discussion of English suprasegmentals could have appeared in Chapter 5.

Chapter 11, the last chapter, *reduced from* 35 pages to 18, contains the most significant revision in this edition. The revision appears to reflect the trend in applied linguistics programs of recent years in which "Phonetics and Phonology" courses have been steadily ceding curriculum territory to courses sometimes called "Applied Phonetics" — a change in title that implies that phonology, at least for some, was not always taught in ways that it could be applied. The change, curiously ignored in the preface, involves the elimination of four sections on phonological features, including the Chomsky-Halle feature system. The new chapter 11 is a brief but useful discussion of three somewhat unrelated topics: (1) the principle of "ease of articulation" and the principle of "sufficient perceptual separation"; (2) a discussion of physical phonetics, linguistic descriptions and the problem of the specification of articulatory gestures; and (3) a discussion of four dimensions represented in the revised IPA, a critique of the IPA's deficiencies and a brief typology of phonetics transcriptions followed by a closing statement about the interpendency between phonetics and phonology.

1519

Most chapters are followed by a variety of thoughtful and practical exercises (but most exercises appeared in the second edition) involving the articulatory tract, vowel quadrilaterals, and phonetic transcriptions (pronuncing, reading, writing and correcting). Many are in the form of "performance exercises" to be done with a partner. Most would be useful for beginning students of applied linguistics. The text also includes an updated "Further Reading" list, an index and a glossary. Although the index and glossary omit some items (e.g. "anterior") that should be included, the book is generally well edited and most previous edition errors (e.g., in Table 4.2) have been corrected.

The criticisms made above are trivial compared to the overall strengths of this book. Ladefoged's third edition is highly recommended as a textbook for an introductory phonetics course, an English phonetics course, or for a course that needs to fulfill both functions.

Corpus Concordance Collocation.
John Sinclair. Oxford:
Oxford University Press. 1991. xviii, 170pp.

Reviewed by
Irene F.H. Wong
Nanyang Technological University, Singapore

This book is the first title in a new series called *Describing English Language*, edited by John Sinclair and Ronald Carter, whose aim is to provide much-needed linguistic descriptions of modern English as found in authentic contexts of use in extended stretches of discourse. As the first book in the series, *Corpus Concordance Collocation* is intended to serve both as an introduction to corpus linguistics and a background for subsequent contributions in the series. Both these tasks it does well.

Based on Sinclair's extensive work on the *Cobuild* corpus, Corpus Concordance Collocation is an indispensable tool for professionals interested in descriptions of modern English as well as students in language education. However, it is not intended to be used directly in the language classroom, for Sinclair is more interested in "gradually building up, as a database for teachers' reference, a repository of facts about English on which new syllabuses and materials can be based" [78] rather than in providing such materials himself.

Indeed, few are as qualified as Sinclair is to write in the subject of the computational analysis of English and the linguistic insights derived from corpus use. As Ronald Carter says in his "Foreword",

Throughout his career, John Sinclair has dedicated himself to the analysis of corpora of extended stretches of English language data. This book represents a natural extension of his work on discourse developed during the 1970s. [xviii]

The chapters in the book are not new. Earlier versions of each chapter had been published separately, since 1985 (details of which are given in the "Acknowledgments" section of the book, on page xiv). However, it is convenient to have all the separate chapters compiled into one handy and comprehensive book, dealing as they do with the study of English from the point of view of the corpus. In spite of having been written and published separately, the chapters do manage to seem to belong together, charting "the emergence of a new view of language, and the technology associated with it" [1].

The introductory chapter ties the separate chapters together into one unit. It gives the necessary background to the study of corpus linguistics through sketching the history of the *Cobuild* project, from its very modest beginnings to the "large range of research lines in the study and teaching of languages' [3] that it has opened up in recent years. The main picture one gets is of how the easy availability of large quantities of data, made available through great technological advances, allowed access to a quality of evidence never available before and stimulated new linguistic hypotheses, no longer based on the researcher's intuition, but on objective evidence supplied by the corpus.

Sinclair sums up the current position of corpus linguistics thus:

> At the heart of all this activity lie a number of questions whose answers require reflection. The picture of language coming through is in crucial ways unlike what was expected. Is it wise to divide language patterning into grammar and something else (be it lexis or semantics or both) before considering the possibility of co-ordinated choice? Should we have confidence even in the assumption that discrete units of text, such as words, can be reliably associated *with units of meaning? How do* we represent the massive redundancy of language, which is often asserted but does not appear prominently in popular models of language?
>
> These are fairly fundamental, which suggest that we should not jump into new theoretical positions until a great deal more research has been done, using the powerful tools at our disposal.

The whole book can be said to exemplify the stand reflected in the final sentence of the quote given above. There is no new theoretical position as such. In fact, the book raises more questions than supplies answers, but this is characteristic of much research and is inevitable, given the stage that corpus linguistics is at (twenty yea is a short time, in the history descriptive linguistics). He *Corpus Concordance Collocati* will not benefit those readers who are more interested in answers than questions. But for the inquiring mind, it opens up a host of exciting possibilities.

The book patiently takes the reader through the process of describing language from the point of view of corpus linguistics, beginning with the foundation of the technique, the corpus itself. Readers who are new to the notion of corpus linguistics will find the first two chapters of the book, on corpus creation and basic text processing respectively, very helpful. They set the foundations for understanding the central chapters of the book. Sinclair writes in a clear and yet concise manner to initiate the beginner into this area of linguistic study.

Ever since hearing about concordancing for both research and pedagogical purposes, several groups have been interested in, and have even begun, collecting their own corpora for their own uses. Sinclair's description of what makes a 'good' corpus (and he emphasizes the point that "The results are only as good as the corpus" [13] may make it sound like a futile effort for most of them, working largely on their own and without much institutional support. However, it should be pointed out here that Sinclair is referring mainly to the activity of describing English on the basis of corpus evidence which, of course, no researcher should engage in without access to a 'good' corpus. (Now that several corpora are commercially available, such individuals could perhaps get their institutions to purchase one, for them to use.) As far as concordancing for pedagogical purposes is concerned, however, interested language teachers can continue to collect their own mini-corpora of relevant texts, especially for ESP purposes, for their students to use.

In the central chapters of the book, Sinclair shows how the linguistic evidence made available through the computer has revealed unsuspected patterns of form and use which cannot be accommodated within a traditional descriptive system. In fact, corpus linguistics, through emphasising the evidence of 'real' data, challenges many of the notions of traditional descriptive linguistics, and signals the beginning of a new era of descriptive linguistics, which no serious student of language or of English should be ignorant of. These chapters also reiterate one basic tenet of John Sinclair's approach, which is that computer technology has made available new kinds of evidence, which require new kinds of description, since explanations should fit the evidence, rather than the evidence being adjusted to fit pre-set explanations.

Chapters 3 to 9 provide the evidence for the claims made in the earlier chapters of the book. These chapters may not be easy to follow, because of the great attention to examples and details, but such are exactly what are needed to demonstrate aspects of the 'new approach' to the description of English stimulated by corpus linguistics. One focus of these chapters is the demonstration of the possibility of associating grammar and vocabulary in ways that can improve the description of both, since both are rich in semantic associations. In fact, sense and syntax seem to be closely associated, or, as Sinclair says, "adjustment of meaning and structure is a regular feature of a language" [65].

Chapter 3, "The evidence of usage", stresses one of the main tenets of corpus linguistics, that the basis of language description should be the observation of language in use. Sinclair then gives a brief example of the kind of evidence that an exhaustive concordance provides, using the word *decline* and its associated forms *declension, declined, declines, declining*.

This leads to the next chapter, "Sense and structure in lexis", which investigates the hypothesis that there is a close correlation between the different senses of a word and the structures in which it occurs, by looking at the word (or 'lemma') *yield*. What emerges from this study (and, Sinclair says, from every single study of concordances) is that the different meanings of a word have very different frequencies.

Chapter 5, "Words and phrases", explores the use of concordances in the description of phrasal verbs consisting of *set* plus a preposition (e.g. *set in, set about, set off, set out*). Here Sinclair demonstrates yet again how each sense of these phrasal verbs is coordinated with a pattern of choice that helps to distinguish it from other senses. In other words, form is again associated with meaning, even with so-called grammar words not normally associated with such meaning. Given this, Sinclair says,

> The prospect arises of being able to present the facts of the language in a much more precise way than before. Instead of individual words and phrases being crudely associated with a 'meaning', we could see them presented in active and typical contexts, and gradually freed from those contexts to enjoy, in most cases, a severely limited autonomy. [78]

Chapter 3 - 5 set the stage for the following chapter, "The meaning of lexis and grammar", which considers how information about very common words of a language (like *of, then, and* - again words which are taken to be more grammatical than lexical) is gathered, evaluated and organized, and how it is to be presented in a reference work.

While Chapter 3 - 6 study concordances in one form or another, chapters 7 and 8, "Evaluating instances" and "Collocation" respectively, begin to evaluate concordances themselves, and to devise new kinds of information about language, the most important being collocates of a word, and the final chapter, "Words about words", looks at the way in which the *Cobuild* dictionary presents lexicographical information about words.

Conclusion

This book may be small in terms of number of pages, but it touches on many basic and important points, to do with meaning, grammar, lexicography, concordancing, etc. As Sinclair rightly says at the end of his introduction,

> The book is only a very small selection of the material produced in this exciting decade. But it makes a coherent account of the developments, and brings us right to the present day. [11]

There is perhaps no better summing up of the present state of corpus linguistics and of the role of *Corpus Concordance Collocation* within it than Sinclair's own:

> Certainly, the first application of computers to the study of language corpora has uncovered a lot of new facts which have to be built in to our descriptions of languages. And it should be stressed that this book reports only the first dippings of an inquisitive toe into the vast pool of language texts. The corpus of the 1980s, although boasting a central size of 20 million words, will be seen in another decade as a relatively modest repository of evidence; the software tools increase in sophistication month by month, and must still be regarded as primitive compared with what the real needs are. Most limiting of all, our concepts, our ideas of what to expect and how to understand what we are observing, are not keeping pace with the evidence available. There is as yet little or no discussion at an international level and, beyond the Cobuild project, no thorough exploitation of corpus linguistics.

As "an attempt to show that there is a lot more to learn about the English language than it was possible to imagine a few years ago" [137], the book is eminently successful. More than that, by compiling his scattered work into one easily accessible book, Sinclair should be able to stimulate the discussion that he would like to see at an international level, and see further work on and exploitation of corpus linguistics.

Teaching American English Pronunciation.
Avery, Peter and Susan Enrlich. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1992.
xvi. 254pp.

Reviewed by
Charles Elerick
University of Texas at El Paso

Teaching American English Pronunciation is a broad ranging yet coherent textbook/reference handbook which includes not only material written by its principal authors but also several chapters that draw on the experience of a number of additional contributors. The result is a work that treats applied English phonology and addresses methodology in an accessible format and a consistent notational system. This is a book that every ESOL teacher trainer should work through and there are chapters that all practitioners teaching oral could profit from, if closely guided by someone with expertise in English phonology.

The book is divided into three sections, which follows a cogent introduction. Part One treats the sound system of English. Part Two provides a general discussion of a wide range of pronunciation problems that practitioners encounter and an array of sample contrastive statements. Part Three includes eight chapters on classroom practice written by a number of authors. Most of these are quite worthwhile. The book has an adequate glossary and a short and well selected annotated reference list in addition to a regular bibliography. The contents are thoroughly indexed.

Part One, essentially the work of A&E, presents the phonological framework. In addition to the descriptive material, each chapter includes commentary on the pedagogical implications of aspects of English phonology. All six chapters in Part One provide exercises that are generally quite good. This section is crucial to the overall success of the book and unfortunately there are some serious shortcomings, discussed below, with respect to the description of English phonology, specifically vowels and the stress system.

Chapter 1 offers standard materials on pronunciation and or-

1526

thography. Chapter 2 presents an exposition of the segmental system of North American (NAE). The materials on consonants is workable but A&E promote an ill-motivated interpretation of the NAE vowel system. Since approximate mastery of the English vowel system is one of the critical goals of ESOL instruction, the significant deficiencies in this regard are especially serious and warrant extended discussion.

The English vowel system is complex in itself and this system shows significant dialectal variation. In addition, a challenging orthography complicates the issue for the learner. Accordingly, the vowel system must be described in the most accurate and straightforward way possible. The treatment of English vowels (pp. 28-33) is lacking in both these regards. A&E differentiate stressed "wedge" and unstressed schwa. This is a totally unproductive complication. Their baseless claim that these two phones are respectively lax and tense counterparts can only lead to confusion. Also unacceptable is the classification of the vowel of ‘bought’ as a mid vowel and the lax counterpart of the vowel of ‘boat’.

In general, the authors' treatment of back and central-backvowels is simply not very usable. A&E do not integrate readily available information. For example, the description of English as having two contrasting "stacks: of tongue-retracted vowels is not controversial. The most widely spoken and "standard" variety of NAE has a three number, high mid/low, central-back series heard in ‘put’, ‘putt’, ‘pot’. Vowels in this stack are distinctively lax, are not distinctly rounded, and have no diphthongal enlargement. This same variety of English has a corresponding back series, the members of which are heard in ‘sue’, ‘so’, ‘saw’. Vowels in this stack are distinctively tense and rounded, and the non-low members have the diphthongal extension that characterizes such English vowels.

A&E correctly note that the low, back, tense vowel that is heard in the speech of many speakers of NAE in ‘caught’, ‘bought’, ‘called’, ‘log’, ‘saw’, etc. is somewhat problematic. A straightforward solution, which they decline, is to point out that some NAE speakers neutralize the vowel in question with that heard in ‘cot’ with considerable variation depending on the environment.

In sum, the presentation of NAE vowels in this text is seriously flawed. It is more confusing than explanatory. Only advanced students of ESOL methodology should see this treatment and then only as a critical exercise.

Chapter 3 deals with environmental variants of NAE consonants. A&E treat the very important issues of flapped and glottal realizations of /t/. There is confusion regarding the difference between 'glottalized /t/' i.e. [t'], a phone that is found in many languages native to North America but not NAE, and unreleased /t/ which happens to involve glottal closure. An example of the interesting pedagogical comments found throughout Part One is the observation that speakers of Cantonese confuse the English alveolar (light) /l/ with [n] and the velar (dark) /l/ with [w]. Chapter 4 provides a worthwhile discussion of English syllable structure and phonotactics. Remarks concerning the variation in syllable structure complexity vary from language to language and the implications of such variation are helpful. Chapter 5 deals with stress and vowel reduction. This presentation offers good examples, helpful suggestions for ESOL classroom practice, and a visually appealing "dot" system for representing weak and strong stress. The authors, which for Chapter 5 include Ilsa Mendelson Burns, fail to report some standard information that practitioners would find helpful regarding the relationship between stress and vowel reduction, specifically, the principle of Alternating Stress. For example, the English word 'possibility' shows strong(er) stress on the first, third, and fifth syllables; the intermediated syllables are unstressed and have schwa as their realized vocalism.

The authors' account of stress placement consists of a few almost random observations with no unifying or principled treatment. They discuss cases but fail to incorporate the following well-known principles regarding stress in the Graeco-Latin sector of the English lexicon. Polysyllabic words are regularly stressed on the antepenult but the accent may regress to the penult under certain morphological or phonological conditions, i.e., when the final syllable consists of or contains such formatives as -ic or -oin or if the vowel of the penult is followed by a consonant cluster, i.e. "reluctant" vs "relevant". An inspection of the text (p.69ff) reveals that such significant generalizations are consistently overlooked.

Chapter 6 deals with certain segmental and suprasegmental phenomena characteristic of multiword utterance. A&E, joined by Douglas Jull, present in cogent fashion important material on stress timed (as English) vs. syllable timed languages. Standard materials on sentence-level stress is adduced. A second section, which might have been developed as a separate chapter, deals with the phonological effects that result from stress timing and differentiated intonation contours. I many specific details regarding English stress and intonation and related segmental effects are presented. Unfortunately, the authors fail to discuss what may be the single most important sub-topic, remarking only (p.82)... "some phrases can sound like single words." In fact, the ESOL practitioner must understand that the lexical word and the phonological word are distinct. A lexical word is phonologically "full", e.g. /hæv/ and essentially a "dictionary" representation. It is what we think of as a "word". In contrast, a phonological word of English consists of a sequence of syllables under the domain of a single primary stress; `I'd have done it', `in a minute', `sort of silly' `information' are all examples of phonological words, `information' being also a lexical word. The lexical words `have', `of', and `a' with their distinct lexical specifications can all be realized as schwa when they enter into such phonological words as these. Such significant, even radical, alteration of lexically-specified phonological content is s constant result of the dynamically stressed-timed nature of English. ESOL practitioners need a thorough grounding in this aspect of English phonology and its implications for pedagogy.]

Part Two consists of one chapter in which general pronunciation problems are discussed and a second long chapter in which the difficulties often faced by speakers of fourteen specific languages or language groups of Europe and Asia are reviewed. The general chapter offers much usable information and there are helpful cross references to the discussion of various aspects of English in Part One. Each of the fourteen sketches is organized as a series of potential problems with their possible remedies, all based on good contrastive analysis and the experience of practitioners. In addition to their obvious function, the sketches would make good models for a valuable training exercise, the construction of similar materials appropriate to other L1 contexts.

The eight methodological chapters that comprise Part Three contain much helpful discussion of some of the most important issues in the teaching of pronunciation. Given that there is no specific classroom activity that every instructor can use in every context, the suggestions offered in the various chapters constitute a wealth of possibilities that all practitioners should consider.

Chapter 9, a useful contribution by Neil Naiman, reminds us that the effective teaching of pronunciation must involve authentic materials that reflect communicative elaborations. Several types of exercises of possible utility are discussed. In reading this selection one starts to wonder what happened to the dialogues that were so prominently featured in language instructional materials 30 years ago.

Chapter 10 by Suzanne Firth, is a strong exposition on how to design the syllabus for a pronunciation course. She correctly advocates an approach that slights neither segmental detail nor supersegmental features. Her paper includes a diagnostic chart that could serve as a model for one's own version. Firth's other contribution (Ch. 14) "Developing Self-Correcting and Self-Monitoring Strategies" is also excellent although it is simply a sketch. It should motivate practitioners and advanced students with particular L1 interests to devise language-specific elaborations.

Chapter 11, by Maureen McNerney and David Mendelson, deals with the teaching of suprasegmentals. It has serious flaws. The authors over-correct in favour of the importance of suprasegmentals vs. segmental phonological material, claiming (p.185) that the former are "far *more* important" (their emphasis). Similarly, they state (p.185) that "It is the suprasegmentals that control the structure of information." In fact, there are many lexical and syntactic mechanisms which, along with suprasegmentals, are important markers of discourse structure. A short section on word level stress is minimally interesting and directs the reader's attention to the inadequate treatment of word level stress presented in Ch. 5 and discussed above. Ideally, in a book that is assembled according to the plan of the present volume, a truly useful methodology chapter would cross reference teaching routines with reliable descriptive data. Also unsuccessful is the use (p.187) of the "dot" system, seen in Ch. 5 in conjunction with word level stress, to represent sentence level stress. Their suggestion (p.189) that students might acquire the stress and rhythm of English, a language with highly dynamic stress timing, by having them "speak in time to a metronome" is astounding. A short treatment of palatalization across word boundary, though one of many segmental consequences of English stress, is out of place in this chapter. Move positively, quite standard material on main sentence stress and intonation as well as pausing vs. linking is well presented.

Chapter 12, by Ilsa Mendelson Burns, sets forth a non-dogmatic and helpful discussion of the relationship between pronunciation and comprehension. She discusses with exemplification a range of comprehension exercises which, in her, can promote advances in pronunciation accuracy. Her exercises range from the tried and true drills of the audio-lingual era to her own innovative exercises which others will want to experiment with. Ch. 13, contributed by Douglas Jull, presents a general inventory of techniques for teaching pronunciation. The emphasis is on production so these materials complement those of the previous chapter. There is much that is potentially helpful.

In Chapter15, John Archibald offers fresh and innovative material. He suggests several ways in which techniques from drama training may be applied to the teaching of ESOL pronunciation. Every practitioner could find something in this chapter that he or she would want to try out in the classroom.

Chapter 16, by Nicholas Elson, deals with the question of unintelligibility, that is, the fact that learners often do not understand messages and are themselves often misunderstood. Elson discusses the causes of unintelligibility and suggests communicative strategies for dealing with comprehension breakdowns. Though the discussion of such strategies is somewhat marginal to the teaching of pronunciation per se, the chapter is a good addition to the book.

On balance, this volume is a worthwhile contribution to the store of materials that support ESOL training. It is unfortunate that fundamental errors in the description of English were incorporated as these diminish the book's value. It is appropriate as a secondary text or as an item on the supplemental reading list.

Call for Papers

The ERIC® Clearinghouse on Languages and Linguistics invites you to submit papers, reports, curricula or other materials for inclusion in the ERIC® database.

Submissions should be sent to:

Acquisitions Coordinator
ERIC/CLL
1118 22nd Street NW
Washington DC 20037

TEL: 202-429-9292
EMAIL: CAL@GUVAX.GEORGETOWN.EDU

Subscription Form

RELC JOURNAL

A Journal of Language Teaching and Research in Southeast Asia

The Journal appears twice a year and subscription may begin with the June or December issue.

The annual subscription is S$18.00 within SEAMEO countries and US$18.00 for other countries, inclusive of postage.

Please fill in the form below in block capitals, and send it to

The Publications & Public Relations Unit
SEAMEO Regional Language Centre
30 Orange Grove Road
Singapore 1025
Republic of Singapore

with your bank draft or money order payable to SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Single issues and back issues of the Journal are available at the Centre.

For a complete list of all RELC publications, please write to the Publications & Public Relations Unit.

I enclose S$18.00*/US$18.00+ for the RELC Journal for one year, beginning with the issue for ....

Name: ....

Address: ....

....

....

* *within SEAMEO Countries*
+ *other countries*

Prices are subject to change without notice.

Preparation of Articles

The Manuscript: All copy must be typewritten, double-spaced throughout, on one side of the sheet only.

Underscores: Indicate italic type by a single, straight underscore, SMALL CAPITALS by a double underscore and boldface by a wavy underscore.

Italic type: only for cited linguistic forms, titles of books and journals that occur within the text.

Small capitals: where essential to emphasize a word, phrase or sentence in the text or to mark a technical term when it first occurs.

Bold face: only when necessary to distinguish between certain forms in different alphabets.

Punctuation: Enclose quoted words, phrases and sentences in double quotation marks. Enclose quotations within quotations, and glosses, in single quotation marks.

Do not use quotes to enclose a word or phrase cited as a linguistic example. Use italic type instead, e.g., the suffix-*s*, the word *like*.

Notes: Do not use footnotes. Use a raised numeral (without parentheses) for a note reference number. Type all notes, double-spaced, at the end of the main text.

Bibliographical reference: Cite accurately and fully literature referred to in a bibliography at the end of each article or review.

Within the text, make brief citations such as (Anthony 1975) or (Sibayan 1974:221-222). Give the page numbers only for the passage to which reference is made, not for the whole paper.

Type the full bibliography, double-spaced, beginning on a separate page, under the heading REFERENCES. Arrange the entries alphabetically by surnames of authors as in the following examples:

Anthony, Edward M. 1975. Towards a theory of lexical meaning. Singapore: Singapore University Press for the SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning how to mean: explorations in the development of language. London: Edward Arnold.

Lim, Kiat Boey. 1975. The SRA reading laboratory and reading comprehension. RELC Journal 6:1. 14-16.

Sibayan, Bonifacio P. 1974. Language policy, language engineering and literacy in the Philippines. Advances in language planning, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, 221-254. The Hague: Mouton.

Abstracts: Accompany each manuscript by an informative abstract, summarizing the conceptual content of the article. The abstract should be as brief as possible (no longer than 200 words) typed on a separate sheet of paper.

RELC PUBLICATIONS

Monograph Series

An introduction to Linguistics for the Language Teacher

Cultural Components of Reading

The Testing of Listening Comprehension

Problems of Learning English as a Second Language in Malaysia

Strategies for Communication between Teachers and Pupils in a Rural Malaysian School

Code-Switching and Code-Mixing in Multilingual Societies

An Historical Study of Language Planning

Anthology Series

(1) Reading: Insights and Approaches
(2) Teaching English for Science and Technology
(3) Curriculum Development and Syllabus Design for English Teaching
(4) Language Education in Multilingual Societies
(5) Papers on Southeast Asian Languages
(6) Applications of Linguistics to Language Teaching
(7) Bilingual Education
(8) Patterns of Bilingualism
(9) Language Testing
(10) Language Teaching Issues in Multilingual Environments in Southeast Asia
(11) Varieties of English in Southeast Asia
(12) Transfer and Translation in Language Learning and Teaching
(13) Trends in Language Syllabus Design
(14) Communicative Language Teaching
(15) Language Across the Curriculum
(16) Language in Learning
(17) Patterns of Classroom Interaction in Southeast Asia
(18) Language Syllabuses: State of the Art
(21) ESP: State of the Art
(22) Materials for Language Learning and Teaching
(23) Learners' Dictionaries: State of the Art
(24) Language Teaching Methodology for the Nineties
(25) Current Developments in Language Testing
(26) Languages & Standards: Issues, Attitudes, Case Studies
(27) Issues in Language Programme Evaluation in the 1990s
(28) Language Acquisition & the Second/Foreign Language Classroom
(29) Language Teacher Education in a Fast-Changing World
(30) Issues in Language Teacher Education
(31) Simplification: Theory and Application

Occasional Papers Series

(2) Research Proposals for Studies in Language Learning
(3) Controlled and Guide Composition
(5) Group Activities for Language Learning
(6) A Handbook of Communication Activities for Young Learners
(7) Form and Function in Second Language Learning
(8) New Varieties of English: Issues and Approaches
(9) Papers on Variation in English
(10) Error Analysis and Error Correction in Language Teaching
(11) Studies in Second Language Acquisition
(12) Developing Awareness Skills for Interethnic Communication
(13) Trends in Language Teaching and Bilingual Education
(14) Approaches to Communicative Competence
(15) Contrastive Instructional Materials Development
(16) An Error Analysis of English Composition by Thai Students
(18) Papers on Language Testing
(19) Measuring Affective Factors in Language Learning
(20) Studies in Classroom Interaction
(21) Ten Papers on Translation
(22) A Study of Hokkien-Mandarin Phonological Correspondences
(23) What Is Standard English
(24) Techniques and Approaches for Advanced ESL Students
(25) On Conversation
(26) Psycholinguistic Dimensions of Language Teaching and Bilingualism
(27) Papers on Team Teaching and Syllabus Design
(28) Papers on Translation: Aspects, Concepts, Implications
(29) Varieties of English and Their Implications for ELT in Southeast Asia
(30) Concepts and Functions in Current Syllabuses
(31) Case Studies in Syllabus and Course Design
(32) Language, Identity and Socio-Economic Development
(33) Interlanguage of Learners of English as a Foreign Language
(34) On Composition
(35) Minidictionaries of Southeast Asian Englishes
(36) A Quantitative approach to the Study of Sociolinguistic Situations in Multilingual Societies
(38) Studies on Sociocultural Factors Affecting Language Education
(39) Studies in Philippine English
(40) Language Attitudes
(41) Sociolinguistic Aspects of Language Learning
(43) Developing Discourse Comprehension: Theory and Practice
(44) Papers in Interlanguage
(45) Explanatory Combination Dictionary and Learners' Dictionaries

Guidelines. A Periodical for Classroom Language Teachers

June 1979 No.1 Communication Activities
Dec 1979 No.2 Teaching Reading Skills
June 1980 No.3 Vocabulary Teaching
Dec 1980 No.4 Audio-Visual Aids in Language-Teaching
June 1981 No.5 Language Games
Dec 1981 No.6 Writing Activities
June 1982 Vol 4 No.1 Study Skills
Dec 1982 Vol 4 No.2 Group Activities
June 1983 Vol 5 No.1 Classroom Tests
Dec 1983 Vol 5 No.2 Drama Activities
1984-1993 A Periodical for Classroom Language Teachers

RELC Newsletter. This publication is mailed quarterly to over 3.500 readers within and outside Southeast Asia. Each issue reports on the Centre's activities.

Printed by Stamford I